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Goldwin Smith.



Drawn by J.M. Connel

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Yours faithfully Devoted

Daniel O'Connell

Q18

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

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BY

WILLIAM FAGAN, ESQ., M.P.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

To you I dedicate this, my feeble effort to pourtray the Life and Times of the greatest man, that this, or any other country, ever produced—O'CONNELL—he, who first burst asunder the manacles that had bound you for centuries in religious thraldom; and afterwards struggled, with untiring assiduity, even to the latest moment of his existence, to restore your legislative independence, of which you were foully and fraudulently cheated. The first volume contains the history of his exertions for Catholic Emancipation; and you will find in it, many examples of the indomitable perseverance with which he toiled, and of the unceasing annoyances which his love

of country entailed on him. The second volume will be a history of his exertions to obtain a repeal of the Act of Union. Though it was God's will that he should be summoned from this world, to receive an enduring reward for his services to religion and his country, before he had accomplished that great undertaking; still, he did enough to teach you, fellow-countrymen, how it is yet to be achieved; namely, by the force of public opinion—by the irresistible agency of moral force—by union, and by perseverance. The second volume will instruct you in the great lessons he taught; and it is because it will do so, and at little cost to your pockets, that I have ventured, humbly, to address the work to you.

I have the honor to be,

Fellow-countrymen,

Your faithful servant,

WM. FAGAN.

Feltrim, Cork,
September 20, 1847.

PREFACE.

THIS, the first volume of "The Life and Times of O'CONNELL," is now presented to the Public, with all its imperfections on its head. Of its kind, it is probably the most rapidly written work that ever issued from the press. The history of its appearance in the *Cork Southern Reporter*, is shortly this. About a month before Mr. O'CONNELL's lamented death, information reached the writer, which left no doubt on his mind that the career of the great patriot was rapidly drawing to a close. Indeed, it was an event to be looked for, every succeeding day. It was suggested to the writer, that he could not better occupy his mind, and remove his thoughts from painful recollections, than by preparing a short "Memoir" of the illustrious man. He availed himself of the suggestion, and set to work, preparing notes, and collecting the scattered materials in his possession. While thus engaged, cheering news arrived from the Continent, respecting O'CONNELL's

health; and the strongest hopes were entertained of his recovery. This caused him to abandon the idea for the time—but, alas! these hopes were like the last flicker of the expiring lamp; for a few posts brought the fatal news of his dissolution. The writer was thrown at once, without further notice, into an undertaking, the extent of which, and the amount of labour attending it, he had no conception of. He wrote under much disadvantage. His other pursuits in life, allowed him little time to employ in the laborious task; and in the midst of the undertaking, came the election for the City of Cork, in which he, unexpectedly, had to play a prominent part. However, he has brought the first volume to a close, and is, already, far advanced in the second. The importance of the work—and the honor of linking his name, in the humblest form, with the IMMORTAL LIBERATOR, inspired him; and as he progressed, he was cheered and encouraged by the kind approval of his friends.

The anxiety, on the part of the public, to have it in their possession in book form, as speedily as practicable, induced the writer, to have it brought out, printed from the same type from which the newspaper impression was taken. This will allow it to be sold at the lowest rate a book of the size can be disposed of; and thus, it will be placed within the reach of even the humblest admirers of O'CONNELL, within a few

months after his death, and not long after the first page of it had been written.

The second volume, terminating with the Liberator's funeral obsequies, will be ready for publication early in November. All the writer can pretend to, is honesty in recording facts, and anxiety to state his opinion without undue bias or partiality; notwithstanding the veneration and friendship he felt for the great DEPARTED. Such as it is, he now consigns it to the judgment of the Public.

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

EVERY circumstance, however minute, connected with the private history of individuals, who have risen into public distinction, and who have become illustrious by the prominent parts they may have acted during a transitory existence, demands the notice of the writer who undertakes the perilous duties of biographer. Mixed up and connected with the public history of a distinguished character, the reminiscences of private life and the scattered details of family anecdotes, throw an interest over the pages of a work, which, if confined to the story of political events, would be cold and uninteresting. From this feeling we intend, in this work, to checker the momentous and stirring circumstances of Mr. O'CONNELL's political career, with anecdotes and incidents in his private life, which will develope the character and throw before the world, the every-day feelings and the private virtues of this distinguished man.

O'CONNELL was so truly the founder of a new dynasty —he sprung out so completely from the class of society in which his family moved—he so placed himself in the high and commanding position in which astonished

millions were for years accustomed to view him, without family influence to assist or cheer him on, and with aristocratic envy and power working against him—he was, as it were so alone in his generation, that it is scarcely necessary to inquire into the quarterings of his family, or the antiquity of his line. Who would examine into the pedigree of GRATTAN? Who would ask for the genealogy of CANNING? Is the Dukedom of WELLINGTON less illustrious, because the herald cannot proclaim the antiquity of its creation? Yet, with all, so singular is the constitution of the human mind, that men who have moved from out the common circle of existence—whose useful and illustrious career has been in a bold and eccentric orbit, are more prone than others to look back with complacency on a long line of respectable, yet undistinguished ancestry, who have done nothing at best, but move reputably through life, and have rarely illustrated their names by even passing public approbation. Lord BROUGHAM, whose name, with all his backslidings, must live as long as the English language exists, or civilization endures—who had exercised, at one period, an influence over the history and manners of his country, rarely equalled—even he is proud that he sprung from an old and respectable family in Cumberland. NAPOLEON, the conqueror of the world, the Sovereign of millions, whose footstools were thrones, and whose courtiers were kings—was flattered at the heraldic research that connected him with some of the obscure nobility of Italy. So too, was it with the subject of this notice. O'CONNELL—who, next to NAPOLEON, filled a greater space in the eyes of Europe than any man of modern days—was proud of his descent from an ancient line, and was gratified because his veins were warm with the blood of Ireland's ancient Princes. His family is undoubtedly a very

ancient race—they have been fixed time out of mind in the County of Kerry, where they had, in days long past, sovereign authority as Tanists or old Irish rulers.—The following paragraph, which appeared some years ago in a Kerry newspaper, will be read with interest in reference to this subject:—

"It is true, that Dr. Smith makes no mention of this ancient sept (the O'Connells); the circumstance will cease to excite surprise, when we reflect upon the cursory notice which he takes of the Milesian Clans, and the laboured details which he gives of the settlement and adventures of Undertakers.—That which the Doctor calls a history of Kerry is a mere good natured memoir of certain English families, whom the innovating genius of Protestantism introduced into this county.—Elizabethians and Cromwellians glitter through his pages, but the ancient inheritors of the soil vanish in a sentence.—Brilliant is the pedigree which he paints of prosperous priest-hunters, and traffickers in Bills of discovery; but how does he dispose of the extruded victims of their rapacity—the trampled and still fondly-remembered Catholic septs, once so famous in the annals of Kerry, and so respectable from the extent and antiquity of their possessions? A well authenticated anecdote will serve to illustrate the policy which evil times compelled him, 'nothing loath,' to pursue. In the course of his literary peregrinations he was entertained for some days at Darrynane, by the grandfather of the great Agitator, during which time he learned from the old gentleman and his son, the late excellent Maurice O'Connell, the patriarch of Iveragh, several interesting particulars of local and domestic history. The ductile pen of the Historian had frequently yielded to the potent influence of hospitality, which happened, undesignedly upon this occasion so far to prevail over his English predilections, as to induce a liberal offer of a due proportion of the forthcoming work to blazon forth the virtues and heroism of the Clan-Connell. The reply of the Milesian is worthy of record:—'We have peace and comfort here, Mr. Smith—we love the faith of our fathers; and amidst the seclusion of these glens, enjoy a respite from persecution—If man is against us, God is for us—he gives wherewithal to pay for the education of our children in foreign lands, and enough to assist their advancement in the Irish Brigade; but if you make mention of me or mine, the solitude of the sea shore will no longer be our security—the *Sassenagh* will scale the mountains of Darrynane, and we too shall be driven upon the world without house or home. Accordingly, the

the scion of chiefs and monarchs is despatched in a brief and broken period; nor does the aristocratic Doctor condescend to honour him with those essential attributes of an Irish name, the vowel and circumflex."

As with all septs who had first the spirit to resist and struggle against their English invaders, and who afterwards, in spite of silent and galling oppression, maintained the religion of their ancestors, the property of this family had dwindled to a very scanty inheritance. In fact, no Catholic without the connivance of some friendly and honourable Protestant trustee could, from 1703 to 1779, hold landed property beyond 31 years; and hence it is that few families of that persuasion preserved their ancient domains. However old, therefore, may be the O'CONNELL family, MORGAN, father of DANIEL O'CONNELL, commenced the world with a very limited patrimony. He was, we learn from Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL's work, the second surviving son of DANIEL O'CONNELL, of Darrynane. Of it we will defer any description, until the period arrives (1825), when Mr. O'CONNELL, by the death of his father's elder brother, MAURICE, came into possession of that romantic and now celebrated residence. The third surviving son of DANIEL, was the well-known General Count O'CONNELL, who entered the French service in the Irish Brigade—and after the restoration of the Bourbons, received a commission of Colonel in the British Army—some regiments of the Irish Brigade having been then drafted into the English service. General Count O'CONNELL, in early life, found, it may be allowable to say, an attached friend in his relative, Chevalier FAGAN, the grand uncle of the writer of this memoir. That remarkable man was much older than he was; for Count O'CONNELL was the youngest of twenty-two children; and though the eldest, MAURICE, was older than the

Chevalier, DANIEL, the Count, was many years younger. It is a singular coincidence that both had exactly twenty-one brothers and sisters, and that at least one, of each name, of the children of those forty-two, rose to great distinction in his separate pursuits. These coincidences often occur. Count O'CONNELL, as we said, found on his entry into the French service, an attached friend in Chevalier FAGAN, and the writer has in his possession letters of his grand uncle, showing the warm friendship which existed between them—and he knows of many incidents connected with their private history, which if given to the world would redound to the honour of both. Count O'CONNELL died in 1834. He died wealthy. Previous to his death he endowed schools, and other charitable institutions in his favorite barony of Iveragh, county of Kerry.

MORGAN O'CONNELL, the father of our great and lamented Liberator, lived at Carhen, within less than a mile of the now well-known town of Cahirciveen. This house, now in ruins, has become celebrated as the birth-place of O'CONNELL, and future generations will visit it, as pilgrims, out of veneration to the memory of this great man. MORGAN married KATE, the daughter of Mr. O'MULLANE of Whitechurch, near Cork. This gentleman was the representative of a very old Catholic family, and possessed at the time very considerable landed property. A great portion of that property is now by purchase in the possession of the O'CONNELL family. MORGAN acquired by industry and prudence an independence, and as soon as the law permitted, he became a purchaser of land in his own neighbourhood. He had a family of ten children. Those the writer can speak of from his own knowledge, were first DANIEL—MAURICE was the second, but he died in the lat-

ter end of the last century in the British service. Of him we know no particulars. The next was JOHN, known to fame as the poor man's Magistrate—an excellent country gentleman, and a very able man. He was distinguished in the time of Catholic agitation for the manly and fearless manner he acted in his own County. Every one has heard how dangerously wounded he was in a duel in the year 1818. His life was saved by the unremitting attention of a near relative, a lady, whose name for her devotion to him on that occasion deserves to be recorded. But not knowing, how it would be appreciated by her relatives, we refrain; indeed, we merely glance at the transaction, though it suggests many interesting topics connected with the history of that period—lest it may revive unpleasant memories, which should remain in oblivion. The fourth son, JAMES, is a gentleman of large fortune, principally of his own acquisition. He possesses a large portion of the LIBERATOR'S talents, and had he chosen the Bar as a profession, must have reached eminence. The daughters of MORGAN O'CONNELL were, HONORA, afterwards Mrs. DANIEL O'SULLIVAN, of Reendonegan, near Bantry; MARY, afterwards Mrs. JEREMIAH M'CARTHY, of Woodview, near Newmarket, in the county of Cork—the wife of an excellent, kind-hearted country gentleman; ALICE, who was married to Mr. FINN afterwards M.P., of whom we shall sometimes have occasion to speak; CATHERINE the younger, and the favourite sister of O'CONNELL, and remarkably like him in feature; she was married to HUMPHREY MOYNAHAN, Esq. of Freemount, in the county of Kerry. There were two other daughters; one married to Mr. MYLES M'SWINEY, in the same county; and another to DANIEL O'CONNELL, a respectable Solicitor.

DANIEL O'CONNELL was early sent by his uncle,

MAURICE, by whom he was adopted, to Mr. HARRINGTON'S school, in the great island of Cove, near Cork.—The father of the writer was a school-fellow of his, and we have often heard him say, that O'CONNELL did not display any extraordinary precocity of intellect. He was, like SWIFT and SHERIDAN, and a thousand others who afterwards rose to eminence, but an ordinary scholar. At the age of sixteen he was sent to the Continent. Louvain was the College first intended to receive him. But there was some disappointment, and St. Omer and Douay have the honour of having finally educated him. It was here, as Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL reminds us, he formed a lasting friendship with CHRISTOPHER FAGAN, afterwards Adjutant-General of the Indian army, who, like O'CONNELL, was adopted by an Uncle, the Chevalier, and, like him also, reached great eminence. He was a man of commanding talent and of strong popular predilections. He was idolized by the Indian Army. His attachment to their interest it was, that induced him to give up the high command he held in India. Circumstances connected with this transaction do not, however, belong to this memoir. O'CONNELL and he were both in the same class, and both competitors for distinction. At St. Omer, O'CONNELL exhibited very great talent, and his future fame, we learn from his son's work, was distinctly foretold by the superior of that establishment.

At the time to which we now refer, the means in Ireland of acquiring a liberal and extended education were denied to the Catholic. Beyond the first rudiments of elementary instruction—beyond reading, writing, and the mercantile branches of arithmetic, it was difficult for the proscribed class to pass. Dublin University with all its wealth, its patronage, and its preferments was for the

favoured religion. A classical education was a difficult acquirement for the oppressed, degraded, and quiescent Catholic. Not many years before, no Catholic parent was allowed to be the guardian of his own child, and he dared not openly educate him in the religion of his forefathers. Hence the hedge-school system, and hence the very scanty education the great mass of even the better class of Catholics acquired. Any person ambitious of giving his children a refined and erudite education was forced to direct his views to foreign countries where his Faith was predominant, and where the rich stores of ancient learning could be opened to the anxious student. It was in these foreign seminaries that most of the Catholic Priesthood of Ireland were educated, before the establishment of Maynooth College; for, nowhere in Ireland was there a place where the Youth of that persuasion could, or were allowed to, acquire, with satisfaction, the education suited to the arduous and responsible station of a clergyman, and they were forced to seek in a foreign Country and under the protection too, in many cases, of a foreign enemy, those advantages that cruel and legal oppression denied them at home.

Whether O'Connell was originally intended for the Church, we have not ascertained; but his talents were of too marked a character not to have induced his Uncle Maurice, the owner of Darrynane, to comply with the solicitation of General O'Connell, and send him to acquire a classical education in one of the far-famed seminaries of the Netherlands, or, as it turned out, of France. O'Connell arrived in France at a very peculiar period; when the political horizon there was dark, and clouds were gathering pregnant with momentous events.—America, with the assistance of France, had freed herself

from the yoke of England. In her turn she had taught France the power of popular agitation, and exhibited to her eager eyes, a practical illustration of the lessons of VOLTAIRE, and the Encyclopedists. An overbearing aristocracy and a state paid clergy had aroused the hostile feelings of an excitable people. At first, the objects of the French Reformers were good, but in the end, as every one knows, a mighty and overwhelming catastrophe was the result. O'CONNELL, at this precise period, left his native land, where oppression in its most galling form existed. He left it, because he, as a Catholic, was denied the full blessings of education near his home, and he went to a country, where he found hundreds of his countrymen, who were, like himself voluntary exiles in a foreign land, in order that they may at a future day, by their acquirements and cultivated talents, assist in the regeneration of Ireland. He went to France at a period, when the principles of freedom and the bold theories of popular rights were the themes of every political writer, and the subjects of general discussion. Cold indeed would have been his heart, and callous his feelings, did he not imbibe the first and early political principles of the French patriots, and cherish a desire of raising his countrymen from the debasing condition in which the prejudices and exactions of the English Government had placed them. The excesses of the French Revolution created feelings of disgust and horror in his, as they did in the mind of every humane and honest man. But the patriotism of WASHINGTON, the eloquence of MIRABEAU, the enthusiasm of ROLAND, and the theories of CONDORCET must have made an impression on his young mind. He became, almost imperceptibly, a neophyte in the temple of liberty; yet he felt he was a slave—

that his countrymen were slaves, and he looked to Ireland, as the future theatre of his exertions, where he could labour in his vocation, in battling for the liberty of millions by an honourable, peaceable and constitutional agitation. It is true, that the revolting scenes of the Revolution—as his son tells us, first suppressed those feelings, and "made him almost a Tory;" but they were soon reproduced, when he returned to Ireland.

During his sojourn at St. Omer, the British Government found it *expedient* to repeal some portion of the Penal Laws, and in 1792 Catholics were allowed to become members of the bar. This relaxation on the part of PITT, probably suggested to the mind of O'CONNELL the idea of becoming a barrister. All that was venerated for patriotism, all that was respected for talent in Ireland, then belonged to the bar—GRATTAN, YELVERTON, CURRAN, &c., were Irish Barristers: and never in the history of any Country, were there exhibited more exalted specimens of genius and eloquence than during the few years that elapsed between 1782 and the Union. Inspired by the burning eloquence and excited by the successful efforts of these great men, he aspired to the same profession. Ambition prompted him, and conscious talent whispered, he would succeed. Accordingly, in some time after he quitted France, he entered himself as a student of Grays' Inn, London, where it was and is necessary (to use an observation of his own)—that the student should eat a certain number of legs of mutton, to become a member of the Irish Bar. Here he became acquainted with young Irishmen of talent, who afterwards were distinguished members of his profession, and here it was, that his French accent, and a peculiar pronunciation of some words, which he always retained, were first remarked

and commented on. The last syllable of the word *Empire*, to the astonishment of the punctilious students, he pronounced as the French do, "Empire." So also the word "Charity"—and others having an affinity to their French originals; and yet, singular to say, that peculiar pronunciation gave a musical turn to his expressions, and an interest to his tones which, in after times, went far to increase the captivating effects of his eloquence. He was called to the Bar in Easter Term, 1798. In 1821, speaking of himself, he said he had served three apprenticeships to his profession. That year will be memorable in the history of his unfortunate country; and though he could not with safety mix himself up with the political transactions of those times, there can be no doubt that he felt keenly his own degradation as a Catholic barrister, as well as the oppressive thraldom of over three millions of his countrymen.

After the treaty of Limerick, which promised freedom of conscience to all classes, had been openly and daringly violated, the Catholic population of Ireland sank into utter insignificance. They tamely acquiesced in the infliction of the abominable Penal Code: they allowed their children to be torn from their protection: they saw without a struggle, the zealous and pious Priests of their religion either banished from the Country, or registered as convicts in their native land: they became actual serfs in their own land, without the privilege of owning a single acre of what were once the domains of their forefathers. Such was the condition of the Irish Catholics during the reigns of WILLIAM, ANNE, and the two first GEORGES. The penal laws, though enacted ostensibly against the Catholics, were intended actually for the Jacobites, and hence their unmitigated severity. Expe-

diency did not, during that long period, arrest the despotic arm of the English Government. No speaking Agitator was then up and stirring—sounding the trumpet, loud and long, to liberty, telling to a quiescent and paralyzed people that in themselves rested the power of regeneration—and proclaiming aloud,

"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

In fact, the people in Ireland were, as we will shew, a mere nonentity, until O'Connell became their Champion, produced in them union and constitutional organization, and taught them the overwhelming power of their concentrated energies; even, and we will say fortunately for their country and for the principles of Freedom, when in 1745 all Scotland was up in favor of the Pretender—when the throne of the Hanoverian George was shaken by the enthusiasm and bravery of his adherents; even then, not a single hand was raised in Ireland, not a single tongue uttered an exclamation in favor of the offspring of the Monarch for whom the last generation, not long before, so madly risked "their lives, their properties, and their sacred honor." The Catholics were considered mere Helots in the country: Swift's Patriotism had no reference to them—Grattan's exertions, in 1782, were not intended for their benefit; and even at a later period, when political clubs were forming in Dublin, where designs for Ireland's freedom, vague and Quixotic as they were, were cherished, but few Catholics were admitted into these associations. It was then not incompatible with the prevailing notions of political liberalism to be opposed to Catholic Emancipation, and those who battled for Ireland's independence in 1782, were amongst the most virulent opposers of the emancipation of their countrymen. In fact, Catholicity

was another name for abject servility: and we ought to cherish the memory of O'CONNELL, if for no other reason, from the feeling that he alone rescued us from the misery of our characteristic and political abasement. It is true, that so early as the year 1757, the Catholics began to reflect on their degradation, and under the administration of the then Duke of BEDFORD, something like energy exhibited itself amongst them. It was then the first Catholic Committee was formed for the management of the Political concerns of the body on the principle of the delegation of later days: and yet so inert were the great mass of the Catholics of that period, that no more than seven persons could be brought together to consider the means of amending their political condition. Yet even in this small number, division and disunion had exhibited themselves: and that distrust which for years unhappily existed between the aristocratic and democratic portions of the Catholic community, and which so powerfully operated up to 1823, in paralysing their efforts for freedom, began to shew itself at the first establishment of a Catholic Committee. Consequently, its exertions were useless, and of short continuance: the power of popular union was not then appreciated, nor the advantages of agitation known. Up to 1774, the laws, to use the expression of a zealous Lord Chancellor of former days—"did not presume a "Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe "without the command of Government." At that time the American Colonies were beginning to proclaim their wrongs, and were struggling successfully against the arbitrary dictation of England. The British government, conscious they had no hold on the affections or gratitude of the people of Ireland, deemed it prudent to recognise the Irish Catholics as subjects, without at the

same time admitting them to the slightest privileges under the laws. They were then for the first time permitted, forsooth, to swear allegiance to the Sovereign and become subjects of the Crown: and yet even this paltry enactment, which was deemed an act of grace by the Helot Catholics of that day, was not passed without the positive demand of the English Government, so deeply prejudiced at that time were the Irish Parliament and the Protestant party against the great mass of the community. This act of condescension was passed from dread of American contagion, and without Catholic agitation. Thanks again to America, the horrors of the penal code were slightly relaxed in 1778, when Catholics were allowed to hold property on leases for lives, or for 999 years—Thanks—eternal thanks, to the Patriot Volunteers at Dungannon in the year 1782—the intolerant Parliament of Ireland were forced still further to repeal those abominable enactments, and Catholics were allowed to purchase property in fee. This was all effected without Catholic Agitation; the people were supine, debased, and cowed down by the operation of those laws, and by the unprincipled prejudices of their more favoured countrymen: they had not yet made a combined exertion, peacefully, and constitutionally, to free themselves from those most galling enactments.

It was in reference to this period that the celebrated JOHN KEOGH thus spoke in 1806—"A period when the "Catholics would scarce dare to look a Protestant in "the face, and when they had not courage to walk up-"right and erect as other men, and were marked by the "caution and timidity of their gait and demeanour: and "when the meanest Protestant that crawled on the "streets considered himself a divinity compared with a "Catholic."

For the succeeding ten years we read scarcely anything of the Catholics or their affairs, except on one occasion, when their Committee, which appears to have been a permanently existing and quiescent body, came forth on the part of the Catholics, with a denial of the statement, purporting to come from Lord KENMARE, that they were perfectly satisfied and contented with their political position, and with the advantages granted them in 1781, and that they sought no further extension of them. This the Committee denied, and professed themselves ready to take what would be granted them. But they knew not the advantages of agitation, and they slumbered, while the whole country was in excitement about National Independence and Parliamentary Reform—while the Dungannon Volunteers and the National Convention had demonstrated the utility of manly and constitutional agitation. The Catholics of that day could not have felt their degradation; nor could the Volunteers themselves have regarded their condition as derogatory to the great principles of freedom which they advocated: for Lord CHARLEMONT and a vast number of those patriotic corps were opposed to granting further privileges to their Catholic countrymen. In 1792, we again find the Catholic Committee emerging into something like notoriety, and assuming the attitude of men who felt their degradation; but here the usual leaven of disunion crept in; and because speeches were made and some associations encouraged that had too much the appearance of liberality, during the prevalence of French doctrines and French example, the Catholic aristocrats withdrew from the Committee and allowed the commonalty to shift for themselves. It is this conduct which WOLFE TONE, Agent to the Catholic Committee, so severely censures in his memoirs; and in his strictures

he does not pass over the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland. From the dissensions of this Committee sprung a Committee of twenty-one, "for the purpose of persevering in dutiful "and submissive applications to Parliament *for a miti-* "*gation of the Penal Laws.*" This Committee persevered with considerable decision and talent during the years 1791-92-93, in presenting petitions to Parliament, in laying before the community statements of their grievances and their doctrines. Their first petition, which was extremely respectful in its language and humble in its demands, was rejected most contemptuously by the House of Commons. From that time, we find them exhibiting more spirit and resolution than at any prior period, until the Relief Bill of 1793 passed; but it appears from their own Resolutions, that their views were exceedingly limited. They resolved in 1792—"That this Committee has been informed that reports have been circulated that the application of the Catholics for relief extends to *unlimited and total emancipation,*" *&c.*

Resolved.. That we therefore deem it necessary to declare that the whole of our late application, &c., &c., as well as our intended petition, neither did nor does contain any thing, or extends further either in substance or in principle than the four following objects:—

1...Admission to the Profession and Practice of the Law.

2...Capacity to serve as *County* Magistrates.

3...A right to be summoned to serve on Grand and Petty Juries.

4...The right of voting in counties only for *Protestant* members of Parliament, in such manner however, as that a Roman Catholic freeholder should not vote unless he rented and cultivated a farm of twenty pounds per annum in addition to his forty shilling freehold, or else possessed a freehold to the amount of twenty pounds a year.

Of this modest demand, they were paid in 1793 more than thirty shillings in the pound, which was again obtained from the fears of the English Government occasioned by the rapid spread of French contagion in Ireland, and the *successful* issue of French arms on the Continent. The Catholics did not do much for themselves ; the timid natives turned from AGITATION, and the Irish reformers were not generally favourable to their views. Considering, however, that they were destitute of the assistance of a free press, and knew not the value of unceasing discussion, we must allow they were active and useful. Early in 1793 they sent a long and well drawn up petition to King GEORGE, with a deputation consisting of five gentlemen : namely, Sir T. FRENCH, Mr. BYRNE, Mr. KEOGH, Mr. DEVEREUX, and Mr. BELLEW.—This Petition was graciously received by his Majesty—and some fair prospects were held out by Ministers. Immediately after the passing of the Relief Act of 1793, which gave the elective franchise—gave commissions in the Army, &c., &c., the Catholic Committee met, and amongst other proceedings, came to the following resolution :-"That by "the restoration of the Elective Franchise, the Catholics "of Ireland are now enabled to speak individually, the "language of free men; and as we no longer wish to be "considered a distinct body of His Majesty's subjects, "we render up our trust to the people who sent us hi-"ther."

The Enactment of the Convention Act prevented the meeting of Catholic Delegates as heretofore, and with the exception of an occasional meeting of the Catholics in Dublin, and in other parts of the kingdom, during the glorious administration of FITZWILLIAM, and after his ungenerous recall, we rarely read of the proceedings of the Catholics in the prosecution of their rights, during these

troubled and momentous times. The last time they petitioned the Parliament was in 1797, and after that year we read but seldom of their meetings and proceedings, until O'CONNELL, the champion of their rights, and ultimately their Liberator, appeared amongst them.

O'CONNELL, from the nature of his education amongst a Catholic priesthood, had imbibed a strong partiality for the BOURBON family, and for those principles of loyalty which the Catholic religion instils. Entertaining such opinions he, however, did not shut his eyes to his own degraded position as a Catholic, nor to the thraldom of his countrymen; but he was completely protected by them from the dangerous theories he found afloat in Ireland on his return from the temple. Though it has been the fashion to whisper undefined accusations against him, we are of opinion, after a careful investigation of the matter, that in 1798 and 1799 he was perfectly unconnected with the ardent spirits who then so enthusiastically and fatally committed themselves in the great endeavour of republicanizing Ireland. Not that O'CONNELL did not feel deeply the wrongs and insults inflicted on his country, and freely give expression to his sentiments on the mis-government of Ireland, for of this there can be no doubt; but his early education and experience in France had taught him to distrust results which were sought to be obtained through blood, massacre, the overthrow of property, and the total disorganization of established institutions. It is true that he was intimate with some of the actors, or rather well-wishers of the contemplated revolution, and that he expressed himself freely on the utter disappointment which the recal of Lord FITZWILLIAM produced; but he was in no way connected with the political transactions of 1798—the year

he was called to the Bar—and we find that he belonged to the Lawyers' Yeomanry Corps at that period. This circumstance it is true affords no clue to his opinions. During the reign of terror in those days, even the most peaceable and retiring tradesman was obliged to enrol himself a soldier, to secure himself from the dangerous imputation of being a King's enemy; and, undoubtedly, in the City of Dublin, O'CONNELL, surrounded as he was by the enthusiastic spirits of the day, full of ardour as he was himself, could in no other way free himself from surveillance. No;—it is by O'CONNELL's known character, by the principles that ever guided him, we must judge of his real sentiments at that trying period. He ever abhorred physical force as an instrument for the redress of civil wrong, or the attainment of political rights; and the sentiment he so often expressed in latter times—namely, "that he would "accept of no social amelioration at the cost of a single "drop of blood," was dictated by the same religious principles which guided him when he came from College, and when he first entered public life. This is not the place to discuss the soundness of this doctrine, or to point to the exceptions that would justify other maxims. We simply refer to it here, as a proof of the constitutional and peaceful principles which actuated O'CONNELL during the ferment of 1798. Indeed, it is well known to those who recollect Dublin at the time, that he not only held aloof from the revolutionists, from a hatred of their anti-religious and physical-force principles, but wherever he had influence amongst young friends at the Bar, and in society, he endeavoured to dissipate the wild notions which were then carrying them into the vortex. His views, however, do not appear in other respects to have been much directed to political matters, for he was engaged zealously in the pursuit of an arduous profession, in which he was from the commencement uniformly successful.

It is stated that his fees amounted to three hundred pounds the first year he was called to the bar, and that this dawning success continued increasing up to the latest period of his professional practice, when, called on by his country, he relinquished it. It is curious, that the first case in which he distinguished himself was at the Cork Assizes, and his last memorable display at the bar was in that City. The first was the case of a relative of his, CHARLES CONNELL, Esq., now of Clover-hill, near Cork. This gentleman had at the time just come of age, and having discovered that his Guardians had made leases of a portion of his property, to execute which they had no power, he brought an ejectment for non-title against the lessees. During the record consequent on this proceeding, HARRY DEANE GRADY, who was Counsel for the Defendant, used very harsh language towards Mr. CONNELL for the course he had adopted. Mr. CONNELL's spirit could not stand that insult: and watching his opportunity outside the Court, and regardless of the lawyer's privilege, he horse-whipped Mr. GRADY. The transaction was brought under the notice of the Judge. Mr. O'CONNELL defended his friend in so masterly a manner that the young gentleman escaped, while the Counsellor's defence gave the first impulse to his professional advancement. The last trial from which he acquired great fame as a lawyer was, what is familiarly called "the Doneraile conspiracy", in 1839. These celebrated proceedings will be the subject of subsequent remark in their proper place.

Though the Catholics as a body did not press forward their claims on Parliament after 1797—as individuals some of them took a prominent part in opposing the Ministerial intrigues to promote the Union. O'CONNELL was amongst them. It is true that, owing to the promises

of PITT, which were afterwards violated, and the professions of GRENVILLE, which in some degree were sincere, the Irish Catholics were unfortunately quiescent during the agitation of that momentous question: and in expectation of receiving as an equivalent, unconditional Emancipation, abandoned their country, and allowed PITT to perpetrate without opposition a wholesale robbery on Ireland. O'CONNELL, however, true to his principles, and sincere in his love of fatherland, opposed with energy, as far as a Catholic Barrister could, the Union. We find his name amongst those of others of his profession, who were present at a meeting of the Bar, convened for the purpose of publicly denouncing the Union as a measure pregnant with disastrous consequences to the country. His first speech on the subject was as lofty in its tone—as defiant, as full of force and reasoning, though limited in extent, as any of his more famous efforts.

After the Union, the Catholics relying on the pledges of PITT, refrained from pressing their claims upon the Legislature. A reluctance to impede the political views of their supposed friends, always prevailed amongst the Managers of Catholic affairs in those days. They never looked at the justice of their claims, and the paramount obligation which rested on them to persevere determinedly and unceasingly in seeking the restitution of their political as well as personal rights. They were deceived by PITT. He cajoled them into his views respecting the Union, holding out the hope of complete Emancipation. He represented to them, that, however anxious he was for their elevation into political equality, without the agency of an imperial legislature he could never effect his object—that the Irish legislature was inimical to their claims, and even the most spirited and

patriotic amongst their countrymen were not favourable to Catholic Emancipation—that from an Irish parliament, corrupt and prejudiced as it was, the Catholics could expect nothing, and that it was therefore palpably their interest to acquiesce in the scheme of establishing an Imperial Legislature. PITT also obtained the sanction of the Catholic Hierarchy, to allow the Crown some control over the appointment of the Catholic Prelates, as will appear by the following Resolution passed by them in 1799—namely—"That, in the appointment of the Pre-"lates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees "within the kingdom, such interference of Government "as may enable it to be satisfied with the loyalty of the "person appointed, is just and ought to be agreed to." This is, it is true, a very vague resolution. But, unquestionably, it smacks strongly of the VETO. Dr. DOYLE, in his evidence before the Lords' Committee in 1825, endeavoured to shew that it was merely an expression of willingness on the part of the Hierarchy, that the Crown should be satisfied of the loyalty of so influential a dignitary as a Catholic Prelate. But, surely, the Oath of Allegiance taken by a minister of God was, and ought to have been considered, ample security. There could have been no interference on the part of the Crown without imminent danger to the Catholic religion; and even O'CONNELL himself, when, at a subsequent period, he tried to frame a safe provision of the kind, utterly failed. Whether PITT was hypocritical and deceitful in his promises regarding the Catholic Question, or really intended to carry throuh g the Imperia Legislature the measure he proposed, it is now difficult to ascertain with any certainty. We are inclined strongly to believe he was sincere: but that he was overruled by the unbending obstinacy of GEORGE the THIRD. PITT's expression in reference to this

subject was "Right is that which is independent of circum-"stances—expediency that which includes the considera-"tion of circumstances, and is wholly governed by them "and dependent on them."—He denied ever having given a pledge: but admitted that, in his opinion, Emancipation could be more safely granted after than before the Union.

Mr. CANNING, who was his warm adherent, and seceded from the government with him, always maintained this view of the case. He undoubtedly knew his opinions well, and always boasted that they corresponded intimately with his own. Lord GRENVILLE also seceded from the Government with him, and was always to a certain extent a friend to the Catholic claims. It is said, on the other hand, that Mr. PITT, in 1801, gave up the Government; not because he was disappointed in his promises to Catholic Ireland not being realized, but because the Continental war was disheartening:—and that he made the Catholic Question the honorable pretence for retirement. It is certainly rather singular, if he retired from the Government on so vital a measure of internal policy as the Emancipation of over three millions of British subjects, that he should have so strongly supported the administration of Mr. ADDINGTON, who was pledged to the King never to countenance the admission of Catholics into the Constitution, and that he should afterwards have returned to power, not to redeem his pledges, to which he boasted he still adhered, but with the distinct understanding that his Majesty's failing health was not to be rendered worse by the agitation of the obnoxious question. PITT's resignation so immediately after the Union, viewed after his resumption of power in 1804, certainly looked as if he wished to avoid the imputation of dishonour, without at the same time relinquishing all hopes of governing

at a future period. His retirement created great consternation amongst that section of the Catholic Body who consented to the Union at his solicitation. They had been encouraged by him to entertain the most sanguine hopes, and when they found him actively co-operating with their determined enemies, something like disgust at his supposed treachery pervaded Ireland. Yet, from whatever cause it proceeded—whether it was that the Catholics were influenced by the cajolery of Lord CORNWALLIS, or by the fearful recollections of 1798, when even whispers of discontent were dangerous—whether influenced by the temporizing Government of Lord HARDWICK, who, while he endeavoured by an appearance of impartiality to allay their fears, and mitigate the miseries of their condition, openly professed the doctrine, that the Catholics from the nature of their dogmas, were unfit for civil liberty—whether it was from one or all these causes that the Catholics remained quiescent, it is difficult to say; but certain it is, that during the retirement of PITT, they never pressed their claims on the attention of Parliament. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act—the breaking out of EMMETT'S rebellion—the alarm then existing in the public mind of a foreign invasion, and an ever-enduring apathy on the part of the Catholic leaders, prevented any public effort from being made from 1803 to 1805, either in Dublin or elsewhere, in respect to their political position. But, even at this early period of his life, and amidst the disasters of the time, O'CONNELL was not idle. He was then, as he said himself, three-and-twenty years afterwards, actively engaged in the cause, as far as the tardiness and apathy of others would permit him.

On Mr. PITT'S recal to power, the spirits of the Catholic body again became buoyant with hope, for they could never entirely divest themselves of the impression that he

would not sacrifice his own fame by the non-redemption of his solemn pledge. But, as they were fully aware of the scruples of the Sovereign respecting the Coronation Oath—of the implied understanding under which PITT again accepted office—of the prevailing influence of Mr. ADDINGTON, and of the jealousy which existed in the King's mind against Mr. PITT, in consequence of his supposed pledge, the Catholics were unwilling to press their claims. They met in Dublin towards the end of the year 1804, when, after some warm discussion, it was agreed again to defer the consideration of the subject; and the meeting adjourned until after the assembling of Parliament in January. They met in the private house of JAMES RYAN; their proceedings were not made public from dread of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the hostility to their claims of the then Government. At the adjourned meeting in February, 1805, it was attempted by the Aristocracy to prevent their petition being forwarded; but being vigorously opposed by O'CONNELL, though then a young politician, they were defeated. The King's Speech to both Houses was a cause of great disappointment, for the claims of the Catholics were not even alluded to. They again, as we stated, assembled pursuant to adjournment, in February, 1805, when they deputed Lord FINGALL, Sir THOMAS FRENCH, Sir EDWARD BELLEW, DENIS SCULLY, and R. N. RYAN, to present to Mr. PITT the petition to Parliament then agreed to, with a request that he would take charge of it in the House of Commons. This, Mr. PITT, after several interviews with the deputation and various negociations, refused, stating to them again, that he did not look upon their claims as a matter of right or justice, but that the granting of them, in his mind, was merely a measure of expediency;—that into the consideration of expediency entered most intimately

the time of agitating the question ;—and that there were various reasons which pressed upon him the absolute necessity of deferring the discussion of this perplexing subject. To the mortification and chagrin of the deputation, he then positively refused to take charge of the Petition. This obliged Lord FINGALL and his associates, under the instructions of the meeting from which their appointment emanated, to intrust their cause to the advocacy of Mr. Fox in the Commons, and of Lord GRENVILLE in the Lords.

On the 25th March, 1805, this, the first Catholic petition to the Imperial Legislature, was presented by these two distinguished statesmen, and introduced with but very few observations—its further consideration being deferred to the 9th May following. The petition is very long, and exceedingly well drawn up, considering the period in which it was written ; but there is none of that boldness of thought or feeling in it, or that energy of expression which characterized some later productions of a similar kind.—It contains a recapitulation of the Oath of Allegiance which Catholics were permitted to take since 1774, and sets forth a statement of the various grievances under which they laboured. It was signed by one hundred noblemen and gentlemen, and the seventieth name to it is DANIEL O'CONNELL. It would have been unbecoming at that time to seek the co-operation of the thousands and tens of thousands of the people. The consequence was, these Petitions were disregarded. It was not until O'CONNELL began to assume a prominent and commanding position amongst the Catholic Body, and had rallied the people about him, that a whole nation thundered for admission at the gates of the constitution, and ultimately burst them open. The first discussion on the Catholic claims was in May, 1805, and notwithstanding the wishes and efforts of the ultra Tories, the discussion was public,

and not with closed doors as was recommended. Fox's speech was a masterpiece of philosophical reasoning and deduction—PITT's was a hypocritical display, and turned a good deal on the distinction between natural right and expediency; and in the course of his observations, he hinted pretty broadly that the conscientious GEORGE was unfavourable to the consideration of the question. GRATTAN had been returned for one of Lord FITZWILLIAM's boroughs to this Parliament, for the purpose of advocating the Irish measure. His characteristic eloquence made an evident impression on the House, and at the commencement of his observations, his spirited and well-timed reply to Dr. DUIGENAN, was rapturously received. The motion for going into Committee to consider the petition was, however, lost by a majority of 212; and it met the same fate in the Lords, notwithstanding the very powerful and eloquent appeal of Lord GRENVILLE, who introduced the motion. After the return of the deputation from London, the old Catholic Committee was dissolved, and a new one appointed; but so depressed were they by their recent defeat, that they appear to have been inactive during the few remaining months that intervened to the death of Mr. PITT. On his demise, Fox and the Whigs came in; but unfortunately the King's mind was unaltered, and though Mr. Fox expressed himself ready to advocate their claims at the risk of quitting his Majesty's service, he advised the Catholics to refrain from urging them at that moment. Mr. Fox expressed his sentiments on this subject in his place in the House of Commons, 11th March, 1806, in the following words:—"I cannot hesi-
"tate to state, that if any gentleman were to ask my
"advice as to the propriety of bringing forward the
"Catholic claims at present, I should recommend him to
"take into consideration the prospect of success, and the

" great probability of succeeding this year or the next. " and at the same time to bear in mind the issue of last " year's discussion." In his celebrated letter, dated in February, 1806, addressed to JAMES RYAN—celebrated from the unauthorized character and suspicious nature of the correspondence on Mr. RYAN's part, which produced so much discord and confusion amongst the Catholic body at that time—in this letter Mr. Fox says, " I strongly " recommend suspending the petition for a time. If, " however, it should, notwithstanding our wishes, " be presented, I will support it with all my power; but " the divisions of last year, and the opinions which have " been industriously propagated in this country, make " me despair of success, unless we could have active as- " sistance from a *quarter* in which to look for passive " acquiescence is probably more than we can reasonably " expect. If we are beat, which we certainly shall be, " and if the fall of our ministry should follow, which may " be the case, you run the risk of a ministry being form- " ed on the avowed principle of defeating your claims, " and thus you would put all hope further off than ever."

The Catholics, acting on advice, coming from the high-minded and venerated advocate of their rights, and not wishing to embarrass his friendly Government, came, after a good deal of discussion and disunion, to the resolution of putting off petitioning the legislature for that year. It is impossible, at this distance of time, and under the vastly different circumstances in which we live, to say whether, at that period, it was a judicious resolution. Judging from an experience, of which they could not, of course, have had the advantage, we should say, they ought to have persevered in seeking constitutionally for their rights, without reference to expediency; for the subsequent history of Ireland has demonstrated that agitation—con-

stant, unceasing agitation, was the only means of enforcing English attention to their claims. Even at that early period, O'Connell was amongst the very few who, taking an enlarged, and, as it were, a prophetic view of the question, was in favor of sessional petitions: but so great was the confidence of the Catholic body in Mr. Fox, and so ignorant were they of the advantages of perpetual application for their rights, that they too readily acquiesced in the wishes of Government. However much we may condemn that policy now, it is impossible to say that we would not, in 1806, have done likewise. At that period, the same self-created authority on the part of the Aristocratic few, and the same natural jealousy on the part of the great body of the Catholics, which broke up the old Committee in 1792—which produced so much dissension at various subsequent periods before the Union, and which, as we shall see, was in after years the cause of unceasing, vehement, and angry discussion—the same elements were in full and active operation in 1806, in producing disunion amongst the sections of the Catholic leaders. This, in a great measure, was caused by not giving publicity to their proceedings, and the necessity that then existed, in consequence of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, of the leaders meeting in private houses, where, of course, no person could feel himself entitled to come without invitation. It was this limited Committee, presuming to act for five millions of Catholics, that naturally excited such angry jealousy. This feeling was additionally excited by the notion which then became prevalent, that Mr. James Ryan, in whose house these meetings were held, and who was a self-elected and unauthorized secretary to the body, had actually compromised with Mr. Fox the interests of the Catholic

people of Ireland for his own private ends. The opinion arose from the nature of the correspondence, to which we have already referred, between Mr. RYAN and Mr. FOX; and which originated in an application from Mr. RYAN for some post of consequence for himself;—an application it appears he was induced to make to Mr. Fox solely in consequence of his connexion with the Catholic Body; for his acquaintance with FOX commenced in 1805, when he formed one of the Catholic Deputation to London, and was continued under the impression that he was Secretary to the Catholic Committee. The discovery of this correspondence produced a violent ferment amongst the whole Catholic population. Several private meetings were as usual held on the subject, to which, it appears that none but RYAN's friends were invited, and which were evidently very partial assemblages, from the fact that Mr. KEOGH, the acknowledged father of the Catholic body, had not been invited. The consequence was, a general meeting of the Catholics in Dublin, at which the following resolutions, after two days' debating, were carried :—

"RESOLVED—That the holding of meetings at any "private house for the general concerns of the Catholic "Body, is unfavourable to the freedom of discussion, and "inadequate to the collection of public sentiment."

"RESOLVED—That the last meeting at Marlborough-"street, (at Mr. RYAN's house), stands accused of be-"ing brought about by private invitation and partial "selection, at once degrading to the honourable course "of our proceedings, derogatory from the dignity, and "injurious to the interests of the Catholics of Ireland, "and that it is the right of the Catholics to inquire and "determine, whether or how far they have been deluded "or betrayed."

This was the last meeting of the Catholics this year. The anxiety to avoid embarrassing the administra-

tion, and the opinions that were circulated of the illegality, under the Convention Act, of their meetings, combined to induce the Catholics to give up public meetings, after they had addressed the Duke of BEDFORD on his assuming the Government of Ireland. We take leave of this body by observing, that the individuals of whom it was composed, and who were thus engaged in presenting the address, were, as it will be seen, in after years by that act qualified to be members of a far more stirring organization—THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE.

O'CONNELL does not appear to have been prominently mixed up with those proceedings. He undoubtedly felt as deeply as these who spoke at that meeting: but as yet he did not come forward conspicuously in the political arena. But we are fast approaching the period when he was destined to assume the leadership of the Catholics. We will from that epoch be enabled to trace the correct and statesmanlike views he took of the political condition of his Country, and the perseverance and energy with which he pursued the darling object of his ambition—the freedom of his Countrymen—in the teeth of obloquy and abuse, and notwithstanding the hatred of his enemies and the desertion of his friends.

In the meantime, and during the suspension of the Catholic proceedings—we may revert to the private and professional career of O'CONNELL, after his return from the Temple in 1798. It appears that at the very commencement of his profession, he got rapidly into business. In the very first year, as we have already stated, his fee-book exhibited a professional income of over £300, and this continued every year increasing.

His great business was in the Criminal Courts, where his unrivalled powers of cross-examination were brought

into constant play. It is universally admitted, that no lawyer ever possessed his peculiar tact in that department of the profession. He appeared, as it were, to have influence over the secret thoughts and feelings of the witness under examination. His *forte* was an intimate knowledge of the characters of his countrymen—of their habits and peculiarities—and this knowledge he brought to bear in his profession in a most happy and successful manner. His habit was always to commence his cross-examination with a matter apparently unconnected with the trial—and having succeeded in confounding and perplexing the object of his wit and humour, he turned quickly to the matter elicited in the direct examination. He continued his cross-examination with keenness and sagacity, watching for a discrepancy in the evidence, and the moment he discovered that he had involved the witness in a maze of contradictions, he turned to some other subject instantly, so as not to allow him to collect his scattered senses. He then returned to the attack, and succeeded in establishing in the minds both of Judge and Jury, doubts of the veracity of even a truth-telling witness. Thus did he often succeed in rescuing an unfortunate prisoner from the gallows, and the consequence was, he soon became on the Munster Circuit, the favourite lawyer in the Criminal Court. It was difficult for him, even at an advanced period of his professional career, to exhibit often those powers as an advocate, which were afterwards so finely developed: for the silk gown that encased inferior merit gave a precedence to Protestant lawyers of even younger standing, and he rarely had an opportunity of addressing a Jury. This probably induced him to cultivate with more ardour a talent for cross-examination, which was unquestionably unrivalled, and which was displayed by him at a very early period.

It exhibited itself very strongly in a trial on the Munster Circuit, in which the question at issue was, the validity of a will, by which property to some amount was devised, and which the plaintiffs alleged was forged. The subscribing witnesses swore that the deceased signed the will, while *life was in him*—a common mode of expression among the humbler classes. The evidence was going strong in favor of the Will—at last O'CONNELL undertook to cross-examine one of the witnesses.—He shrewdly observed that he was particular in swearing several times that "life was in the testator, when the will was signed," and that he saw his hand sign it. "By virtue of your oath was he alive," said Mr. O'CONNELL. "By virtue of my oath, *life was in him*;" and this, the witness repeated several times. Now, continued O'CONNELL, with great solemnity, and assuming an air of inspiration—"I call on you, in presence of your Maker, before whom "you must one day be judged for the evidence you give "here to-day, I solemnly ask—and answer me at your "peril—was it not a live fly that was in the dead man's "mouth, when his hand was placed on the Will?" The witness fell instantaneously on his knees, and acknowledged it was so, and that the fly was placed in the mouth of the deceased, to enable the witnesses to swear *that life was in him.* The intuitive quickness with which O'CONNELL conjectured the cause of the fellow's always swearing that "life was in him," obtained for him the admiration of every one in Court, and very materially assisted in securing his professional success. His professional knowledge at this early period was very considerable, and shewed itself with distinction whenever he had an opportunity of addressing the Bench, on any disputed point of law. In fact, from the very commencement, he had contracted a habit of application which he never altered—and his abhorrence of

dissipation and late hours, together with a vigorous constitution, account for his prodigious endurance of fatigue.

Though Mr. O'Connell's mind was constantly, even amidst the gaieties incident to his years, fixed upon his political condition and on his profession, still the gaieties in which in unmarried life he mingled, were not consistent with an assiduous pursuit either of politics or of the law; and therefore, independent of the domestic happiness it secured him, we think it most fortunate for himself and his country, that early in life he had formed an honourable and ardent attachment, which terminated in his marriage in 1802. The object of his choice was, Mary, the daughter of a highly respectable physician in Tralee, Dr. O'Connell—and a cousin of his own. He married without the consent of his uncle, who thought, unless he got a large fortune, his nephew should devote himself alone to his profession. However, the old gentleman was soon reconciled to the marriage. Mrs. O'Connell was an exceedingly amiable strong-minded lady. Mr. O'Connell, it was said, was, during her life, guided very much by her advice. There was between them a strong enduring attachment. O'Connell, in the midst of all his cares, was ever cheerful at home, and enjoyed unalloyed happiness in his wife's society, and in that of their children; and though from his professional cares he could not spare much time to mingle in the agreeable society for which Merrion Square house was remarkable; still the moments he snatched from his study, and passed in the drawing room, were moments of exquisite gratification to the friends, young and old, of both sexes, who loved to listen to his rapid sallies of wit, his good-humoured hits, and playful anecdotes. It was at such moments he appeared

in the interesting light that has been so often described by strangers, nay, by political antagonists, who met him in society, or in the quiet of the domestic circle, either at Darrynane or Merrion Square. With a few select friends, to whom he could freely open his thoughts, his conversation was truly enlivening and instructive. His well stored and ready memory never failed him: and living as he did amidst all the most stirring scenes of Ireland's history, and mingling as he used to do with the bright spirits that threw a lustre round the Irish Bar, he always had a fund of most delightful anecdote at his disposal. The writer carries back his own memory, with painful interest, to treats which he has enjoyed of this description, when the Liberator was in the hey-day of his glory, and buoyant with health and spirits, and when he who listened to him and imbibed rich stores of knowledge from his conversation, was, too, a happier man. But such is life. It has its bright points and its shadows; but the clouds preponderate. It is singular, however, except in the form of personal anecdote, that Mr. O'Connell was not fond of political after dinner discussion. He rather avoided them, for he disliked arguments and discussions at the festive board. Though Mr. O'Connell's children, particularly his daughters and daughters-in-law, made every effort to smooth the loss he in after life sustained by the death of Mrs. O'Connell, there is no question that the happy days of domestic enjoyment, were during her life, for he deeply respected and loved her. But we are anticipating.

We recur to the course of events. Fox died in September, 1806. His death produced much and grievous disappointment in the minds of the Irish Catholics. He was a sincere and ardent friend of human freedom; and was attached from feeling and principle to the political inte-

rests of Ireland. His noble disinterestedness in offering to advocate the Catholic claims, in the midst of the difficulties that surrounded him as the minister of an anti-emancipation KING, must have obtained for him the gratitude of a generous and confiding people; at the same time that they unwillingly acquiesced in his policy of, out of delicacy to the conscientious scruples of the KING, postponing their claims to an indefinite period. During the whole of 1806, they, out of respect to him, did not urge forward their petition; but when the object of their attachment and veneration had passed from the political strifes and disappointments of this life, the Catholics of Ireland had no longer any motives to further postpone the discussion of their claims. Accordingly, in the month of January, 1807, notwithstanding the efforts and earnest entreaties of the Whig Government, indications were exhibited, on the part of the Catholic Committee, of an intention to press their petition. They had several preliminary meetings on the subject. A deputation from the first meeting was appointed to wait upon the Irish Government, with the view of ascertaining, whether the present liberal administration intended to bring forward a measure for the relief of His Majesty's Catholic subjects during the approaching Session. At a subsequent meeting, this deputation detailed the particulars of these interviews with the Secretary, and Lord Chancellor PONSONBY. By these Ministers, though they were politely received, no hopes were held out, that the Government intended to bring before Parliament any general measure for the benefit of the Irish Catholics. The Government, whatever may have been their private and personal views, were absolutely coerced not to urge on the King the consideration of this, to him, most hateful Question. The consequence was, the administration of its advocates served

rather to retard than to accelerate the measure of Emancipation. It is, now-a-days, by no means doubtful, what course they ought to have adopted; whether they ought to have accepted office on the condition of quiescence on this subject, or whether it would not have been more befitting their dignity and characters, and more conducive to the interests of Catholic Ireland, to have retired from the Administration, rather than to have continued struggling against the feeling of antipathy in the King's mind to that great principle of civil and religious liberty, which was the basis of their own political creed. But, time accomplished what their fore-sight ought to have anticipated; and in retiring from office a short time afterwards, though it was in some degree satisfactory to reflect, that they lost political power from an adherence to their principles, yet it must have been painful to feel, that they were unceremoniously dismissed, instead of their having assumed a more dignified position, and thrown up the seals on the King's refusal to acquiesce in the leading object of their political career, namely, Catholic Emancipation.

The Irish Government not having held out hopes that the question would be ushered into parliament under the patronage of ministers, it was determined to assemble an Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland; and accordingly, a Committee of twenty-one was, on the 24th January, appointed to prepare a petition to be submitted to this public Aggregate Meeting. Edward Hay, Esq., was appointed Secretary. Another Committee was named to communicate with the country districts on the subject. Nicholas Purcell O'Gorman and some other gentlemen were appointed to wait upon the different Catholic Noblemen and influential gentlemen in Dublin, with a request that they should attend the

Aggregate Meeting which was to take place at D'Arcy's Hotel, in Earl-street, on the 7th February, 1807. At this meeting it was resolved to petition. The Committee named on the 24th January was confirmed, and twenty-one other gentlemen were named by the meeting, to co-operate with them in preparing the petition; making in all forty-two persons, together with the Catholic Peers and Baronets. Thus, was it necessary, in those days, to introduce by wholesale an admixture of aristocracy, to give a tone and character to their proceedings. Thus was it necessary in the former history of the Irish Catholics, to have over fifty individuals appointed to draw up petitions to the Legislature, for the acquisition of a simple right: — a feat often since effected by the unassisted efforts of single individuals. This arose from an unceasing jealousy and distrust amongst the Catholic Body, and from those ever vegetating seeds of division, that were sown from the earliest period of Catholic Politics, and which made it necessary, for their influential leaders to select persons of various shades of opinion—the daring and the timid in politics—the Vetoist and the Anti-Vetoist—to co-operate in the production of a Petition that would meet the approbation of all parties.

At this time, O'Connell began to take a conspicuous part in Catholic affairs. In fact, it was impossible, even if his years and standing allowed, that he could have done so before. In the first place, the *Habeas Corpus* Act remained suspended, from 1804 until this year, 1807 and though the administration was favourable to freedom and toleration, it was by no means willing to see the Catholics meet for the purpose of petitioning. On the contrary, it was a

source of bitter regret, and complaint, on the part of the Government, that they persevered, contrary to all their entreaties and remonstrances, to assemble publicly.—This feeling was expressed both by Lord GRENVILLE and Lord HOWICK, in their places in Parliament. In 1806, as we have seen, the Catholics, out of deference to Fox's Government, refrained from petitioning, and with the exception of the meetings—consequent upon the indiscretion of Mr. RYAN, during which, by the way, they were reminded that the Convention Act of 1793, tho' dormant, was still in existence—the Catholics were silent. In 1803, 1804, and 1805 first, under a deceitful, and then under a hostile, administration, the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act obliged them to confine their proceedings to select meetings in private houses. In 1807 it was, that O'CONNELL first had an opportunity of giving the Irish Public a foretaste of his eloquence and of his bold and daring political wisdom. We find his name amongst the celebrated Committee appointed on the 7th February, 1807; and on the seventeenth of the same month, at an adjournment of the same meeting, he delivered his first speech on Catholic affairs. At this time, Catholic politics were in a very anomalous and precarious position. Their avowed friends still held the reins of Government. The same ministers, who so ably in 1805, advocated the complete emancipation of the Catholics, and who so forcibly and eloquently demonstrated, on the one hand, the injustice, and on the other, the impolicy, of withholding from the Catholics that proudest birthright of a British subject, political freedom—these very Ministers were now timid, vacillating, and, as it were, truckling in their policy. The meetings of the Catholics had created great alarm in their minds; and, in order to induce inaction, it was by them suggested to the Irish Government, to assure the Catholics that the

administration were still their warm and attached friends. In that character they advised the Catholics not to press forward their petition, under circumstances that, as they represented, left not the slightest ground for hope of success, and at a time, too, when the agitation of the question would be followed by two results unfavourable to Catholic interests :—first, it would excite an opposition against them in England, where prejudice was still predominant ; and, secondly, it would oblige their friends to relinquish the Government into the hands of an hostile administration. In return for the forbearance thus inculcated, though it *was not to be understood as a compromise*—the Irish statute of 1793, enabling Catholics to hold Commissions in the Army in *Ireland*, was to be extended to England ; and, as O'CONNELL then expressed it—they were " to concede the privilege of shedding our " blood and sacrificing our lives in their defence." In gratitude for this mighty favor, they expected that the Catholics would discontinue their meetings, and give up all intention of approaching the Legislature with their complaints. This temporizing and undecided policy of the Whigs, produced a corresponding feeling amongst a portion of the Catholic body, particularly amongst the aristocracy; and a very strong exertion was made, and very great influence put into action, at the meeting held on the 17th Feb., 1807, at the Rotunda Rooms, to induce the Catholics to postpone the Petition, which had been already prepared by the unanimous consent of the last meeting. Lord FINGALL, who was in the chair, was evidently favourable to the views of the Government; and Lord FRENCH met the proposition for immediately adopting and forwarding the Petition, with a motion to adjourn its consideration until the sentiments of the country districts were ascertained. The attempt was de-

feated, principally by the eloquence of O'CONNELL. His speech on this occasion is replete with that sound discretion and strong judgment—that masculine thought and those bursts of patriotic sentiment, which afterwards distinguished his more celebrated and maturer productions. In one part of it, in reply to the statement, that to forward the Petition would be an injury to the empire, he asks, in a burst of characteristic eloquence:—"What! was the tender of the service of Five millions "of subjects, *an injury to the empire*? Was the total "devotion of their talents, their property, their persons "and their blood, an injury to the empire? Was en-"larging the pale of the Constitution, so as to embrace "myriads of her children, whose loyalty and unshaken "fidelity had been solemnly acknowledged by the Legis-"lature, an injury to the empire?" In the same speech he enters into an able argument to shew how ridiculous it was to imagine that the Catholics were desirous of disturbing the Act of Settlement—an Act that, in truth, guaranteed their own property, quite as much as it did that of their Protestant countrymen. There are two passages in this able and eloquent appeal, which we are anxious to copy, as they demonstrate how much his feelings, his political opinions, and his policy at that time coincided with his views and sentiments at a much later period. After dilating upon the feelings, the prejudices, and the character of the English people, he thus continued—"They, (the English people) cannot be so "strangely mistaken. What remains to be done? "Why,—to call for and provoke, without the de-"lay of an hour, the discussion of the subject. Ex-"pediency as well as right, present policy and eternal "justice require our emancipation. Let us then discuss "the question. Let us demonstrate these truisms. Let

"us repeat, calmly but firmly repeat, our arguments. "Let us renew our Petitions, until bigotry and preju- "dice shall fade before the meek torch of reason and "truth. There is one, it may be called, adventitious "point of view, in which I would place the subject be- "fore the English nation. I tell them it was by our "Union with them that Emancipation was delayed.— "Had the Irish Parliament remained, our Protestant "countrymen, would long since have conceded what "remained to be granted. The Union interfered— "it swept away with rude violence, amidst the wreck "of the country, every opportunity of kindness and "liberality on the one hand—every occasion for grati- "tude and affection on the other. It was a measure in "this consequence most to be deplored;—but all its "consequences were deplorable—the devastation and "ruin of Ireland had been foretold of it;—

"Ne'er were phrophetic sounds so full of woe."

"Yet it had exceeded in calamities, not only the belief "of those who listened, but the fancy of those who pre- "dicted; it was a small but wretched consolation, that "no Catholic sat in the Parliament that voted away the "country."

"Lord FINGALL begged to suggest that the Union had "no connexion with the subject before the meeting."

Mr. O'CONNELL would submit to any suggestion from "the chair; but his feelings on that disastrous measure "had borne him away. It was impossible for him to stand "over the grave of his country without shedding on it "a tear. However, the Union appeared to him to have "some connexion with the subject in debate. The "English people were not ignorant that Emancipation "was the promise of the Union—but this was an argu- "ment he would not use. He never would consent to

"the sale of his country;—he despised the man who "would accept of any boon as its price." After alluding to the supposed obstacle stated to exist *in a certain quarter*, (meaning the King)—he continues—"Away then "with all the objections to the presenting a petition; "there should be no delay. The prisoner counts by "hours;—he who would hug his chains even for a day, "may well seem not to merit freedom. And in truth, "could or would any thing be more fatal to the Catholic "Body, than that their proceedings, solemnly and deliber-"ately resolved upon, should be retarded by a species of "unnatural contempt. The present administration had "emancipated Negroes; and, I would say, they had "done their duty by the Catholics if, instead of enabling "his Majesty, by a Clause in the Mutiny Bill, to exer-"cise his prerogative, by appointing from amongst us "Generals and Admirals, they should introduce a Clause "in the Slave Bill, to raise Catholics to the rank of Free-"men. This is all I require—it cannot be attained to "soon."

This speech produced a very considerable sensation at the meeting, and the result was, it was decided to forward the Petition. At a subsequent meeting, it was determined, after a warm and angry debate, to send it through Lord FINGALL to Mr. GRATTAN for presentation, and not entrust it to delegates, as in 1805. To him then, as will be seen, must we trace the dismissal of the temporizing Whigs. The cause was advanced thereby. In the Cabinet, they never would have achieved the triumph of their own principles. As his MAJESTY'S opposition, they did good service. They assisted the agitation, by making Catholic Emancipation their *cheval de bataille* in Parliament; and thus, though then imperceptible to ordi-

nary minds, did O'Connell rightly judge, that in the long run, the bold, uncompromising policy was the best.

O'Connell's speech on that occasion was, as we have said, remarkable for its eloquence. It was unprepared and forcible; but we look in vain through it, and his other early displays, for that ready wit, that playful ridicule, that facility of introducing appropriate anecdotes, that buoyant humour with which he flung out his well-timed and ready sallies, and that unsparing and successful sarcasm, for which, in his later career, his addresses were so remarkable. O'Connell's manner of delivery at this period, too, was different; his person was not then so portly or commanding; there was not that bold and dashing manner about him, which added so much to his delivery. But the seeds of right-thinking and patriotic feeling, were then implanted in his breast; and they continued to vegetate and mature, in the midst of difficulties and disappointment; until they ripened into those high and ennobling characteristics of his great mind, which are immortalized in the memory of his country, and will make his name live "with his Land's language."

The determined opposition of George the Third to the claims of the Catholic Body, had generated a weak and vacillating policy in the Whig Ministry, in consequence of their endeavours to reconcile their principles and their professions towards Ireland, with a desire of preserving the Royal confidence. Hence, their exertions to prevent the Catholics persevering in the prosecution of their claims—hence their promise to the leaders of that body, through their Irish Secretary, to extend the provisions of the Irish Act, of 1793, to England, and to open commissions in the Navy as well as in the Army, to

that persuasion, without any limitation whatever as regarded rank. All this was put forward in the hope that the Catholics would give over meeting, and relinquish their intention of petitioning. It may be that the Whigs did not mean these concessions as a compromise with the Catholics, and they were very anxious to impress this upon them; but, surely, it had something like the appearance of an attempt to produce such an understanding, when the Irish Executive were in communication with the Catholic Committee on the subject, and when their Secretary, ELLIOTT, was actually obliged to send over for fresh instructions and information, to satisfy the following inquiry on the part of the Catholics.—"Whether Catholics, under the contemplated Bill, might be General Officers." The consequence of this timid and compromising policy was speedily developed. Lord HOWICK, afterwards Earl GREY, introduced, shortly after, the promised Bill, extending the provisions of the Irish Statute to England, and giving the Catholics further privileges; confirming the communication made to the Catholic Committee, and dispensing altogether with religious tests. This gave rise to a lengthened and animated debate. The proposition was violently opposed by PERCIVAL, as the leader of the Tory party; but the Parliament was then favourable to the views of the Minister, and leave was given to bring in the Bill.

It appears Lord SIDMOUTH, who was a member of the administration, and who had been, even in PITT's time, the KING's secret adviser against the Catholics, gave in the Cabinet, strenuous opposition to this project of his Colleagues; but having been outvoted in his views—he resigned his office. This brought the subject again under the consideration of the KING, and through the instrumen-

tality of one or two leading Prelates, the ministry were forced to relinquish the further extension of civil Rights to Catholics, and the total abolition of tests in the Army. They confined themselves solely to the introduction of a Bill similar in extent and purpose to the Irish Act of 1793—the KING expressing his readiness to comply with the just expectations of his Irish Subjects, which the Act of Union created; but at the same time evincing his determination to adhere to the Test and Corporation Acts. Such were the Newspaper *on dits* of that day; and they were in no way contradicted either by Lord GRENVILLE or HOWICK, in their subsequent explanations. This arrangement brought back Lord SIDMOUTH to the Cabinet: yet matters in the Royal closet remained unsettled. The KING continued determined not to extend to England even the limited privileges of the Act of 1793; and Ministers were forced to abandon it—to the great and manifest mortification of the Irish People. Then, the hostile prejudices of GEORGE the THIRD, were not to be conquered; he was determined either to force from his Ministers a *pledge*—aye, and a written one, too—never again to mention to him the hateful subject of Catholic Emancipation:—or, if they refused, to expel them from his Councils. In truth, his Majesty had already subjected them in the face of the Empire to many and serious humiliations. No administration can be strong, that has not the confidence of the Sovereign; and the Ministry became subject, in consequence, to the ridicule, and ribald jests of the ultra party. But, certainly, nothing could equal the indignity of requiring from the responsible advisers of the Crown, a written pledge never again, under any variation of circumstances, or events, to suggest alteration in the existing Laws affecting the political condition of five millions

of People. In this light was it considered not only by the Ministers themselves, but even by some of the opposers of the Catholics. The Ministers determined to resist this unconstitutional proceeding; and in the eleventh hour, they had the magnanimity to put on a bold demeanour. They refused the KING's request; and in order to give a more marked character to this novel State Drama, they retained the seals of office, until they received their dismissal for constitutional disobedience! They were dismissed in April, and the PERCEVAL and LIVERPOOL administration—the sworn, bitter, and unceasing enemies of Catholic Ireland—were brought into power. The War-whoop of religious intolerance was sounded—the cries of "Church in Danger," and "No Popery," were sent round the country, and encouraged by the PERCEVAL Government. Even then, (1807) in England, the movement made some progress; but in Ireland, the season for religious rancour had not yet set in. Declarations on the part of Protestants in favour of their Catholic countrymen, were then in vogue; and that bitter and unrelenting hostility, which so soon afterwards exhibited itself, was limited in its operation and its influence. What good, therefore, did the Whigs effect by their time-serving Policy, and their endeavours to repress an universal and burning desire for freedom amongst the Catholic Population of Ireland? They effected no good whatever; but they produced this lamentable evil—they generated division amongst the Catholic Body. Their influence induced many well-intentioned patriots to deviate from that determined course of action, that steady perseverance, and untiring demand, which after events proved to be the best and soundest policy. So unconscious were the Catholics at that time of their moral strength—so ignorant were they of the value of unanimity and com-

bined co-operation—so unwilling were they to confide in themselves, to trust their success to their own organization, and to the development of their own moral powers, that they—aye, even the most influential amongst them, easily acquiesced in the suggestion of their Parliamentary advocates, not to press forward their claims, lest it may weaken the influence, and raise up a cry in England against the Ministry of their Whig friends. Even after the Whigs had been expelled, and while yet there were hopes that Parliament would not be dissolved, and that Parliamentary majorities would carry them back into power, this same policy was pursued. But the success of the "Church in danger" cry, settled that matter, and Parliament was dissolved. In the interim, GRATTAN's influence was exerted to prevent the Catholics from pressing forward their claims in the teeth of an anti-Irish administration and the anti-Popery cry. GRATTAN's interference was successful; the Catholics withdrew their Petition that year. We are unwilling to doubt the soundness of this policy, recommended as it was by the honesty of PONSONBY and the patriotism of GRATTAN, and supported as it was amongst the Catholics, by the untiring zeal of JOHN KEOGH, and by the judgment of O'CONNELL. But it decidedly was very much reprehended by the ultra Emancipationists at that time; and we believe that not long after, it was pronounced impolitic, by even those who in April, 1807, were abettors of Mr. GRATTAN's views. Anonymous publications appeared in the Newspapers at that time, abusing Mr. KEOGH for his political tergiversation, as it was deemed; and Mr. O'CONNELL came in for a share of animadversion, on account of the support he gave Mr. KEOGH in his views on that occasion. Yet it appears that the Catholic meeting in April, 1807, at which Mr. KEOGH proposed his resolution of

postponement, was nearly unanimous in assenting to his proposition. This may be accounted for by reasons altogether distinct from the merits of the question itself.—The Whigs had been driven from office on account of advocating the Catholic claims, and at such a moment it would appear ungrateful in the Irish Catholics to reject their advice and good offices. "Let us not," said O'CONNELL, on that occasion, "by rejecting the honest "advice they have given us, afford their adversaries an "opportunity of saying to them:—See your situation? "You have forfeited the favor and confidence of your "Sovereign, and you expected to stand upon those of "the people for whom you have sacrificed both; but you "have been disappointed in your expectations. They "have seen you hurled from the Cabinet, for an adherence to their cause; they have consulted you, it is "true, but only for the purpose of rejecting your ad-"vice with every species of contempt. It is they who "have put you down indeed, and put you so far down, "that you can never more recover." To avoid such taunts and such imputations, was one motive for the unanimous adoption of Mr. KEOGH's proposition. GRATTAN too, at that time was in high popularity, and he had advised the discontinuance of Petitions; that was another reason. Mr. KEOGH, who introduced the proposition in a masterly and eloquent speech, possessed for many years the unbounded confidence of his Catholic Countrymen.—He had been the zealous promoter of every effort made from 1779, by the Catholic body, to free themselves constitutionally from the galling thraldom of the penal laws. Through his instrumentality, in a great measure, was the Bar opened, in 1792, to Catholics. The resolution succeeded, because it was moved by "this venerable and ve-

nerated man," to quote from O'CONNELL again, on the same occasion—" who may be well styled the Parent of the " Catholic claims to emancipation; whose voice was in " his youth, raised from the dust to which with the rest " of his communion he was levelled, by the black cloud " of penal statutes, and who now, in the full maturity of " years, exercises the unabated vigour of his understand- " ing in the same cause."

The proposition being brought forward by so tried a patriot, was the principal reason for its unanimous adoption; and we may observe, that even at this early period of his career, O'CONNELL's eloquence had great effect in producing concord on a matter of such doubtful policy. For his course, on this occasion, he got a few hard hits; and received from one writer the appellation of " the ever-changing and changeable Barrister". —the very quality which, under his foreseeing and judicious management, was the great agent of his subsequent political success. Had O'CONNELL obstinately persevered in any original course of policy, without any reference to changing circumstances and events, he never would have reached the eminence on which he was ultimately placed, nor would he have so effectually served his Country. O'CONNELL had the true greatness of mind requisite for high political undertakings. He could shape his course according to the aspect or nature of events, and he never was encumbered with that little pride that would lead him to persevere in, or justify, a political error. We shall by and by have to detail numerous instances of this characteristic—and in reference to the very case which occasioned these remarks. We may, however, add, that he afterwards acknowledged the mistake then committed in not persevering in the prosecution of Catholic claims.

There was a remarkable passage in the speech delivered by O'CONNELL on this occasion. In the course of his observations, he made use, for the first time, of that beautiful figure, in reference to Mr. GRATTAN, which he afterwards so successfully applied to himself. He says, speaking of the advice for postponement,—"It has received the concurrence of him, who, to adopt his own animated language, sat by the cradle of Irish Independence, though afterwards doomed to follow its hearse; and who, I will add, should the happy and blessed hour ever arrive, *is alone worthy of blowing the trumpet of its resurrection.*" Over twenty years afterwards, he improved upon this figure thus, in reference to himself:—"GRATTAN stood over the cradle of his Country, and followed her hearse. To me it has been given—*to sound the trumpet of her resurrection, and proclaim to the world that she is not dead, but sleepeth.*"

The various incidental influences to which we have referred, prevailed; and the Catholics, in 1807, adopted the policy of silence, instead of the more bold and manly course of loud remonstrance, and petitioning unceasingly and fearlessly, on the broad principle of indestructible right and justice. During the year 1807, we hear nothing more, politically speaking, of the Catholics and their claims. In the meantime their inveterate enemies—PERCEVAL and LIVERPOOL—were neither conciliated by their moderation, nor less determined in their measures of Coercion for Ireland. Without any—the slightest cause which could be discovered for these measures, except what may have existed in their own morbid imaginations, and without any excesses, except perhaps an occasional trivial disturbance in some distant county, totally unconnected with political feelings—those Ministers passed through

Parliament, without giving a tittle of evidence as to their necessity, two most hostile enactments against the liberties of Ireland. The measures were an Insurrection Act and an Arms' Bill. The English House of Commons of that day voted away the birthright of Irish subjects, with the same readiness that the Reformed Parliament of 1833, passed a more despotic measure of Coercion, at the solicitation of the very Whigs who, in 1807, so strenuously opposed the PERCEVAL enactments. Such is the influence of Political Power; its votaries too often repudiate the favorite principles of an entire existence.

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the debate on these measures, in 1807, was, the extraordinary and really unaccountable conduct of GRATTAN. He voted for both measures, from the infatuated persuasion which took possession of his mind, that there existed in Ireland a conspiracy in favour of French domination. For this he could give no authority, nor offer a particle of proof. He believed the statements of a prejudiced Government, and he lent himself, unwittingly, to a fearful tyranny against his country. He induced many honest and well-intentioned friends of Civil liberty to follow his example. This melancholy mistake of GRATTAN's lost him for a time his well-earned popularity. His conduct not only created deep surprise, but excited feelings of a very angry nature, which were not speedily removed. By these Statutes, were the Catholics recompensed for their tame forbearance; yet they exhibited no feelings of exasperation; they observed an unbroken silence during the remainder of the year.

O'CONNELL, meanwhile, continued his practice at the Bar with increasing success; and though a junior member of the profession, and with all the disadvantages of a silk gown, he acquired even then high reputation for

ability, both as a criminal and constitutional Lawyer, and an expert Nisi Prius Advocate. He continued still on the Munster Circuit, where he had to contend for notice and professional reputation, amongst such men as GOOLD, PENNEFATHER, QUINN, GRADY, TOWNSEND, KELLER, WAGGETT, &c., &c., most of whom had already acquired high characters for their professional skill and legal acquirements, and then deservedly monopolised all the business on the Circuit. O'CONNELL, however, quietly and silently got into notice ; but his transcendent powers as an advocate were neither developed nor known, for some years subsequent to 1807. With the members of the Munster Bar, O'CONNELL soon become deservedly and universally popular. There was a good natured friendliness—a cordiality about him, that won upon his brother Barristers. Then, there was his broad Irish humour and playfulness, which never deserted him in the midst of the most toilsome trials. He, KELLER, and a few others, sustained the credit of the Munster Bar, for readiness and wit, after it had lost the brilliant talents of CURRAN, and the rich honest humour of EGAN. In those days puns, as they are called, were more the fashion than at present. We are now too utilitarian for that indulgence, and the business at the bar is too heavy and too commonplace, to encourage the amusement. A talent for punning may be described as a readiness of apprehending without effort and almost intuitively, the agreements and disagreements between different ideas, and of giving expression with terseness and precision to the conception. O'CONNELL possessed this talent in an eminent degree ; and, what is nearly allied to it, an extraordinary and rapid perception of the ridiculous. The reminiscences which are alive in the memories of his friends

are full of his ready sayings, and cutting ridicule. Indeed much, of the personal hostility which pursued him through life, was owing to the uncontrollable tendency of his mind, to laugh at his adversaries, and bring out in strong relief, what all men have in a greater or less degree—the ridiculous characteristic. And, we may trace the envenomed hatred shown by some parties after his death, to bitter resentment for some castigation inflicted on them; or some laugh raised at their expense; or some *soubriquet* invented on the instant by the GREAT DEPARTED; for, to quote his own words—"When a fellow happened to "be a scoundrel, he had a tolerably good tongue for "describing him." The *Times* newspaper could never forgive the enduring nickname which will ever cling to it. While almost time lasts—it will be called the "LADY OF THE STRAND"—as cutting a sarcasm as could be well pronounced. At the same time, we must say, whatever we may think of the cause which elicited it, that, as conveying an imputation on the general character of that great Journal, it is by no means justified.

Mr. O'CONNELL was very generous in his acts of friendship at the Bar. One of his rivals was Mr. ——; not that in early life he was able to compete with this able and eloquent lawyer. His standing and his religion prevented that. But, unquestionably, if O'CONNELL could entertain such a feeling, he must have felt that Mr. —— was in his way. It is proverbial that Barristers are, generally, the very worst witnesses. The eminent lawyer of whom we speak, was examined in O'CONNELL's presence, on a trial of some importance. He broke down. He got confused, forgot, and contradicted himself most egregiously. O'CONNELL could have destroyed him for ever. But he acted a noble and generous part; he rescued his brother barrister from a

ruinous dilemma. The latter, however, retired to his lodgings, in despair at what happened, and secretly determined to throw up his profession. O'CONNELL went to him, found him brooding over his disgrace, roused him, soothed him, reconciled him to himself, and ultimately overcame his determination. Arm and arm both left the Barrister's lodgings, and returned to Court together. With this disposition, he could not fail to be liked generally by his brother Barristers; and even his antagonists in politics preserved, all through, an enduring friendship for him. Mr. WAGGETT, the well-remembered Recorder of Cork, was one of the latter. He was a Tory in politics; but he was a high-minded, generous, noble-hearted man, full of talent, and as remarkable for high-toned, impassioned eloquence, as he was for eccentricities. He was a fellow-student of O'CONNELL's at the Temple. To have preserved, through the storms of politics, the friendship of such a man, was a strong proof of those amiabilities in O'CONNELL's character, which we have endeavoured to pourtray. O'CONNELL did preserve his friendship to the last. Then, looking at later times, we will see how he stood with his juniors—with PERRIN, O'LOUGHLIN, BENNETT, PIGOTT, &c. Could the histories of their private friendships be given to the world, none of them would exhibit so strong an attachment, for instance, as existed between O'CONNELL and Mr. PIGOTT, now the kind and able Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Of his manly kindness, firmness, and bold and unbending attitude towards the Bench, all his cotemporaries have vivid recollection, and some of them have profited by the examples he set. Of his triumphs, as an advocate, over hostile Judges, we may relate an instance that, perhaps, is not familiar to the public. He and the present Baron RICHARDS were engaged in an important Chancery case, in which

O'Connell was, of course, the senior Counsel. The presiding functionary had previously heard some arguments, and had resolved, it appears, to hear no more. For, when Mr. Richards stood up in his turn to plead, he was stopped at the very outset by a declaration from the Chancellor, that he had made up his mind. Mr. Richards would have persevered, anxious as he was to present to the Court a view of the case in which the Court did not regard it, and desirous, in zeal for his client, to suggest legal decisions, and points of importance, not previously adduced. But again he was checked by the Lord Chancellor, rather testily declaring, that it was quite useless; that he had made up his mind, and would hear no further arguments from Mr. Richards. "Well, then, my Lord," said O'Connell, standing up, "as you have refused to hear my learned friend, you will be pleased to hear me;" and he went on, not waiting for either assent or dissent, with an address that lasted until the Court rose, and that embraced arguments to which, notwithstanding the learned Chancellor's mental foreclosure, he evidently listened with growing convictions. At the end perhaps of every five or ten minutes, when he had established one point, and was passing on to another, O'Connell regularly rung the changes with, "but, my Lord, had you been pleased to listen to my learned young friend, how much more forcibly would he not have demonstrated to your Lordship the cogency of this point which I am pressing on your attention." In words nearly to that effect, O'Connell wound up each of his arguments; at once rebuking the Chancellor for his refusal; complimenting the junior Advocate, who had been improperly checked, and obtaining, meanwhile, a victory over the preconceived opinions of the Court. For, O'Connell did succeed. On the following morning, the

Chancellor entered the Court—and soon after delivered his decision expressly in accordance with the legal arguments of O'CONNELL. We have heard that Baron RICHARDS has more than once declared his obligations to O'CONNELL, for his conduct on that occasion. He could not, he has often said, forget the service he rendered him; nor avoid treasuring up in his own mind, the successful results of the ability, firmness, and perseverance he saw thus displayed. He himself was, in after life, one of the most uncompromising advocates at the Bar. He did, what is called, "beard the bench," firmly, on some occasions—in one memorable instance, if we recollect rightly, during the Tithe agitation; and we may probably trace back to this incident in his earlier professional life, the possession of that unbending resolution, personal firmness, and legal self-reliance, that either were the cause of his elevation to the judgment seat, or distinguished him from among his brethren, before he attained that well merited position.

We have spoken already of Mr. O'CONNELL's ready wit, and his promptitude of reply. Of these qualities the records are innumerable. He never was at a loss for a quick and telling rejoinder. Few with whom he came into collision, were a match for him in ready repartee.—There was only one of his cotemporaries who could boast of an equality. He lives still; between him and O'CONNELL, when they met in the forensic arena, the contests were keen indeed. We speak of Mr. HOLMES, the celebrated Dublin Barrister, whose recent anti-Union pamphlet exemplifies both the mental vigor by which he was qualified to encounter O'CONNELL, and the personal antipathy that stimulated the poignancy of his assault.—Between him and O'CONNELL, there almost invariably occurred a sharp interchange of sarcastic personalities,

when they came into professional opposition. They were like two skilful swordsmen, and they fenced sometimes with foils, and sometimes without. Each was intellectually armed with a keen, well-tempered blade; each had first rate skill, quickness and vigor; and, though no wounds absolutely fatal were inflicted, neither escaped without feeling the weapon of his antagonist. The papers of the day enable us to judge, if we may use the expressions, how vivid were the flashes, and how bright the sparkling shower that ensued when their blades were crossed.

These anecdotes will exemplify his professional and personal character, in various lights. Of his professional tact, we may perhaps be here permitted to relate one instance. In the course of his attendance at an Assizes in Cork, he was counsel in a case, in which his client was capitally charged, and was so little likely to escape, and was actually so guilty of the crime, that his Attorney considered the case utterly desperate. O'Connell entered the court aware of the hopelessness of his client's chances. He knew it was useless to attempt a defence in the ordinary way. There was evidence sufficient to ensure a conviction. At that time, it happened that the present Baron, then Sergeant, Lefroy presided, in the absence of one of the Judges, who had fallen ill. O'Connell understood the sort of man he had on the Bench. He opened the defence by putting to the first witness a number of the most illegal questions. He, of course, knew they were illegal, and that objections would be raised. Sergeant Goold was the crown prosecutor, and he started up, and expressed his objections. The learned Baron declared his concurrence, and decided rather peremptorily that he could not allow Mr. O'Connell to proceed with his line of examination. "Well, then, my Lord," said O'Connell, after a little

expostulation, "as you refuse permitting me to defend my client, I leave his fate in your hands;" and he flung his brief from him, adding, as he turned away, "the blood of that man, my Lord, will be on your head, if he is condemned." O'CONNELL then left the Court. In an half-hour afterwards, as he was walking on the flag-way outside, the Attorney for the defence ran out to him, without his hat. "Well," said O'CONNELL, "he is found guilty." "No, sir," answered the solicitor, "he has been acquitted." O'CONNELL is said to have smiled meaningly on the occasion, as if he had anticipated the effect of the *ruse*; for it was a *ruse* he had recourse to, in order to save the unfortunate culprit's life. He knew that flinging the onus on a young, and a raw judge, could be the only chance for his client. The Judge did take up the case O'CONNELL had ostensibly, in a pet, abandoned. The witnesses were successively cross-examined by the Judge himself. He conceived a prejudice in favour of the accused. He perhaps had a natural timidity of incurring the responsibility thrown on him by O'CONNELL. He charged the Jury in the prisoner's favour, and the consequence was, the unexpected and clear acquittal of the prisoner. "*I knew*," said O'CONNELL afterwards, "the only chance was to throw the responsibility on the Judge." This will exemplify O'CONNELL'S tact. We may add, that the loss of life, which would then have followed a conviction, would not now attend a party convicted of the same crime. But, enough of this for the present. Until we reach another period of his history, we will, whenever an occasion presents itself, draw the reader's attention to his enduring reputation as a lawyer; at the same time that our principal concern must, of necessity, be with his political career; for that,

it is admitted, embodies the most interesting portion of the history of Ireland.

O'Connell, during the vacations, was always in the habit of visiting his native hills; where mountain exercise invigorated his frame, and the Atlantic wave "rolling over from the coast of Labrador," perpetually reminded him of the sad, political and social, condition of his own "Green Isle." It was during one of these periodical visits, in 1807, that he first publicly exhibited his oratorical powers, at a political meeting of his own County. It was on that fruitful subject, Tithes. O'Connell was, as we have observed above, always remarkable for his readiness in reply. His earliest efforts exhibit no previous preparation; his thoughts appear to have been generally elicited by something which occurred at the moment; and though he may, and must have, at all times, well considered the subject on which he spoke, and on great occasions arranged his ideas; yet, he invariably trusted to the moment for his selection of words, and was prepared to take advantage of any incidental circumstance, while he kept steadily in view the main and leading topics which he intended to develop. This ready faculty he exhibited at the meeting in Kerry, where he succeeded in turning into complete and painful ridicule, the well-prepared address of one of the previous speakers. He so completely answered the statements and arguments of the upholders of the Tithe system, who spoke before him, that he produced a decisive impression; and he and the Knight of Kerry carried triumphantly the anti-Tithe resolutions.

CHAPTER II.

1808—1815.

As the principle on which, for some years, the Government of Ireland was conducted, was first departed from in 1807, under the RICHMOND Administration, it may be well, before we proceed in our sketch of passing events, to take a retrospective glance at the policy to which we allude—namely, the policy of playing off, one against the other, the two political parties into which the Nation was divided; alternately cajoling and coercing both. The policy adopted towards Ireland, before 1800, by PITT, was pursued for the purpose of creating disunion, and weakening the energies of the country, in order to facilitate the Legislative Union. The hopes of the Catholics were alternately depressed and encouraged by that wily Statesman. In 1793, extended privileges were granted them; in 1794, their expectations were raised to the highest pitch, by the appointment of Lord FITZWILLIAM. All this created angry feelings in the minds of the ultra-Protestant party, who, throwing aside the doubtful appellative of "Peep of Day Boys," assumed the more celebrated designation of "Orangemen." So far, the policy of division succeeded, and the scheme of a Legislative Union was thereby advanced; for this system led the Orangemen to imagine that an Union with England could alone preserve their unnatural ascendency, amidst a Catholic population. Again, it was necessary to prepare the Catholics for the reception of impressions favourable to the measure.—Lord FITZWILLIAM, the centre of their hopes, was sud-

denly, and without ostensible cause, removed, at the very moment that the people of Ireland expected Emancipation through his instrumentality. Lord CAMDEN, the inveterate opposer of their claims, succeeded him. The Irish Parliament joined this Viceroy, in unrelenting hostility to the Catholics. It was hopeless for that body to approach the Parliament of College-green and they were insidiously taught to expect a better reception from the more liberal feelings of an Imperial Legislature. It was this hope that induced the Catholics, after the disastrous horrors of 1798, to lend a too ready ear to the proposition for an Union. Thus, in the first place, by division, and then by alternately operating on the feelings of both parties, in this country, PITT succeeded in effecting his darling, but, to Ireland, fatally pernicious project. When he had completed the annihilation of Irish Independence, his policy, and that of his immediate successors, changed.—The Government of Lord CORNWALLIS was equitable and conciliatory; at the same time that he continued to play with the hopes of the Catholics, without holding out the most distant prospect of their expectations being realized. Lord HARDWICK'S Government was mild and just. He adopted the policy, of giving a triumph to neither party; whilst he endeavoured, by his agents, to propagate the doctrine, that political power was inconsistent with the religious dogmas of Catholicity. It was in the spirit of this policy that he dimissed the noted JOHN GIFFARD from the office of Registrar of the Custom House in Dublin, value £500 a year, for having excited feelings of animosity, in the Dublin Corporation, against the Catholics, by his extravagant slanders, and for having been instrumental in inducing the adoption, by that body, of a petition to Parliament against any further concessions to these religionists. Government were, on that account, afraid, that

if he kept the office which he then held, the people would believe he acted under their authority. That this was the cause of his dismissal, was confirmed in 1808, by Mr. PONSONBY, in his place in Parliament; who stated, that "he heard the Government of that day did take the step "of dismissing Mr. GIFFARD, because he had proceeded "in a manner most offensive, against the Catholics of Ire-"land, and in such a way as was calculated to keep alive "all those religious discords and animosities, which un-"happily were then too prevalent."

The Duke of BEDFORD came over in 1806, as the Whig Lord Lieutenant. He, of course, was favourable to the removal of Catholic disabilities: but he also pursued the more temporising policy. Division was not then the object of England: and he too endeavoured to govern, without encouraging, too highly, the hopes of the Catholic population, or giving a triumph to either party.

The Duke of RICHMOND, under the PERCEVAL and PORTLAND administration was, the first, since the Union, to commence the system of governing by A PARTY, AND FOR A PARTY. Up to 1831, during the continuance of the Tory domination, that system was studiously pursued in Ireland. JOHN GIFFARD was immediately appointed to the office of Accountant-General to the Customs, and Dr. DUIGENAN, the violent enemy of the people of Ireland, was made a Privy Councillor. So abandoned was the principle of this elevation considered, that the circumstance was brought before the House of Commons, and occasioned a very animated debate, in which Sir JOHN NEWPORT and Mr. TIERNEY, both distinguished themselves. Mr. TIERNEY's speech was an excellent specimen of his cutting sarcasm. The only excuse given by Government for this elevation of a man, whose political career was remarkable solely for his bitter, unrelenting, and untiring

hostility to his Catholic countrymen ; and who had the daring impudence to insult them, by stating, in the face of Parliament, that the four millions of Irish Catholics "were in theory rebels, and only wanted an opportunity to be traitors in practice,"—the only excuse given by the Government for the appointment of such a man, was, that he was a judge of the Prerogative Court! It was a paltry prevarication, in order to cover the deep designs of throwing, by degrees, the whole weight of power into the hands of the Protestant Ascendency ; and, like the reduction which took place in the grant to Maynooth, was an indication of the future system to be adopted in the Government of Ireland.

It was during this aspect of affairs in Ireland, and with the "No Popery" cry raging loudly in England, that, in the commencement of 1808, the Irish Catholics began to consider, silent submission opened to them no hope ; and, that they again bethought themselves of petitioning the Legislature. They met in January, 1808, in Dublin ; Lord FINGALL, in the Chair. It was at that meeting agreed, that the petition, committed last year to the care of his Lordship, should be again presented, during the approaching Session. O'CONNELL, on this occasion, exhibited his usual good taste and judgment, in preventing a serious division on the particular mode of obtaining the sentiments of the Catholic Body respecting the Petition. There was evinced considerable dissatisfaction because the Public were not more fully consulted respecting the proceedings. Mr. O'CONNOR, of Ballynegare, made his *debut* at this meeting, by endeavouring to procure an adjournment, in order to have a more general meeting of the Catholics at an early day. Mr. O'CONNELL's eloquence succeeded in preventing a division, and Mr. O'CONNOR withdrew his motion. O'CONNELL, on this

occasion, complained bitterly of the abusive insinuations to which he was subject, for the part he took at the period. He was taunted for being the "Door-keeper," and guarding the entrance, in order to prevent those, whose faces he did not recognise, coming to the different meetings, at which the prior proceedings were adopted. We need scarcely say, that, as he did with respect to a thousand other misrepresentations, to which, through life, he was subject, he demonstrated the falsity of this. There can be no doubt that the people were not then sufficiently alive to the value of these proceedings: nor were they allowed to take their legitimate share in the arrangements. This may be accounted for by the novelty of public meetings. In the instances alluded to by Mr. O'CONNELL, the meetings were private—being solely composed of individuals consulted by Lord FINGALL, respecting the Petition. The manner of presenting it to Parliament and the period to be selected, were left to his sole discretion. For the satisfaction alone of *his* mind, and the regulation of his conduct, were those private consultations held. This may explain the cause of such assemblages being private; but, at the same time, it demonstrates the impolicy, in the original proceedings, of placing the judgments, as well as the interests of all in the keeping of any one individual, however distinguished, or however trust worthy.

During this period the Protestants of Ireland began to exhibit a laudable and high-minded anxiety, to extend the blessings of the constitution to their Catholic fellow-subjects. PERCEVAL, in his rancorous animosity to the people of Ireland, and, in his active zeal to second the prejudices of the Court Party, had given every encouragement to the "No Popery" cry in England. It commenced in 1807, and was raging with unsubdued strength,

when the Protestants of Ireland came forward, at the commencement of the year 1808, with the view to counteract the dangerous tendency of the sectarian frenzy, which, under the auspices of the RICHMOND administration, was attempted to be also fanned into a flame in Ireland. The Protestants of Newry first set the good example, by publishing to the world, sentiments of the most liberal and enlightened description. This was followed by the celebrated Protestant declaration, signed by the most respectable and influential proprietors in Ireland;—by the Marquis of HEADFORT, the Earl of ORMOND and OSSORY, Earl of MEATH, Earl of BESSBOROUGH, Viscounts DILLON, CLIFTON, and over one hundred more of the landed proprietary of the country. The Protestants of Meath, Galway, Clare, Kerry, and some of them with their High Sheriff at their head, followed this noble example. All Ireland exhibited an unanimity of purpose, which opened some prospect of the settlement of the great question that agitated the whole empire, and, at that very momentous time, injured deeply the imperial interests. NAPOLEON was then the Sovereign Dictator of Europe, and the fate of England hung upon a thread. "Austria has fallen," said GRATTAN, at this time, speaking to the English House of Commons; "and "Prussia is destroyed, and there is now no resource left "you, but to avail yourselves of the dangers that press "against you. To meet them with effect, unanimity "should be your object. There are now two islands "matched against all mankind. Will you, in such a "crisis, depend upon political opinions, and religious "schism to prop a falling world?" If prejudice had not blunted the intellect of our Rulers, conciliation and union assuredly ought to have been their policy. Yet, were they lamentably ignorant of the true interests of

their country. They continued deaf to the constitutional and moderate demands of five millions of British subjects. The Catholic petition, agreed to in Dublin, and adopted generally by the Catholics, over all Ireland, was, in the first instance, refused admission into the House of Commons, on the plea that some of the signatures were not genuine; though written at the request of the individuals themselves; and even CANNING, who then professed himself friendly to, and was afterwards the most brilliant advocate of the cause, inclined to the rejection of the petition, on account of informality. It was, in consequence, returned to Ireland, and re-signed; and was again presented by Mr. GRATTAN, on the 23rd May, 1808. He then gave notice that he would refer it to a Committee of the whole House on the 25th May. The petition is of extraordinary length, and puts forth, in very eloquent and glowing language, both the political sentiments, and the constitutional claims of the Catholics. The consideration of the Petition in Parliament opened a subject of controversy, which distracted Ireland for many subsequent years, and served to divide the great body of the people from the Catholic Aristocracy. We allude to the great question of the ROYAL VETO. Both Mr. GRATTAN and Lord GRENVILLE, in introducing their motions respecting the Catholic Petition, to the respective Houses of Parliament, of which they were members, represented themselves as authorised by the heads of the Irish Catholic Church, on the part of the Catholics, to give to the King the power of annulling, if he pleased, the nomination to the Catholic Episcopacy, of any obnoxious individual. This was the great and remarkable feature in the Debate. It attracted the greatest attention in both Houses. However, on the ground of the unseasonableness of the time selected,

both motions were rejected by large majorities, in the two Houses; though the motions were merely to the effect, that the subject of the Roman Catholic Petition be referred to a Committee of the House. So much for unauthorized concession. So much for the wisdom of an administration, that would refuse a moderate demand, and thus conciliate towards the English Government, five millions of people, at a time when England was all but conquered; when the prohibitive system was at full work against her; and when NAPOLEON ruled in the ascendant over the entire Continent. But we have to thank the Tory Government for their injustice then; the delay taught us the advantages of AGITATION, by which we acquired larger rights a few years afterwards, without the blighting restrictions, in which, many of the influential Catholics of that day were willing to acquiesce. As this is a subject that requires investigation, and inquiry, we shall enter into it somewhat in detail.

One of the most striking features in the Roman Catholic religion, is, the unity of doctrine, and, almost, of discipline, which exists amongst all the members of that faith, no matter in what widely separated parts of the globe they may reside. The leading cause that for centuries has preserved this similarity of doctrine and discipline, even in minute particulars, amongst men of different periods, and various countries and climes, is, that they have always looked upon the Pope as the visible head of their Church. It consequently follows, that the Pope is the centre from whom emanate the entire government, and arrangements of the Catholic Church. Therefore it is, that the Bishops in every country hold their appointment directly from him. In Catholic countries, the Pope permitted, from motives of policy, the Governments of these countries to have some share of control in the appoint-

ment of Bishops; under the feeling that such control, exercised by a Roman Catholic monarch, could not injure the spiritual interests of religion; but it was held of dangerous tendency, to permit a Protestant King to have any influence whatever, within his dominions, in the spiritual arrangements of the Catholic religion; and, in our opinion, on good and sufficient grounds. In the first place, the security and purity of religious faith depend upon the pastors appointed to teach religion to the people. The appointment of these pastors, the divine founder of Christianity confided to his apostles, and their successors; but, especially, to PETER, to whom he gave supreme authority. Any interference with these appointments, on the part of the Sovereign, was a direct infringement of the divine ordinance, and was sure, in consequence, to lead to the ruin of religion. See what was the state of the church, when every drunken or illiterate Noble was enabled to appoint to benefices, any creature he pleased, however vile and immoral. The whole fabric of christianity was then tottering, until HILDEBRAND arose, and by his inspired energy, and by the powers of a master mind, overthrew accumulated abuses, and saved religion from anarchy, and almost ruin. In the second place, there were, over and above all this, sufficient grounds for the Irish Catholics to spurn all interference, on the part of the English Government, with the spiritual rights and ordinances of their religion. From the earliest period of the reformation, the most barbarous—and failing therein, —the most insidious attempts were, without intermission, made, to draw off the Irish people from their allegiance to God. Even to the present moment, the spirit exists, though the practice is abated. No temporal advantage could justify the permission to Government, to interfere with the Catholic religion. It is to us incredible, how

the Irish hierarchy allowed themselves to be so carried away by the wily PITT, in 1799, as to consent to give Government a *veto* in ecclesiastical appointments. It is, certainly, now-a-days difficult to judge of the feelings which then pervaded the Catholic community. There was then an intense anxiety for freedom. They felt the chain of slavery corroding their very souls; and seeing that in other countries, a *veto* was given the Government of the country, they felt willing to make the same sacrifice, to obtain religious liberty. It was that feeling which made them tamely submit to the annihilation of their nationality. But God saved for them their religion. We have the utmost veneration for the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland, present and past, because of their untiring devotion to the people and to their religion. Therefore the surprise on our part is the greater, at their having, at any time or under any circumstances, consented to give up PRINCIPLES for temporal advantages. Nevertheless, whatever were the motives of the bishops in 1799; and we have already, on the authority of Dr. DOYLE, stated them, the Hierarchy, in 1808, nobly did their duty, and were nobly sustained by the people; while the Catholic Aristocracy took an opposite course, and in their anxiety to enter Parliament, to become magistrates, and sheriffs, and corporators, they were willing to sacrifice their religion. This caused a division in the Catholic ranks, which was not removed for years, and accounts for the apathy that, up to 1823, oppressed the energies of the people.

In the month of May, 1808, Lord GRENVILLE, in a very long, tame, conciliatory speech, brought forward the Catholic question. In the course of his remarks, he stated, authoritatively, that the Catholics were ready to concede the VETO. The announcement caused an amazing sensation,

Lord FINGALL and Dr. MILNER, the latter of whom was the recognized agent in London, of the Irish Catholic Prelates, were known to have been in constant communication with Lord GRENVILLE, and to have led him to make this announcement. Of this we are certain, that Lord FINGALL was a vetoist. But Dr. MILNER sternly denied his participation in the negociation, though some years after, he and Mr. O'CONNELL had some controversy on the subject. However, the Hierarchy and people took alarm; and in October 1808, the Bishops agreed to a series of resolutions, condemnatory of any arrangement, having in contemplation the slightest interference with the religion over which they were called by God to preside. O'CONNELL went with the Bishops and the People. We shall have occasion often to draw attention to the powerful aid he afforded the cause of religion in this dispute. His assistance was, indeed, necessary.—All the Parliamentary friends of Ireland, including GRATTAN, were in favor of the VETO. So were the Irish Catholic Aristocracy, and a large portion of the Mercantile class. It required a man of his dauntless and uncompromising character to stem the tide of opinion, which had nigh overwhelmed the religion of his country. It is undoubtedly true, that Dr. MILNER, in his communications with the Government, signified the willingness of the Catholic Hierarchy to grant the Crown a negative on the appointment of those selected to be recommended to the Pope for the mitre: but he uniformly denied that this negative was to be enforced as often as these nominations were made—for, as he argued, this would be placing altogether, though indirectly, the nomination of the Catholic Prelates in the Crown. The Bishops affirmed that all they ever meant to yield, either in 1799, or in May, 1808, was permission to the Government to inquire into the loyalty

of the persons selected for elevation to the episcopacy—and, if disloyalty could not be established, then no negative interference was to be allowed. It was an unmeaning, useless privilege, as we have already had occasion to state; for the oath of allegiance taken by such men as compose the Catholic Hierarchy, was quite sufficient guarantee, under every circumstance, of their undeviating loyalty.

However, whatever was intended by the Bishops, or to whatsoever extent they were ready to go, this is certain, that the people and clergy would not listen to any such negociation; and in September 1808, as we have stated, the Hierarchy joined them, and firmly, uncompromisingly, repudiated all tampering with the discipline of their Church.

During the years 1809, 1810, there existed much apathy amongst the Irish Catholics. During these years they have left behind, even in the columns of the *Dublin Evening Post*, scarcely a record of their proceedings.—There was much difference of opinion amongst them, as to the prudence, or the honor, of petitioning a Parliament that had so repeatedly rejected their prayers for redress. It was known, as we have so often repeated, that GEORGE the THIRD entertained a holy horror of a Catholic debate. His "conscience" was opposed to the justice of their demands. CANNING, though an avowed friend of their cause, opposed Mr. GRATTAN's motion, professedly because of the inveterate objection to such discussion, on the part of the King, his master. During these divisions, and this apathy, Mr. O'CONNELL always taught one uniform doctrine—namely—to AGITATE, AGITATE, AGITATE; and while, both in Dublin and in the provinces, the people slept in their chains, the restless, untiring agitator was crying out—PETITION, PETITION,

PETITION. But we will shortly see how the Government endeavoured to deprive Catholic Ireland of even that poor privilege.

The year 1810 was made remarkable by the resolutions of the Dublin Corporation, headed by WILLIS and GIFFARD, father of the Editor of the *Standard*, in favor of a Repeal of the Union; and also by an aggregate meeting, presided over by the High Sheriff of Dublin, at which —being duly convened for that purpose—similar resolutions were adopted. . At this meeting Mr. O'CONNELL made a very powerful and convincing speech, during which he declared, *that he would consent to have the Penal Code against Catholics re-enacted, provided the Union were repealed.* But it is unnecessary now to dwell longer on this all absorbing subject, as we shall have occasion hereafter to discuss it at full length.

The Regency of the Prince of WALES, afterwards GEORGE the FOURTH, commenced in 1811; and though, judging from his early associations, and his *friendly promises*, the Catholics were led to hope for a change of policy towards them, they soon discovered their mistake, and found that the change was, in truth, from bad to worse. For the first time, since the abolition of the Penal Laws, the system of coercion was tried against them. In 1793, the Convention Act was framed, to put down the Dungannon Convention, the delegates of Reformers, and the various Clubs and Committees, representing larger bodies, whose object was SEPARATION. It was never directed against the Catholics, as a body of religionists. But in 1793, there did exist in Dublin, a Board of Catholic delegates, whose object was, to obtain by petition their civil rights. These delegates, of course, separated on the passing of the Convention Act. The Act ordained that no body, or committee, or board com-

posed of delegates elected from other bodies, could lawfully meet *under pretence* of petitioning; and if they did meet, such assembly should be dispersed by the Magistrates. It was equally unlawful, under this act, to elect delegates, or give notice of such election.

In 1809, the Catholic Committee was first formed. It was composed of the delegates who had been, in 1806, appointed to address the Duke of BEDFORD, from several parishes in Dublin—of the survivors of the delegates of 1793, and of the Catholic nobility. The object of this Committee was to petition Parliament. The Irish Government of that day alleged they were from the commencement aware that this Committee, through its mode of formation, existed in violation of the Convention Act; but as it strictly confined itself, during the year 1809, and the greater part of 1810, to petitioning Parliament, the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of RICHMOND, did not deem it requisite to interfere. Towards the close of the year 1810, matters, they asserted, assumed a different aspect. Violent speeches were delivered in the Committee. Instead of confining themselves to petitions, the Committee opened new ground and became a Committee of Grievances. It is remarkable, that what principally induced the Government to commence active hostilities against the Catholics—a course of policy, which, by stimulating the slumbering energies of the nation, first gave that impulse to the movement that eventuated in Emancipation—was a report on the Penal Code, extending to over 300 folios, drawn up by O'CONNELL; and another from the same pen, on the treatment of Catholic soldiers. Thus, in the midst of his professional labours, did he find time, early in his political career, for those elaborate researches, and those masterly reports, for which his after life was distinguished. While

we read of the speeches of CLINCH, HUSSEY, KEOGH, LIDWELL, and O'GORMAN; names no longer known to fame, O'CONNELL was, unobserved, laying up abundant stores of political knowledge, and training his mind to that untiring energy, which afterwards performed such marvels for Ireland.

Matters were in the state we have described, as regarded the feelings of the Government, when early, in the year 1811—we believe in February—Mr. HAY, the Secretary of the Catholic Committee, published a letter, in conformity with a resolution adopted, addressed to the Catholics of Ireland, calling on every County to elect delegates to prepare petitions to Parliament, and to meet in Dublin; so as to form a "GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND." This letter, in some time afterwards, produced a circular from WELLESLEY POLE, then Chief Secretary, to all the Magistrates of the country, setting forth the provisions of the Convention Act, and calling upon them to disperse assemblies, constituted under the meaning of that act; and to hold parties offending against it, to bail for trial.

On the 27th February, immediately after the publication of this circular, the proceedings of the Catholic Committee were interrupted by the appearance of Alderman DARLEY, the Police Magistrate, who, by direction of the Chief Secretary, called upon the meeting to disperse; it being, under the Convention Act, an illegal assemblage. Lord FRENCH was in the Chair, and refused to quit it, until gently removed, by way of arrest, by the Magistrate. This course was adopted to give Lord FRENCH an opportunity of seeking his redress for a false arrest, by an action at law. These proceedings led to a correspondence, and to interviews with the CHIEF SECRETARY. They produced a strong sensation throughout the

country ; and they were the subject of several animated debates in both Houses of Parliament. They were considered, too, by the Parliamentary friends of the Catholics, grossly unconstitutional, and wholly uncalled for. Even the Ministers but faintly defended the conduct of the Irish Government. They were ashamed of it. They foresaw how effectually it fanned the flame of discontent in Ireland. But it was a lucky policy for us, for it roused the lethargic Catholic into action. The COMMITTEE was by no means broken up by the Act of the Irish Executive, nor did it confine itself simply to petitions. It addressed the Crown for the removal of the Duke of RICHMOND, and his hopeful Secretary.

In those days there was no continuous action on the part of the Catholics; and though there were Catholic meetings, in different parts of the country, to elect delegates, we lose sight of the Committee until late in the summer of 1811, when we find an aggregate meeting of Catholics assembled—Lord FINGALL in the Chair. By them it was resolved to persevere, notwithstanding the threats of the Government; and delegates were appointed to draw up the petition of the Catholics of Ireland. The determination, however, of Government, to suppress the COMMITTEE, was then developed, in spite of all the remonstrances, and motions in Parliament. On the second of August, the LORD LIEUTENANT issued a proclamation against it, as being contrary in its constitution to the Convention Act; and on the 12th August, on a warrant from Chief Justice DOWNES, some of the leading delegates were arrested and held to bail; some for being delegates, and others for being electors. They were obliged to give large bail; otherwise they would have been committed to prison by the Chief Justice. Their names were

TAAFFE, of the Banking House of Lord FRENCH & Co.; KIRWAN, a respectable merchant, and three more gentlemen, whose names it is of no importance to mention. A warrant was also issued against Dr. SHERIDAN, and though he was not then arrested, we must include him in the number of SIX, selected to try the question. These trials came on in the November term following. In the mean time, Dr. BUTLER, the eminent English Conveyancer, and Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY, both gave it as their opinion, that these arrests were illegal, and that the Committee never violated the Convention Act. These proceedings created a most extraordinary sensation throughout Ireland. Meetings were held in every county. In some of them—in Kerry, for instance, attempts were made to disperse them, but they persevered and elected their delegates, to meet in Dublin, and frame a petition to Parliament.

On the 19th October, the NEW CATHOLIC COMMITTEE, composed of over 150 delegates from all parts of Ireland—TEN from each County—and of the working delegates of 1793, &c., assembled in Dublin, Lord FINGALL in the Chair. At the close of the proceedings, Mr. HARE, the Police Magistrate, entered for the purpose of dispersing the meeting; but the business of the day being concluded, and the Chair vacated, he departed without any step, further than intimating, personally, to Lord FINGALL, the object of his visit.

On the 21st November, the State Trial of Dr. SHERIDAN, one of the Traversers, commenced. The whole question turned upon the meaning of the words in the Convention Act—*under pretence of petitioning*. The Crown Counsel and Chief Justice maintained that *pretence* meant *purpose*; and that, therefore, the meeting

of delegates for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, was illegal. The Counsel for the Traverser maintained, that if delegates, met for the *bona fide* purpose of petitioning, and not for some other purpose, *under pretence* of petitioning; then the meeting was legal. Common sense and an intelligent Jury declared for the latter view of the law, and amidst the shouts of a crowded Court, Dr. SHERIDAN was acquitted. Not content with this, the parties arrested, afterwards brought their action for false arrest against Judge DOWNES. But in this they failed, to the great injury of the cause. The result of the whole was, that the GENERAL COMMITTEE was dissolved, and the CATHOLIC BOARD was formed without any delegation. This was done at an Aggregate Meeting, held on the 26th December, 1811.

Mr. O'CONNELL distinguished himself, during these Trials, by his fearless and manly castigation of the Attorney General, for daring to charge treason against the Committee. He told him before the Bench of Justice, that the charge was "false and groundless."

In taking leave of the GENERAL COMMITTEE formed by delegation, we cannot omit stating, that the Catholics of Ireland have always looked back with feelings of gratitude to the leading members of that body, who so manfully withstood the attacks of the Government. Nothing can be imagined more unworthy than the Duke of RICHMOND's conduct. Taking advantage of the phraseology of an Act of Parliament, passed for the sole purpose of putting down treasonable associations, he hoped, by the assistance of Chief Justice DOWNES, who read "pretence" to mean "purpose," and "delegation" to mean "representation," to crush the Catholic body. But the spirit of their leaders not only defeated the attempt, but turned to advantage for Ireland, what was intended

for its destruction. At this time of day, we cannot understand the full value of those services, nor of this manly conduct, without bearing in mind the intense bigotry which was then spreading itself over the country. Ascendency was beginning to tremble on its throne: and it set on foot every description of machinery, to deter the cautious, to alarm the timid, and to purchase the corrupt. Plots were concocted. The resources of the Castle were set in operation to stifle the public voice, and to lure away from our course the most influential of our friends. At such a time, to be honest, steadfast, firm, and unshrinking, was deserving of the highest praise, and to that the CATHOLIC COMMITTEE were entitled.

We think that Mr. O'CONNELL began to take, in 1812, a more prominent part than heretofore in Catholic affairs, and had been long before the acknowledged and elected Leader. He was always active and at his post. He was almost invariably the writer of resolutions and reports adopted by the COMMITTEE. He never spared his labours, and while FINLAY, and HUSSEY, and O'GORMAN, were prominent in debate; O'CONNELL was doing for the Catholics of Ireland the substantial service of embodying, in written language, not only his own, but the national sentiment. But he, from this time forward, took a more conspicuous part in Catholic politics, to the manifest advantage of the cause.

While struggling for his country's religious freedom, O'CONNELL was not neglectful of his profession. He was rapidly advancing to eminence; and though wearing but a stuff gown, because he was a Catholic, the suitors in all the Courts, whether of equity or common law, soon discovered that he had, amongst his silk-robed competitors, few equals. His power of application, and his wonderful economy of time, enabled him to accomplish what no

other man could have attempted. At the time he was occupied, one would imagine, exclusively with Catholic grievances—he was receiving from lynx-eyed attornies, some four or five thousand a year, for doing their business much better than it could be done by any of the dull, prosy, black-lettered, silk-gowns men. How did he achieve this? Read that striking and admirable sketch of him, written some years later than 1812, in the *New Monthly Magazine*, and you will understand how it was done. He rose at four every morning, lighted his own fire, spent nearly one hour alone in his study, over his law papers, before the rest of the world thought of stirring—despatched all cases on which his opinion was required—made himself up for law arguments in the Court—wrote off resolutions and reports for the CATHOLIC COMMITTEE, or BOARD, or ASSOCIATION, according as the progress of the Catholic cause advanced. He was then ready to attend the Courts of Law at their earliest sitting—to triumph over numerous competitors, and often coerce into justice the unwilling Judge. Again, in some hours after, he would appear with his budget of grievances, and his ready speech and sound advice, at the Catholic Meetings. Intense application and economy of time did this for him, and were, in some degree, the source of his eminent success.

We know that the future character of men can be easily detected even in infant life. Their disposition and idiosyncracies never alter. Those, particularly parents, who watch the budding of infancy, and afterwards mark the character of the man, can detect the peculiarities of the child in those of the adult. But it is seldom given to the boy to anticipate, from an inward impulse, his own future career. Yet we believe that most children begin to think of the future, and sensibly too, much sooner than is generally

supposed. The only distinction between one child and another in this respect is, that one enunciates his inward thoughts without reserve, the other is ashamed to express his ambitious speculations. Children think like men, and men like children, in more cases than is imagined. Why do we introduce this topic here? Because O'CONNELL's unbounded popularity at this period of his life, reminds us of an anecdote of his younger days, which strongly illustrates the physiological theory, we have ventured to put forward. O'CONNELL became illustrious, and he distinctly, while yet a child, out of a brown study, as it is vulgarly called—but in truth after much studied reflection—foretold that subsequent renown. The writer has learned the anecdote from an authentic source—from a much-respected lady, a relative of O'CONNELL's, who still lives—who passed many of her younger days with the LIBERATOR's family, and was by when he made use of the expression to which we allude. One evening, some friends enjoying the after dinner hospitality of his father's house, at Carhen, were discussing, in that remote district, the events of the day. Even those hills had resounded with the echo of GRATTAN's fame; his patriotism and eloquence were well known to the gentlemen assembled on that occasion. They were discussing the services he had rendered Ireland; and making comparisons between him and FLOOD on the one hand, and him and CHARLEMONT on the other. CHARLEMONT, though the leader of the Volunteers, was not popular with the Catholics, for he was opposed to their restoration to civil rights. The discussion was long and protracted. GRATTAN's supporters ultimately triumphed. During this social debate, the future LIBERATOR, then about nine or ten years old, was observed in a fit of abstraction, in one

of those large old ELIZABETHAN chairs which, in those days, ornamented the sitting-rooms of country residences. He remained lolling back in the chair during the greater portion of the evening, musing to himself, and sometimes "thinking aloud," apparently unconscious of any one's presence. He wore, what was by no means his wont, a grave countenance, and, when addressed, he would answer with a monosyllable, and then relapse into a silence he never before was accustomed to observe. He was at last roused from this reverie by his relative—the respectable lady from whom the anecdote has come to us. "DANIEL," said his relative, "what are you doing?—what are "you thinking of?" "Why, let me tell you," he replied, turning from the window and addressing her, "I am "thinking that I'll make a stir in the world yet." This anecdote is not only current among some of his connexions, but can, we understand, be abundantly confirmed, and by living testimony. The thought was evidently suggested to his mind, by the glories of GRATTAN, that were rung during the evening, in his ears. It developes the noble ambition that fired his soul, and accounts for the prognostic which some of his relatives, in their enthusiasm, thought was inspiration.

Though in 1812, he had attained a high degree of popularity, and was even then by the people, endearingly and familiarly called "the COUNSELLOR," he had not yet stepped out far beyond the other Agitators, who were then distinguished; but who, in truth, were in every way far his inferiors in intellect and wisdom. We may name amongst them SHEIL; but he was then very young. In 1811, when he made that great speech, which it is said attracted the notice of Government so pointedly, to the proceedings of the Catholic Committee, SHEIL was but eighteen years old. O'CONNELL's mind was not, in

all likelihood, sufficiently attuned to the small discussions in fashion in those days, in the COMMITTEE, to take a more prominent part in them. Besides, there was an enormous amount of jealousy existing amongst the Catholic Leaders, and they were not willing to allow the genius of the man to outstep the routine suited to their tamer and less expanded intellects. There was an aristocratic feeling about them, little in unison with the liberalizing tendency of O'CONNELL's mind. As an instance of this prevailing jealousy, we may allude to an occurrence which, in January, 1812, took place in the City of Cork. Mr. O'CONNELL, as we have stated, had made himself very conspicuous during the trial of Dr. SHERIDAN, by his manly demeanour towards the Attorney-General.—Independence like his was so new in a Catholic, that it gave general satisfaction throughout Ireland. To give expression to this universal feeling, ENEAS M'DONNELL moved at a great aggregate meeting of Catholics, held in Cork, "that the thanks of the Catholics of the County and City "of Cork are most eminently due, and most gratefully "given, to the independent and indefatigable advocate "of Irish rights—DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq.—as well "for the brilliant exertions he has uniformly made in "support and advancement of the Catholic cause; as for "the undaunted and patriotic spirit with which he has "defended, at all times and in all places, the Catholic "character against its calumniators, high and low." Will it be believed, that though every one admitted the justice of this compliment, the resolution was not pressed for adoption, lest it might create jealousy at a time when union was so necessary? Such was the paltry feeling pervading the Catholic leaders. We may thus account for O'CONNELL's holding himself in the back ground; and biding the time, when his gigantic mind would have

unrestrained action, in the struggle for Catholic freedom, and the rights of Ireland.

We have already stated that Dr. SHERIDAN was acquitted, by a Dublin Jury, of the charge for which he was tried under the Convention Act. Mr. KIRWAN was tried, in 1812, for the same offence, and found GUILTY! Such is trial by Jury. The distinction, as far as we can see, in the two cases, was very trivial. The accused were both tried for assisting in the election of Delegates, at a meeting of the Dublin Parishes, in July, 1811; in conformity with the resolution adopted early in that month, at an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Dublin, Lord FINGALL in the chair. The resolution was to this effect:—That the new Catholic Committee, appointed to prepare the Petition to Parliament, should be composed of the surviving delegates of 1793, of the Catholic noblemen, and their eldest sons, and of ten delegates from each County and City in Ireland. In conformity with this resolution, the Dublin Parishes first proceeded to elect their delegates. At the meeting for that purpose, Dr. SHERIDAN was in the chair; but he was not at the Aggregate Meeting. Mr. KIRWAN was elected as a delegate, and he also attended the Aggregate Meeting, where the resolution was adopted. This was the only difference in these cases. The same evidence was given by the same informers; one Jury was impartially selected, but how the other was formed history does not say. Dr. SHERIDAN was acquitted; Mr. KIRWAN was found guilty! and the verdict in the latter case put an end to the system of delegation. Of what use was it to maintain that "pretence," did not mean "purpose"—that "delegation" was not synonimous with "representation"—that the Convention Act was not intended to stifle the sentiments constitutionally expressed by the Catholics of

Ireland—if a Dublin jury could be empannelled to find either way? It was useless to contest the point; and the Catholics thenceforward contented themselves with the unwieldy machinery of Aggregate Meetings, got up with difficulty, and forgotten when they separated. It is true, the Catholic Board existed; but it did little more than vote thanks to the friends of liberty, in Parliament, and give them public dinners as testimonies of gratitude. Aggregate Meetings then became the fashion, and at these assemblages Mr. O'CONNELL pre-eminently distinguished himself. The Catholics in the different counties waited the time of his half-yearly visits, during the Munster Circuit; and, accordingly, we find, in Cork, Kerry, Limerick, the future LIBERATOR ascending rapidly into popular estimation. But his great speech this year (1812) was at the aggregate meeting in Dublin, at which the celebrated *witchery* resolutions, to which we shall soon have occasion to refer, were adopted. It was a powerful display of argument, and impassioned eloquence; and, it established firmly his already high character as an orator and a patriot.

We have already observed that the State Trials, under the Convention Act, gave an immense impulse to the Catholic cause. The fact was proved in a remarkable manner by the unceasing debates in Parliament, arising out of those trials, and having for their subject the political state of Ireland. In one of these debates, Mr. CANNING betrayed to the world the unhappy position in which he was placed, by serving with a Ministry hostile to Catholic Emancipation, and unflinchingly opposed to his own views. He was afterwards taunted with this by Lord BROUGHAM, and deservedly. In the debate to which we allude, he made a powerful speech in favour of the Catholic claims; and yet sullied his character and dis-

honoured his noble intellect, by supporting the Irish Government in their despotic persecution of the Catholic Leaders. It was a prostitution of mind, incomprehensible at the present day to honourable men.

The most remarkable event, connected with the Catholic cause, which occurred in 1812, was the death, by murder, of its arch enemy, Mr. PERCEVAL. His removal produced for a time, a change in political affairs. Mr. CANNING, conscious of the duplex character his connexion with Mr. PERCEVAL gave him, refused after his death to unite with a ministry sternly opposed to Emancipation.—Lord WELLESLEY was then commissioned to form an administration on a broad basis, combining men of all parties, but all pledged to entertain the Catholic claims. He invited Lord LIVERPOOL to join the piebald ministry he proposed to form. But he and his friends refused to unite, under any circumstances, with Lord WELLESLEY—making, however, no objection to the condition respecting the Catholic claims. Lords GREY and GRENVILLE, and their friends, were also invited. They were given no opportunity of judging who were to be their colleagues. They were simply told, if they chose to make part of the administration, FIVE places in the Cabinet out of the THIRTEEN, were reserved for them and their friends. In this arrangement the seeds of speedy dissolution were so apparent, that the negociation was broken off. Ultimately, the Government of Lord LIVERPOOL was re-constituted, to the inexpressible disappointment of the Irish nation.

Mr. CANNING, freed from the shackles that pinioned a great intellect, brought forward, in some time after, a motion pledging the House of Commons to take into its early consideration, with a view to their adjustment, the

Catholic claims. His motion, after a brilliant speech from him, was carried by a majority of 129. A similar motion made in the Lords, was only lost by a majority of ONE. Parliament was soon after dissolved; and immense efforts were made by the Catholic party at the ensuing elections.

The contests having been decided, Mr. LAWLESS brought forward a motion in the Catholic Board censuring those Catholics who had betrayed their cause by voting for the enemies of Ireland. The motion was opposed by O'CONNELL, expressly because the terms in which it was couched were too vague and general. He demanded that the parties should be named. He alluded to some calumny respecting himself, and connected with his friend Mr. LALOR, who was stated to be one of those who, as a Catholic, had so acted. But of this hereafter. We shall have to notice it when the proper time and place arrive.

One of the most remarkable of Mr. O'CONNELL's speeches was that which he delivered in 1812, in Limerick, in favor of abolishing Corporate thraldom in that city. It is remarkable that it was through this very question, SPRING RICE afterwards found his way to the House of Commons, where he remained until the discussion on the Repeal of the Union prepared for him a seat in the upper House, where he now sits with the style and title of Lord MONTEAGLE of Brandon.

Mr. O'CONNELL still continued steadily advancing in his profession. We find him a leading counsel in some of the most important causes, both in the Law and Equity Courts, where he displayed in various ways, the transcendant abilities, and the various attributes with which he was endowed. We cannot feel surprise that the patience of a man, so thoroughly master of his profession

as O'CONNELL, now and then gave way before the inexperience or stupidity of some, with whom, as a lawyer, he came in contact. He had often to struggle with the *dicta* of Judges, whose decisions he knew, and contended, were incorrect; but whose obstinacy he was unable to subdue. In a case, tried at the Cork Assizes, before one of the present Judges, then for the first time presiding during Circuit, a point arose touching the legality of certain evidence, which O'CONNELL argued was clearly admissible. He sustained his own view very fully, reasoning with the closeness and force, and quoting precedents with that facility for which he was distinguished. But it was all in vain. The Court ruled against him, and the trial proceeded. It was one of no ordinary length, and at the close of the day the proceedings were not completed. On the following morning, when the case was about to be resumed, the Judge addressed himself to O'CONNELL, and, alluding to his own decision of the previous day, he told him, that he had reconsidered the point, and was then of opinion the evidence should not have been rejected. He had, doubtless, during the previous evening, informed himself on the point in question, by a reference to written authorities, or been set right after consultation with his "learned brother." He therefore invited O'CONNELL to reproduce the evidence tendered and refused the day before. Another might have thanked him obsequiously for his condescension; but O'CONNELL'S impatience broke out. "Good God, my Lord," said he, "if your Lordship had known as much law yesterday morning as you do this, what an idle sacrafice of time and trouble would you not have saved me, and an injury and injustice to my client." "Crier," added he, in a tone of indignation, "call up the witness." The reprimand was felt acutely; but his Lordship re-

mained absolutely silent. There are lawyers living who witnessed this ebullition.

In our days there is scarce an instance of a Judge entertaining personal antipathy against a practising Barrister, or suffering feelings of a private nature to mark his demeanour on the Bench. All due courtesy prevails between the Bench and Bar; the proprieties are studiously, and, indeed spontaneously, observed. Little, in fact, can now occur to disturb the friendly, though formal, relations subsisting between both orders. The modern exception is, the slightly acrid, and really amusing squabble, in which Baron LEFROY, on the one hand, and Mr. BENNETT, of the Munster Circuit, were rather recently engaged. This, however, only proves the rule. But, in O'CONNELL's day, there were political elements at work, that frequently operated on the judgment seat, and manifested their influence in the demeanour of its occupants. The Judges themselves came in for a share of his animadversions, when he deemed their judicial, or other conduct, deserved public censure: and when he pleaded as an advocate before them, their natural resentment betrayed itself. Singular to say, his practice was never injuriously affected by his boldness outside. Other men have suffered vitally from the political or personal hostility of Judges: CURRAN was one of them. But, O'CONNELL beat down the most formidable hatred, and compelled, by the sheer force of legal and intellectual power, the bitterest and most obstinate personal rancour to give way. To use an expressive, though a vulgar phrase, he badgered pompous, despotic, and hostile Judges until they ultimately yielded. He could not be awed. If they were haughty, he was proud. If they were malevolent, he was cuttingly sarcastic. It so hap-

pened that he was by at an argument in one of the Courts of Dublin, in the course of which a young Kerry Attorney was called upon by the opposing Counsel, either to admit a statement as evidence, or to hand in some document he could legally detain. O'CONNELL was not specially engaged. The discussion, we believe, arose on a new trial motion—the issue to go down to the Assizes. He did not interfere, until the demand was made on the Attorney; but he then stood up and told him to make no admission. He was about to resume his seat, when the Judge, Baron M'CLELAND, said, with a peculiar emphasis, "Mr. O'CONNELL, have you a *brief* in this case." "No, my Lord," replied O'CONNELL, "I have not; but I *will* have one, when the case goes down to the Assizes." "When *I*," rejoined the Judge, throwing himself back with an air of lofty scorn, "was at the bar, it was not *my* habit to anticipate briefs." "When *you* were at the bar," retorted O'CONNELL, "*I* never chose *you* for a model; and now that you are on the bench, I shall not submit to your dictation." Leaving his Lordship to digest the retort, he took the Attorney by the arm, and walked him out of Court. In this way he dealt with hostile Judges.

It has often formed matter of astonishment to those who were acquainted with the multiplicity of his legal business, how he had leisure to master even the bearings of the numerous cases in which he was retained. His natural sagacity was unrivalled, and he had the faculty of discerning, at a glance, where lay the strength of his own case, or the weak points of an antagonist's. His guiding principle was, never to prove too much. When he had made good his footing—there he stood. He never ventured on ground of a deceptive nature; nor confused the Court or Jury with too much evidence. He was sa-

tisfied when he was safe, and being so, he fenced himself round with rapidity, but with discernment. He discovered instantly where he had a right to stop: and even though not "made up," in particular cases, an expression—a moment's knowledge of what was going on, was enough to open up to him not only the course he should pursue, but the peculiar points to which it was necessary he should address himself.

O'CONNELL's position at the Bar was strongly exemplified about this period—1812—by the lead he took in an affair between the Benchers of the King's Inn and the Bar, arising out of a letter published by Mr. MOORE, the Barrister, and connected with a trial in which he was interested. The letter, addressed to the members of the Bar, appeared in the *Evening Post*, and reflected severely on the Judge who presided at the trial. Though Mr. MOORE, when called upon, made an apology, expressing regret for its publication, the Benchers, not satisfied with that *amende*, passed a severe censure on him, and, very unreasonably, required he should sign an apology, acknowledging that he acted a part unbecoming a Barrister. The Bar took up the quarrel, and O'CONNELL led the way. PLUNKETT and other eminent men took a part; and the meeting adopted resolutions, proposed by O'CONNELL, condemning the course pursued by the Benchers. Against the unjust exercise of power, in or out of Courts, O'CONNELL always struggled: he was the opponent of oppression in whatever form; and, regardless of the subsequent hostility of the Bench, he acted fearlessly as the occasion required. Witness his well-known, severe, and bitter philippic against Lord Chancellor MANNERS, at the very time that his professional advancement in Chancery practice depended on, at least, the Chancellor's neutrality. He knew his own powers, and

they gave him strength and courage. In this very case of Lord MANNERS, a well-known anecdote illustrates this observation. His well merited attack on the Chancellor, as a bad politician, was the subject of general discussion.—How was he to get over it? What chance now of briefs had he in the Court of Chancery? What Attorney would employ him there? He *was*, however, employed in a very important case, a short time after. All the counsel at his side were heard except himself. The Chancellor declared he would hear no more on either side, and intimated that his mind was made up against O'CONNELL's client. O'CONNELL, however, requested an opportunity to place some arguments before his Lordship, which he trusted would present the matter in another light. With some difficulty the Chancellor consented to hear him the next day. But it was, in the opinion of his client, a forlorn hope. The Chancellor's mind was made up. What chance had the Agitator, after his late speech, of prevailing with him? What a pity he did not give up politics. Thus the matter was discussed by the disconsolate suitor and his Attorney. O'CONNELL was heard the next day. At first, the Chancellor scarcely deigned to notice him; then he began to take notes; then he listened attentively—earnestly; and altered convictions evidently grew upon him. O'CONNELL continued the whole day, and completed a most powerful argument. The next day judgment was pronounced in his favour. He compelled the hostile Chancellor to change his opinions, by the force of his reasoning and his superior knowledge of law. No triumph could well be more signal than O'CONNELL's in this case. In fact, no lawyer ever surpassed him in the clearness with which he put the points of his argument, or the irresistible cogency with which he urged them.

We may here be permitted to give an anecdote or two, to exemplify further his great rapidity of conception, his

knowledge of law, and the tact with which he made even his broad humour tell for his client's advantage. In a case, at a Cork Assizes, in which he was Counsel on the same side, with many of the most eminent men who attended Circuit, he was absent in one Court, while some points of great importance were undergoing discussion in the other. His fellow barristers were able lawyers; but they were severely pressed by the opposing Counsel, and an unfavourable issue was threatened. The Judge was about to declare a verdict; Counsel were in the last extremity; and their only hope rested on O'CONNELL. He had been sent for, once or twice; but he was then addressing a Jury in behalf of a prisoner on trial for his life. He was disengaged in the nick of time; his learned and able friends were in the last stage of despair, when he entered the Record Court, in that apparently indifferent and inattentive manner he assumed, jesting, as he passed in, with individuals he knew. He could not, we believe, have previously known much, if anything, of the case he was hastily called to argue; but he caught, as he proceeded to his seat, the upshot of what Counsel was driving at. Drawing the cord of his ample bag, he extracted quickly from its depths the particular brief he wanted, and glancing through a sheet or two, in the most superficial manner, he rose to address the Court. In a few brief sentences he cleared away the difficulties by which his fellow Counsel were embarrassed. In a few more he turned the tables on the opposite party; and in one of the shortest speeches he, or any other lawyer, was ever known to make in a case of similar importance, he banished all idea of a nonsuit from the Judge's mind, and succeeded in winning him over decisively in favour of his client. He disposed summarily of the main diffi-

culty. He extricated his learned brethren from the slough: and informing the Court that the remainder of the argument would be carried on by one or either of the Junior Barristers, he consigned his brief to its former place—closed his bag, and returned to the Court whence he was summoned. The case was won. "He," said our informant, "found the able men with whom he acted, sprawling like a parcel of children, and it was he only who set them on their legs." The incident is but another illustration of his commanding powers as a lawyer, and the facility and readiness with which he could apply the acquisitions of a practical, sagacious, and extraordinary intellect.

But what endeared him to his brother barristers, as well as to the public, was his rich and racy humour. We will be permitted to repeat an expression of his, many years ago, at a Cork Assizes, that still creates a laugh, when recollected by those who heard him, and saw how it was applied. He was employed in an action of damages, for diverting a stream from its regular channel, or diverting so much of it as inflicted injury on some party who previously benefited by its abundance. The injury was offered by a nobleman; and his attorney, on whose advice the proceeding was adopted, was a man of corpulent proportions, with a face bearing the ruddy glow of rude health, but, flushed in a crowded court, assuming, momentarily, a colour like that imparted by intemperance. He really was a most temperate man. O'Connell dwelt, of course, on the damage his client had sustained by the unjust usurpation. The stream should have been permitted to follow its old and natural course.—There was neither law nor justice in turning it aside from his client's fields. He had a right to all its copiousness, and the other party should have allowed him the full en-

joyment. In place of that, the latter monopolized the water—he diminished it. It became every day small by degrees, and beautifully less. "There is not, now," he said, "Gentlemen of the Jury, a tenth of the ordinary quantity. The stream is running dry—and so low is it, and so little of it is there, that" continued he turning to the rubicund Attorney, and naming him, "there isn't enough in it to make grog for FOGARTY." A roar of laughter followed, and it was not stopped by the increased rosiness and embarrassment of the gentleman who became the victim of the learned Advocate's too humerous allusion. The tact in this sally was, in endeavouring to create an impression on the Jury, that his poor client was sacrificed by the harsh conduct of a grog-drinking Attorney, and thus create a prejudice against the plaintiff's case. The allusion was not justified by fact; for the gentleman was, as we have said, remarkably temperate. But lawyers are allowed a latitude in dealing with facts. Thus did O'CONNELL gain the hearts of Irish Juries; and thus did he, indulging his own natural humour, on the public platform, gain the affections, while he commanded the obedience, of his countrymen. He knew all the avenues to their hearts: but his own heart, that thrilled so sympathetically in unison with theirs, is now, alas, cold and stilled for ever.

In the beginning of 1813, O'CONNELL distinguished himself as a lawyer by a remarkable legal argument in the cause of M'GHEE, a minor. The application was, that the minor and ward in Chancery, who was a Catholic, should have a Catholic guardian. The argument was long, elaborate, and technical. We mention the matter merely because the case made much noise at the time. It was heard before JOHN P. CURRAN, as Master of the Rolls. The application was refused, and a Protestant Guardian appointed.

The case, however, which this year raised O'Connell's fame as an advocate, to a point beyond which it could not further ascend, was the case of the King at the Prosecution of the Duke of Richmond, against Magee, the Proprietor, Printer, and Publisher of the *Dublin Evening Post*; for a libel written on the occasion of the Duke's retirement from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. The alleged libel was contained in an article of the ordinary kind; but reviewing and censuring severely his administration, and comparing it with the rule of the very worst of his predecessors. It was an article not more violent in its tone, than some of the strictures written at the time of Lord DeGrey's, or the Marquess of Anglesey's departure, in our day; and yet the most vindictive prosecution was instituted against Magee. The result was, he was sentenced to Two years' imprisonment, a fine of £500, and ordered to find securities in a large amount, to keep the peace for seven years after. But we anticipate. Mr. O'Connell's speech to the Jury in this case, was one of the most magnificent ever delivered in a Court of Justice. With the exception of Lord Erskine's celebrated libel speech, it has no equal in the annals of forensic eloquence. There was this great distinction between these two really superhuman efforts:—Lord Erskine spoke for a verdict: O'Connell, as well as his client, knew there was no chance whatever of an acquittal, from the packed Jury he addressed. Accordingly, his speech was a noble, bold, masterly, political, and historical harangue; together with being one of the severest philippics ever delivered—directed against the unfortunate Attorney-General, Saurin. It is unequalled. It has become even a matter of tradition that this speech of O'Connell's was his greatest effort. When it is recollected that it took two days in its delivery, and that it has

been published at full length, the reader will at once see, that even an outline of it neither could nor need be given here. O'CONNELL's object clearly was, to seize an opportunity of chastising the RICHMOND Administration, for all its misdeeds in the Government of Ireland. Taking up paragraph after paragraph of the article in question, he discussed them on the principle that truth was no libel. The publication was, in a great degree, a comparison between the Duke of RICHMOND and his predecessors—such as STRAFFORD—who crushed the Irish people by misgovernment. Mr. O'CONNELL examined, step by step, the truth of each statement;—proceeding to shew the fair, legitimate nature of the remarks so written on the conduct of a public man. In doing so, he held up to the empire the character of RICHMOND. The sarcastic and cutting denunciations in this speech, have been seldom equalled. Mr. SAURIN, the Attorney-General, too, came in for his share. He had called MAGEE a Jacobin. This gave O'CONNELL an opportunity of shewing up SAURIN's political tergiversations, and he exposed them. He read out, in open Court, passages from that Lawyer's celebrated speech in 1800, denouncing the Union—passages which, we will find, he often subsequently quoted during the Repeal Agitation. His address has been called, with force and truth, his great DEMOSTHENIC effort. When speaking of the French Revolution, and of the characteristic insolence of the French nation—turning to SAURIN, and alluding to his Gallic descent—he exclaimed:—"Yes, my Lords, "they *are* insolent, even when transplanted, and to the "third and fourth generation." Nothing could be severer than the sarcasm thus conveyed. We have said that O'CONNELL did not expect mercy at the hands of the Jury; and, accordingly, he was unsparing and merciless to them. He lashed their bigotry and low prejudices, until

they absolutely writhed under the infliction. He exacted, for his client, vengeance for the issue he was prepared to anticipate. Of course, as both foresaw, the Jury returned an adverse verdict ; but the speech delivered on the occasion was a thunderstroke to intolerance. It caused a lasting and universal sensation throughout the country. MAGEE published it in a pamphlet, and adopted its sentiments. What was the consequence ?—It will scarcely be credited in these days, that when he was brought up next term, for judgment, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL filed an affidavit, charging on the traverser, the animadversions directed by Counsel against himself, and the Duke of RICHMOND, during the trial, and setting them forth as an aggravation of the original offence. The affidavit was acted on by the Judges, and the aggravation recognized in measuring the degree of punishment. The position was a painful one for Mr. O'CONNELL. True, MAGEE, by specially publishing his speech, and adopting his sentiments, laid himself open in point of law, to an attack, to which he could not have been subject on account of the speech itself. The affair, then, was of MAGEE's own seeking ; Mr. O'CONNELL was not involved in it; still, it was painful to him that his client should suffer for the observations he addressed in his defence to the jury, and he gave utterance to the feeling. The Attorney General, in making his application to the Court, took the opportunity of retaliating bitterly on O'CONNELL. As may be well imagined by those who knew the LIBERATOR's proud, fearless, and determined character, the invective was not allowed to pass unanswered. The first sentence he uttered in reply was indicative of scorn, and of conscious superiority. He commenced thus:—" I am sure, my Lords, that every gentleman present will sympathize in the em-

otions I now experience. — I am sure no gentleman can avoid feeling the deepest interest, in a situation in which it is extremely difficult to check the strongest resentment, but quite impossible to give that resentment utterance in the severity of language suited to its cause and provocation. Yet, even here, do I yield in nothing to the Attorney-General; I deny, in the strongest terms, his unfounded and absurd claim to superiority. I am his equal, at least, in birth; his equal in fortune; his equal, certainly, in education; and, as to talent, I should not add that, but there is little vanity in claiming an equality. And thus meeting him on the firm footing of undoubted equality, I do rejoice, my Lords—I do most sincerely rejoice, that the Attorney-General has prudently treasured up his resentment since July last, and ventured to address me in this court in the unhandsome language he has used—because my profound respect for this high tribunal, and my veneration for this Temple of the Law, enable me here to overcome the infirmity of my nature, and to listen, with patience, to an attack which, had it been made elsewhere, would have met merited *chastisement.*"

"Justice DALY—Eh, what is that you say?"

"Justice OSBORNE—(with much apparent emotion)—I at once declare, that I will not sit here to listen to such a speech as I have seen reported. Take care of what you say, Sir."

"Mr. O'CONNELL—My Lord, what I say is, that I am delighted at the prudence of the Attorney-General, in having made that foul assault upon me here, and not elsewhere; because my profound respect for the Bench overcomes now those feelings, which, elsewhere, would lead me to do what I should regret—to break the peace in chastising him."

"Justice DALY—*Chastising!* the Attorney General! If a Criminal Information were applied for on that word, we should be bound to grant it."

"Mr. O'CONNELL—I meant, my Lords, that elsewhere, thus assailed, I should be carried away by my feelings, to do that which I should regret—to go beyond the law—inflict corporal punishment for that offence, which I am here ready, out of consideration for the Court, to pardon."

"Justice OSBORNE—I will take the opinion of the Court whether you shall not be committed."

"CHIEF JUSTICE—If you pursue that line of language, we must call upon some other of the Counsel at the same side to proceed."

"Justice DAY—Now, Mr. O'Connell, do not you perceive, that whilst you talk of suppressing those feelings, you are actually indulging them? The Attorney General could not mean you offence in the line of argument he pursued, to enhance the punishment, in every way, of your client. It is unnecessary for you to throw off, or to repel, aspersions that are not made on you."

"Mr. O'CONNELL—My Lord, I thank *you*—I sincerely thank you. It relieves my mind from a load of imputation, when I hear such high authority as that of your Lordship, kindly declaring that it did not apply to me. And yet, my Lord, what did the Attorney General mean, when he called a Question, a Senseless, a Shameless Question? What did he mean, when he—my Lord—talked of low and vulgar mind? What did he mean, when he imputed to the advocate a participation in the crime of the client? This he distinctly charged me with. All I require from the Court is the same liberty to reply, with which the Attorney General was indulged in attack. All I ask is, to be suffered to answer and repel the calumnies with which I have been assailed."

"Justice DALY—You shall have the same liberty that he had ; but the Court did not understand him to have made any personal attack upon you."

"Justice OSBORNE—We did not understand that the Attorney-General meant you, when he talked of a participator in the crime of your client."

"ATTORNEY-GENERAL—I did not, my Lords. I certainly did not mean the gentleman. To state that I did, would be to misrepresent my meaning, which had nothing to do with him."

"Mr. O'CONNELL—Well, my Lords, be it so. I rejoice, however, that this charge is thus publicly disavowed ; and disavowed in the presence of those who heard his words originally—and who have heard me repel any attack made upon me. I rejoice to find, that your Lordships have interposed your opinion, that no personal attack has been made upon me, and thus have rendered unnecessary any further comment on what had flowed from the Attorney General."

Here was, at the very commencement, a triumph ; but the most successful and galling rejoinder to the Attorney-General was, the peroration of this celebrated speech. We cannot refuse ourselves the gratification of giving it at full length. We find it reported in the following words :—

"I conclude, by conjuring the Court not to make this a precedent, that may serve to palliate the acts of future, and perhaps, bad times. I admit—I freely admit, the Utopian perfection of the present period : we have every thing in the best possible state. I admit the perfection of the Bench ; I concede that there cannot be better times, and that we have the best of all possible Prosecutors ; I am one of those who allow, that the things that be, could not be better. But there have been, heretofore,

bad times, and bad times may come again; there have been partial, corrupt, intemperate, ignorant, and profligate Judges; the Bench has been disgraced by a Bilknap, a Tressilian, a Jeffries, a Scroggs, and an Alleybown. For the present, there is no danger; but, at some future period, such men may rise again; and if they do, see what an advantage they will derive from the precedent of this day, should it receive your Lordships' sanction. At such a period it will not be difficult to find a suitable Attorney General:—Some creature, narrow-minded, mean, calumnious, of inverate bigotry, and dastard disposition, who shall prosecute with virulence and malignity, and delight in punishment. Such a man will, with prudent care of himself, receive merited and contemptuous retort. He will safely treasure up his resentment for four months. His virulence will, for a season, be checked by his prudence; until at some safe opportunity, it will explode by the force of the fermentation of its own putrefaction, and throw forth its filthy and disgusting stores, to blacken those whom he would not venture directly to attack. Such a man will, with shameless falsehood, bring sweeping charges against the population of the land—and afterwards meanly retract and deny them. Without a particle of manliness or manhood, he will talk of bluster, and bravado, and courage, and he will talk of those falsely, and where a reply would not be permitted. If such times rise, my Lords, the advocate of the accused will be sure not to meet what I should meet from your Lordships this day, were I so attacked—he will not meet sympathy, and equal liberty of speech. No, my Lords, the advocate of the accused will then be interrupted, and threatened by the Bench, lest he should wipe off, in the disgrace of his adversary, the foul and

false calumnies that have been poured upon him! The advocate then will not be listened to with the patience and impartiality with which, in case of a similar attack, your Lordships would listen to me. The then Attorney-General may indulge the bigotted virulence and dastard malignity of an ancient and irritated female, whose feelings evaporate in words; and such Judges as I have described, will give him all the protection he requires; and although at present such a dereliction of every decency which belongs to Gentlemen, would not be permitted, and would rouse your indignation; yet, in such bad times as I have described, the foul and dastard assailant would be sure in Court, and beyond it, to receive the full protection of the Bench, whilst the object of his attack could be certain of meeting imprisonment and fine, were he to attempt to reply suitably. My Lords, you who would act so differently—you who feel with me the atrocity of such a proceeding—you, my Lords, will not sanction the attempt that has been made this day, to convert the speech of Counsel against the Client, lest by doing so, you should afford materials for the success of any future Attorney General, such as I have endeavoured to trace to you. Before I sit down, I have only to add, that I know the reply of the Solicitor-General will, as usual, be replete with great talent; but, I also know, it will be conducted with the propriety of a gentleman; for he is a gentleman, and an Irish gentleman—but great as his talents are, they cannot, upon the present argument, injure my Client. With respect to his colleague, the Attorney General, I have only to say, that whatever related to him in my Speech, at the Trial, was imperatively called for by his conduct there. As to him, I have no apology to make. With respect to him, I should repeat my former assertions.—With respect to him, I retract

nothing. I repent nothing. I never will make him any concessions. I do now, as I did then, despise, and treat with perfect contempt, every false calumny that malignity could invent, or dastard atrocity utter, whilst it considered itself in safety."

A severer, a more masterly or fearless denunciation, executed with wonderful tact and coolness, was never delivered in presence of, and against, the ermined magnates of the land. However, poor MAGEE was punished for it, as we have already stated, by two years imprisonment in Kilmainham.

The year 1813, was remarkable for greater energy in the Catholic Board. The meetings were more frequent, and the speeches of a bolder character. Mr. O'CONNELL took a constant and leading part in its proceedings, and, as usual, was the framer of most of its reports, resolutions, &c. The whole labour of the Catholic cause was then on the shoulders of O'CONNELL—the "natural leaders" had retired. Perpetual agitation was not their *forte*. Mr. KEOGH, of Mount St. Jerome, after being for over thirty years the acknowledged Catholic MENTOR, was put aside, when it was found that his policy was quiescence. After the angry discussions in 1810, on the subject of petition or no petition, he gradually retired from the arena. In those days, as in ours, if a man was not allowed his own way, he retired, as the phrase is, "in disgust." In good truth, however, KEOGH had reason to complain, after his long services, against the injustice exhibited towards him, because of his quiescent policy. He considered "petitioning" a useless, nay, a "dishonourable course." Was it not a natural conclusion to arrive at, after the manner the Catholic claims were periodically disposed of? Was it generous to have assailed him for entertaining an honest opinion, though it differed from that of the majority of the Catholic body? O'CON-

NELL behaved nobly to the aged patriot, though he dissented from him; whilst he tried, at the same time, to smooth differences and allay discontent. He ever venerated the name of JOHN KEOGH. The famous letter of "*Catholicus Ipse*," which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of the day, against the latter, was full of bitter invective, and personalities, and contained charges which he successfully repudiated. To this hour it has not been discovered with certainty, who wrote that letter. Strong suspicion rested on an out and out, and rather unmanageable patriot of the period, Dr. DROMGOOLE. We perceive, in the transactions of those days, an anxiety on his part to differ from Mr. KEOGH, and oppose resolutions proposed by him, the then leader; but we think there is internal evidence of his not being the writer of that anonymous and much talked of publication. It was "*Catholicus Ipse*," who called O'CONNELL "the changeable and ever changing barrister." Now, Dr. DROMGOOLE and "the Counsellor" were great friends, and thought alike on "the policy of progress." Both of them were thorough going "Romans." There must have been a good understanding between them; and though O'CONNELL did, for the sake of union, give for a time his adhesion to the policy of delay, to the annoyance of Dr. DROMGOOLE, still, we scarcely think the Doctor, who was an honest man, would have attacked him for it anonymously. O'CONNELL himself attributed the letter to some Orangeman, who was desirous of creating disunion in the Catholic ranks. However, be that as it may —for the question is now scarcely worth discussing—certain it is, that the hitherto indefatigable KEOGH, had retired under the circumstance we have mentioned. The "rough work" was then put upon O'CONNELL; and he used often afterwards say, that but for his perseve-

rance in getting up meetings, and the assistance he received from the Dublin Coal-porters, in keeping the Orange boys of the University in order, he never would have worked up the agitation to the height it reached, or have carried Emancipation. For hours together used he linger on Carlisle Bridge, waiting, in that great thoroughfare, to meet members of the Catholic body, and send them down to the Exchange Rooms, when the meetings were at last held in that now celebrated edifice. The circumstances that led to his taking the building are not a little curious. The Catholic meetings were very frequently disturbed by the intrusion of the College boys, who used attend in large numbers, and in a body, for the purpose of interrupting the proceedings. The Coal-porters on the Dublin Quays, offered to "take charge" of these young fellows; and threatened, if allowed, to fling them into the Liffey, if they continued their misconduct. The Exchange Rooms, on Burgh Quay, happened at this very time to be advertised for letting. O'Connell took them on lease, in his own name, and he then sent word to the young Collegians, that as the meetings in future would be held near the river, they had better remain away; otherwise the Coal-porters might be disposed to carry their threats of a ducking into execution. This hint had the desired effect; the turbulent *alumni* of Trinity never afterwards disturbed the proceedings.—O'Connell used to say, half in joke, half in earnest, that but for the Dublin Coal-porters, Emancipation would never have been carried. It is a fact, that on the strength of their services, they always claimed a prominent position in all political processions, and their claim was invariably admitted.

The Catholics of England and the Protestants in that country, who were favourable to Emancipation, began in

1813, to meet and resolve. The times were propitious to these demonstrations. There was a decided majority in the House of Commons, in favour of some concession to the Catholics. Mr. GRATTAN carried, by a majority of FORTY, his motion for the introduction of a bill of Emancipation; and—so anxious was the House to consider the Catholic question, with a view to its settlement—that when Sir JOHN HIPPESLEY opposed the second reading, with a motion for first settling the *veto* question, his motion was lost by a majority of FORTY-EIGHT; though it was well known that Parliament was desirous of obtaining these securities, which it was considered a Royal veto on the appointment of Catholic Bishops, would give. Mr. GRATTAN's bill was read a second time. —The first enacting clause in it gave Catholics a right of admission to Parliament. Mr. CANNING gave notice of a series of clauses, to be inserted in Committee, in reference to the future appointment of Catholic Bishops. It was proposed in these clauses, that every Parish Priest should take an oath, that he would not vote for any person to be Bishop, whose loyalty he had cause to doubt—that a Board of Commissioners, consisting, like the present Charitable Bequests Board, of two Catholic Bishops a Catholic layman, and two Protestants, being members of the Government, should be created; that before the name of any person elected to the Episcopacy, should be forwarded for approval to Rome, it should be first submitted to the Board; and if the person elected was disapproved of, another election should take place. There does not appear to have been any limit to this *veto*; though Dr. MILNER, who was mixed up in these transactions, asserted that all he consented to, as agent of the Irish Prelates, was, a *limited veto*. We deeply regret that the truly venerable Prelate, Doctor TROY, was

dragged into the negociations connected with this subject. But, giving the matter unprejudiced consideration, we have come to the conclusion, that he was innocently entangled in them. It appears that Lord CASTLEREAGH had first drawn up *veto* clauses, appointing an entirely Protestant Board, to determine on the eligibility of those elected to the Catholic Episcopacy.—These clauses were sent over to Dr. TROY, by Lord DONOUGHMORE, and, in returning them, the Archbishop pointed out the effects of such provisions, and said something about the necessity of its being a purely Catholic Board. This was in a private letter. Lord DONOUGHMORE, who was most anxious to settle the great question on which his fame rested, went to Mr. CANNING. By his interterference, the suggestion of Doctor TROY was adopted in the new clauses; and a correspondence was opened between CANNING and the Archbishop. The correspondence proves, beyond a doubt, Dr. TROY's disapproval, *in toto*, of the objectionable clauses; though an attempt was made in the Catholic Board, by Mr. EDWARD BELLEW, to fasten on that excellent Prelate, a loose observation in a private letter, as a deliberate sanction to a mixed commission for the regulation of the Catholic Church. The truth is, the anxiety for Emancipation amongst the upper classes, was so intense, that they were highly indignant, a *mere question of discipline*, as they called it, should impede a settlement. There were not then many practical Catholics amongst that class. To O'CONNELL everlasting credit is due for the truly unselfish course he then pursued. Grant a *veto* to Government, and Emancipation was certain. In the high position he then held at the Bar, he must have received at once a silk gown, and promotion, if he looked for it. Indeed, his

exclusion from the inner bar, injured seriously those who enjoyed that privilege; because where it was necessary to have the benefit of his advocacy, a King's Counsel could not be employed. O'CONNELL threw all these considerations aside, and amidst much opposition, and personal rancour, adopted the side of the Clergy and People. He even went so far as to move, in the Catholic Board, that no project of Emancipation should be considered, until it had first met the approbation of the Bishops. This motion, however, he had to withdraw.

But, with or without these clauses, GRATTAN's Bill was not destined to pass. In Committee, the Speaker, Mr. MANNERS SUTTON, moved that the first clause, which admitted Catholics into Parliament, should be excluded. His motion was carried; and, of course, there was at once an end of the Bill. This disappointment, at a stage so near the goal of freedom, produced great excitement and agitation amongst the Catholics of Ireland. The Gentry were all in favor of the Bill, with the obnoxious clauses. The Clergy and the People spurned civil freedom, if purchased at the expense of their religion.

In no part of Ireland were the two parties so violent and determined in opposition to each other as in Cork. There was in that City, as in other parts of Ireland, a local Catholic Board; and it consisted of the Catholic Aristocracy and Merchants of the City and neighbourhood. Its proceedings were neither open to the public nor the press. The people were not admitted, and the Board, as a matter of course, was very genteel and very unpopular. After the defeat of GRATTAN's Bill, the Board, following the example of the rest of Ireland, called an Aggregate Meeting. The meeting was held at the Lancasterian Schools, and, as might have been expected,

was attended by the people in great crowds. As a good place was valuable, every one went early, except the "nobs," that is, the Board, who, of course, as they were to be the prominent actors in the scene, thought there was no danger of seats not being carefully provided for them. But neither their personal convenience, nor their judgment, was consulted. The popular party carried a series of important resolutions. In one of them, they refused to accept any but unconditional Emancipation—they spurned the *veto*; in another they voted thanks to O'CONNELL; in another to the Bishops and to Dr. MILNER. The number of the resolutions was seventeen. O'CONNELL attended, and was the moving spirit of the day. The Exclusive Catholic Board, at whose instance the meeting was convened, finding that they could not stem the tide of opinion, which set in against their vetoistical views, adjourned to a building on the opposite side of the road-way, and were about to hold a meeting of their own, when O'CONNELL came in upon them, followed by the people, and soon put an end to their proceedings. They were over in an instant. The gentlemen, annoyed that the people should dare have a voice in the matter, then adjourned to "the Bush" tavern, and drew up a PROTEST against the proceedings and resolutions of the aggregate meeting, as being highly injurious to the Catholic cause. The parties, many of whom are still living, by whom the resolutions were adopted, incurred in consequence a particular designation; they were known long after by the title of "PROTESTERS." Not content with their foolish Protest, they held another meeting, over which ALEXANDER O'DRISCOLL, Esq., of Clover Hill, presided, and at which it was resolved:—

"That adopting the wise principle of the Constitu-
"tion, by which PROPERTY IS MADE THE STANDARD OF

"OPINION, we found it impossible, at the late Aggre-
"gate Meeting, amidst the tumult of the lowest popu-
"lace, ignorant of necessity, and misled by design, to
"ascertain the sense of the Catholics of this City and
"County."

Nothing can better illustrate the state of society in Ireland in those days, than these absurd proceedings. Mr. O'CONNELL threw himself, heart and soul, into the ranks of the people, and the "PROTESTERS" were fairly extinguished. How was it possible for persons, resolving in the spirit of the above resolution, to obtain freedom?—Who will assert they even deserved it? It was this ridiculous superciliousness on the part of the Catholic gentry, that, for years and years, retarded the cause, and it was not until O'CONNELL, spurning their timidity, and scorning their pride, boldly rode the whirlwind, and directed the storm, that moral and religious liberty was at last achieved.

O'CONNELL's propensity to arraign, in no measured language, those of a distinguished rank who differed from him, has often been charged against him as a crime. But, as he himself tersely expressed it, in conversation with a valued friend of ours—it was not *irritation*, it was *calculation*, that made him adopt that style of animadversion. He lived at a time when Catholics could be almost known by their sycophantic demeanour, and by their tameness under every species of obloquy and insult. It was necessary that they should learn to retaliate; and if roughly assailed, to raise their heads, look their enemies in the face, and proclaim fearlessly and boldly their indignation. It was necessary to show them the example; and Lord FINGALL, the old Catholic leader, on his death bed declared, that he at last saw how mistaken he was about O'CONNELL; and that "his rough work"

"had mainly assisted in winning for them religious "freedom." O'CONNELL's invariably urbane conduct in Parliament, notwithstanding the provocations he endured, proved beyond a question, that it was not "irritation," that made him employ, occasionally, the weapons of attack he used. To the Catholic "PROTESTERS" he was not indulgent. Their conduct was scarcely excusable; and it was difficult to avoid expressing his opinion of them in the "rough work" fashion he sometimes adopted.

The principal mover in the whole of this democratic insurrection against aristocratic pretension in Cork, was the celebrated Dr. ENGLAND. He was a man of great powers of mind, amazing intellectual energy; possessing, too, a masculine eloquence, and a stern, unflinching determination, well suited to a popular leader. He had all the qualities that contribute to the influence, and are necessary to the office, of an agitator. No literary labour was too great for him; no opposition was too powerful. He was, from the first, a decided anti-Vetoist. Indeed, we may affirm, he was the guiding genius of the anti-QUARANTOTTI movement. He was, at the time we write of, Editor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, an honest, well-conducted paper; the downfall of which is a lasting stigma on the patriotism of the South. He worked up the movement against the local Catholic Board; and at last forced the members to publish their proceedings. Why was it Ireland afterwards lost the services of that distinguished man? Why was his lot ultimately cast in a foreign land—in the Southern States of Republican America, where his genius burned out, amidst a race of uncivilized slave-owners? He sacrificed himself to the service of religion; but would he not have rendered it more service as a Prelate, in his native land, co-operating with such able and exalted men as Doctor DOYLE, in improv-

ing the condition of the people, and making Catholicity respected even by its enemies? The endowments of a mind like his, were partly lost in the semi-barbarous sphere of CHARLESTON, and those Southern States of America, of which he became Bishop. The boundless regions of the FAR WEST, presented opportunities too few for the exercise of those accomplishments and gifts, with which he was enriched. Religion might be propagated by intellectually inferior agencies. Amongst the busy, money-loving, pre-occupied, and scattered sojourners in those wild, half-settled territories, one mind, however masculine and energetic, could accomplish little. His profound learning—his theological acquirements fell upon a barren soil—though, as the result has proved, from their intrinsic vigour, they took root and flourished. It is, primarily, the poor Irishman, who carries with him into these regions the religious feelings and traditions of his forefathers—who is, as it were, religious by instinct, and who clings, with a tenacity of purpose almost incredible, to the minutest observances of his faith—it is, primarily, at least, by instruments such as he, that Christianity is destined to be spread over the boundless regions of the Western World. Ireland is the nursery of Catholicity. Her very poverty and misfortunes, that oblige her people to emigrate, are, after all, a glorious ordinance of Providence, for the purpose of propagating, by ordinary means, the blessings of true Religion. It is to Ireland, that as teachers of religion, as the instructors of humbler missionaries, such men as Dr. ENGLAND should be assigned. It was, therefore, always a source of deep regret, in after days, that circumstances, we believe of a private nature, suggested his appointment to the Episcopacy in America.—He who broke down the *veto* spirit in Cork, would have

rendered invaluable services in the various subsequent struggles for civil liberty, and social and political amelioration. For his was a master mind; and it was on such a stage, as society in Ireland afforded, that his noble and various attributes would have found material and room for action.

It was the prevailing opinion of that day, that Dr. ENGLAND was the author of the celebrated letter which, under the signature of "One of the Populace," was published in the *Dublin Evening Post*, and for which an action was brought against the unfortunate JOHN MAGEE, by one of the "PROTESTERS," Mr. COPINGER. The action was tried in Cork, and is to this day memorable in that City, from the cutting sarcasms against the "Property—the Standard of Opinion" gentlemen, uttered by MAGEE'S Counsel, in one of the most telling speeches ever pronounced in a court of justice. The writer was a boy at the time, but he well recollects being at the trial; and he has now in his mind's eye, HARRY DEANE GRADY, amidst the profoundest silence, giving expression to those biting sentences that are, even to this day, repeated by the descendants of that generation.

The year 1813, was the first in which Provincial Subscriptions, in aid of the Catholic Board, were set on foot. This year is also remarkable for a powerful vetoistic address of Mr. SHIEL'S, at the Board, in reply to Mr. O'CONNELL'S motion for consulting the Bishops in reference to any future measure of Emancipation.

Among the many celebrated speeches, delivered by O'CONNELL, during his long public career, none appear to us more full of wisdom, foresight, and consistent adherence to the principles of moral force, which he always advocated, as one to which we wish specially to refer. He was now attaining high and general popularity; and,

as in proportion as he ascended, he was maligned, it can be very well understood that in 1813, he was well abused, both by Vetoists, on the one hand, and Orangeists, on the other. He had, however, recompense in the love and veneration of the people; and never was it more strongly evinced than at the Aggregate Meeting held in the Fishshamble Theatre, Dublin, in June of the year 1813. His speech on that occasion is so remarkable, in reference to the future, that we must afford the reader an opportunity, to some extent, of appreciating it, by inserting the following extract:—

"Let me," he said, "let me return you the thanks of my heart for the kindness with which you have this day received me. I am proud of the kindness of my countrymen—it is the only reward I would accept, as it is the only one I seek—but it is a rich recompence—it consoles and compensates me for the slanders and malignity of those who are my enemies, only because they are your oppressors! Nay, in their enmity, too, I feel comfort and delight. I rejoice to have earned their hostility, and I shall deem most lightly of myself, if the hour ever arrives, when the men who enrich themselves in the degradation and slavery of Ireland, do treat me with favor, or even with neutrality. I complain not of their calumnies; I exult in them. I have lashed the bigot and the tyrant—I have exposed the infamy of those hypocritical pretenders to sanctity; who, in the name of God, plunder and oppress Ireland—the men who discount their consciences, and obtain money by their pretensions to piety—men whom I need not name, because you know them by my description. Those men calumniate me—when it is quite safe to do it—in my absence; but I exult in deserving their hatred. I rejoice at their exertions, which only prove, that I have, in some degree,

revenged my country on them—I court their hostility—all I deprecate is their forbearance or favour. Yet your enemies say, and let them say, that I wish for a separation between England and Ireland! The charge is false; it is, to use a modern quotation—"as false as hell;" and the men who originated, and those who inculcate it, know its falsehood. There lives not a man less desirous of a separation between the two Countries; there lives not a man more deeply convinced that the connexion between them, established on the basis of one King and separate Parliaments, would be of the utmost value to the happiness of both countries, and the liberties of the civilized world. Next, your enemies accuse me of a desire for the independence of Ireland. I admit the charge, and let them make the most of it. I have seen Ireland a Kingdom—I reproach myself with having lived to behold her a Province. Yes; I confess it; I will be ever quite candid on this subject. I HAVE AN ULTERIOR OBJECT; it is the Repeal of the Union, and the restoration to Old Ireland of her Independence. I am told that it is indiscreet to avow this intention. It may be so: but in Public Affairs discretion amounts to dissimulation; and if to repeal the Union be the first service, as it clearly is, that can be rendered to Ireland, I, for one, most readily offer to postpone our Emancipation, in order to promote the cause of our country. Let me not be mistaken. It is true, I desire the restoration of our Parliament. I would sacrifice my existence to restore to Ireland her independent Legislature. But I do not desire to restore such a Parliament as she had before. No; the act of Restoration necessarily implies a Reformation, which would for ever abolish the ridiculous, but most criminal traffic in Representation. The New Irish Legislature would, of

course, be purged of the close boroughs. The right to nominate to Parliament should be no longer matter of traffic, or family arrangements. It should not be, as it is at present, private property, so much so that I could name to you a borough in which a seat in Parliament is vested by regular registered marriage settlement—I could tell you the date and number of the registry in which the owner of the land and a country gentleman, are Trustees to raise money upon it, for the benefit of the younger children of a Baronet. This traffic—the odious and disgusting traffic, should be abolished for ever. Desiring, as I do, the Repeal of the Union, I rejoice to see our enemies promote that object. Yes, they promote its success by their very hostility to Ireland—they delay the liberties of the Catholics, but they compensate us most amply, because they advance the restoration of Ireland. By leaving one cause of agitation, they have created, and they will embody, and give shape and form to a Public Mind and Public Spirit. Ireland lay in torpor, till roused by the call for Religious Liberty. She would, I fear, and am convinced, relapse into apathy, if Liberty of Conscience were soon conceded. Let them delay Emancipation but yet a little while, and they will find that they have roused the sleeping Lion of Ireland to awaking activity, which will not permit any further slumber, till Ireland is herself again—a Nation. They may still, perhaps, administer the narcotic of Religious Freedom, which may re-establish political lethargy; but let them suffer our discussions to continue; let them allow our agitators to increase; let the love of country, and even the desire of notoriety, be permitted to excite fresh agitators; and above all, let the popular mind become accustomed to the consideration of public subjects, and to the vehemence of political contest—and they know nothing of human

nature, who imagine they can, with a breath, still the tempest that they shall have thus excited, or be able to quiet a people, whom they shall have roused to a sense of their wrongs, and a knowledge of their strength and importance. I repeat it, without the hazard of contradiction ;—the delay of Emancipation I hear with joy ; because in that delay is the only prospect of attaining my great, my ultimate object, the Legislative Independence of my native land. I have wandered from my subject, but I have not forsaken your cause. The very calumnies of your enemies and mine, lead us to the discussion of topics, which it is for their interest to bury, if they can, in eternal oblivion. The manner I shall refute their slanders is, by endeavouring to serve you. I cannot do that better than by tendering you my humble—but my earnest and honest advice. Emissaries are abroad —Agents have been employed—abundance of money, and great encouragement are held out to those who may seduce you from your allegiance."He then goes on to say—"If you allowed yourselves to be seduced, you would have no friends—no supporters. We, who now join you in bearing down upon your oppressors—we, who expose the hypocrites that cover their bigotry in the stolen garments of religion—we, who are ready to run every danger, to sustain every calumny, and every loss and every personal inconvenience in your cause, so long as you conduct that cause within the limits of the Constitution —we, in whom you confide, would, and must be found, if you violate the law, in the ranks of your enemies, and in arms. For myself, I will tell you honestly, that if the fatal day ever arrives, you will find me arrayed against you."

Every succeeding year presented the Catholic cause under a new aspect ; and as Mr. O'Connell's life, day after day, was becoming more intimately intwined in it;

we are but writing his biography, when describing the various shiftings of Catholic affairs. In the history of the struggle for religious freedom, 1814 was a year marked by events of interest, and yet it was one of comparative inaction. DIVISION had crept into the ranks of the Catholic party Dr. DROM GOOLE had made an intemperate and rather sectarian speech, which gave offence to FINLAY and others, who were Protestant emancipators, and it alarmed fastidious and timid Catholics. Mr. O'CONNELL, too, had repudiated, for the Catholics of Ireland, all intention of allowing their question to be the watch-word of party, and threw off all allegiance to the old Whigs. He carried, in the Catholic Board, after a most masterly oration, a series of suggestions to their Parliamentary friends; the first and principal of which was, that without particularizing any religious sect, the gates of the Constitution should be thrown open to all—a high and liberal sentiment, but deviating too much from the beaten track to please their Parliamentary supporters. Lord DONOUGHMORE, and even Mr. GRATTAN, in their correspondence with the Catholic leaders in Ireland, assumed rather a dictatorial tone. They could not well understand how those whose existence was not long before scarcely recognized by law, could presume to prescribe terms on which they would consent to receive Emancipation. The Catholics were completely split into vetoists and anti-vetoists. Most of the vetoists had seceded from the Catholic Board; but still within the Board, there was much division, produced chiefly by Dr. DROMGOOLE'S speech. It was in reference to this effusion that O'CONNELL, in 1832, uttered the following observations in Parliament:—

"I have lived a life of somewhat public exhibition, in the course of which, I have never concealed my opinions.

Indeed, I may be said to have thought aloud, and in the hearing of every body. I have been now twenty-five years before the public, and I defy any of the hon. gentlemen around me to quote one single expression, or one single sentiment, uttered by me, at variance with respect for the religious opinions of every Christian.—Indeed there was much uttered in the house that night about the introduction of religion into politics, which I will not characterise, but which, if uttered out of this house, I would call cant and hypocrisy. For the twenty-five years, during which the people of Ireland had been struggling for religious liberty, under the influence of various feelings, and, perhaps, subject to much intemperance and great excitement; he defied them to point out a single sentiment ever uttered, even in their most unguarded moments, with the single exception of an expression once uttered by a single individual, Dr. DROGOOLE. With that single exception, I defy them to point out any other instance, in which any member of the Catholic body had spoken with bigotry of the Protestant religion; and during that time they were pretty constant readers of the newspapers, and if any such expression had been used, they would be very happy to have it in their power to quote it against us. This was the only occasion, and how did the Catholic body act? They called a meeting the next day, and the single expression of that individual was followed by an unanimous vote of censure."

All those matters disinclined the Parliamentary friends of the Catholics to move on their petition to the Legisture. Their disinclination was ten-fold increased by the arrival of QUARANTOTTI's celebrated rescript. He was Prefect of the Propaganda during the imprisonment of Pope PIUS the Seventh, and held full authority from him.

This Rescript had reference to the "CANNING CLAUSES," in the Catholic Bill of the previous year. It highly approved of them, and called on Dr. POYNTER, Vicar Apostolic of London, to exert his influence to have them accepted, and submitted to in England and Ireland. This Rescript produced a prodigious sensation in Ireland. The Clergy, throughout the country, assembled and protested against it. They denied, first, the authority of QUARANTOTTI; and, even admitting his authority as the POPE's Vicar, they denied his Holiness had any power, without the consent of the Irish Hierarchy, to change the discipline of the Irish Church. The English Bishops were Vicars of the Pope; for the English Church was missionary. The Irish was not a missionary,—it was an independent Church, and was protected by the same rights under the Canon Law, as any other Church,—as the Gallic, the Spanish, or Portuguese. Such was the course of reasoning the Irish Clergy adopted. But the Prelates were more cautious; and instead of expressing an opinion, they sent a deputation to Rome, consisting of Dr. MURRAY, then Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin, of Dr. MILNER, and some others. All were, however, determined, at all hazards, not to allow authority over their religion to the English Government. In the mean time, no step was taken in Parliament, in favour of the Catholics. NAPOLEON had abdicated, and was confined at Elba. There was nothing now to dread. Our English Rulers could afford to despise our demands. Lord DONOUGHMORE was even inclined to quarrel with his old friends; and in a letter to the Catholic Board he said they assumed to be a representative body, notwithstanding their repeated and solemn disavowals. This was like holding out encouragement to the Government to

suppress the Board. Whether acting on the hint, or from itself, the Government, some months after, issued a proclamation suppressing the Board, as a body existing in violation of the Convention Act. The Catholic Board was simply a committee appointed at an aggregate meeting in Dublin, to prepare, from time to time, petitions to Parliament. If its constitution was illegal, then almost every deputed body, formed in Ireland, is acting against the statute; for the law remains unaltered. However, be that as it may, the Board was suppressed by proclamation. The result was gratifying. The Catholics were not cowed: an immense aggregate meeting was convened in Dublin; and a long series of resolutions, in self-defence, and condemnatory of this despotic act of Government, was passed. The proclamation was speedily neutralized by the legal dexterity of O'Connell. He issued circulars in his own name to the leading Catholics, to meet him in their individual capacity at No. 4, Capel Street. Lord Fingall and Sir Ed. Bellew declined to attend—alleging that, pending the negociations with Rome, they thought all agitation should be suspended. Nevertheless, the meeting was held, and a determination come to, to meet regularly at stated periods. The following sketch from the able and amusing "Reminiscenses of a Silent Agitator," in the *Irish Monthly Magazine*, is so faithful to truth, with respect to the transactions of the period, that we are induced to give it insertion:—

"The time at length came when the maturing strength of the second order grew so obnoxious to the fastidious tastes of the Corinthians, that a secession from the democratic conventions was resolved on, and the Catholic aristocracy formed itself into a Prætorian band, under the title of Seceders. Their Secretary was Le Chevalier

"de M'CARTHY, brother to the Count of the same name," who derives his patent of nobility, like the knights who were slain by the Princess RUSTY FUSTY, in O'KEEFFE's farce, from the "Holy Roman Empire;" and their hall of assembly was the drawing-room in the mansion of a nobleman (Lord TRIMBLESTON)—a most appropriate place for the means and ends they possessed and entertained. Circulars were directed to those belonging to the Catholic body, who were considered entitled to the private *entre* of Lord TRIMBLESTON's saloon; and some meetings were held by those political exclusives, where speeches were delivered and resolutions passed, without subjecting the eloquent declaimers to those occasional interruptions, which, in mixed assemblies, are rudely offered, expressive of applause. Too polite to be personal in their allusions to the political opponents of the cause, they were also too refined in their selection of language, to be either spirited or independent in their sentiments; and when they touched upon the feeling of the civil degradation which they were enduring, it was calculated more to excite compassion for their privations, than applause for the indignant sense of wrong they should have displayed. The proceedings of the Seceders would have passed away like, any other drawing-room amusements, commencing with politics and ending with a promenade; were it not, that they took upon themselves to act for the people, and to assume a sort of dictation in their cause. This was not to be endured, and at their next meeting, the uninvited O'CONNELL was resolved to appear."

"——— in their own halls I'll brave them."

The Seceders appointed a committee to prepare an address to the Prince Regent, and also agreed on a petition to parliament, in the spring of the year 1814; all which transactions emanated from Lord TRIMBLESTON's

drawing room. At the latter end of March, a circular was issued by Le Chevalier de M'Carthy, their Secretary of State, to those who were supposed to sanction the secession, inviting them to attend, for the purpose of "hearing the report of the committee, appointed to prepare the address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and to receive a communication from the Earl of Donoughmore." The Chevalier also requested that you would "be so good as to mention this, with my compliments, to those of your acquaintance *who have signed the petition adopted* on the 23d February. All those who still adhered to the Catholic Board (the model of the Association) were passed over, and the Seceders imagined, that as the meeting was to take place in the mansion of a nobleman, that no tribune of the people would dare to intrude upon their privacy, or present himself at the portals uninvited. Wrapped in all the confidence of security from such a visitation, the members of this Aulic Council assembled to deliberate upon their snail-pace progress, and to prepare their forces for their inoffensive warfare. In the midst of their proceedings, a loud knock at the hall-door startled the slumbering echoes in Trimbleston-house, and attracted the attention of its drawing-room convention. The noble President looked embarrassed—"the hectic of a moment passed over his cheek, but did not tarry." The knock was both loud and long, and terminated in a climax of sound: a general presentiment seemed to pervade the assembly, that there was but one person, who would have the audacity to demand admittance in that manner. The Chevalier, more courageous than the rest, rose from his place at the table, and went to *reconnoitre* from a position on the staircase, and returned with a hurried step to his seat, whispering to those who were immediately around him, some-

thing which did not seem to relieve their suspense. The Chevalier had scarcely taken his pen into his hand, when the door opened and O'CONNELL advanced to the table. It would require a lengthened report to convey an idea of the debate which ensued; or perhaps the pencil of a HOGARTH, could best describe the effect of the scene—the expression of impatience and vexation which lowered upon the brows of his auditors, contrasted with the look of scornful rebuke which *he* cast upon them, one and all —the haughty tone with which he interrogated them, why they dared to take upon themselves to act for the Catholic people of Ireland, and to exclude from their meetings those belonging to that people who were *their* superiors in every attribute? Dismayed and humiliated, the Seceders never after ventured to assemble; and whether his Royal Highness received the contemplated address, or whether the Earl of DONOUGHMORE's epistle was replied to, are matters I have not been able to ascertain. As a body, they were as effectually dissolved as the Council of Five Hundred was; with this difference, that moral influence alone completed in the one case, what the direction of military force achieved in the other. The next step the Seceders took was to secede from a secession, and as the Irish watchman once said, to a nocturnal disturber, "*disperse yourself,*" each retired, within the glittering shell of his title or his opulence, and like snails, left no memorial, but the slime of their proceedings, to record them."

The Catholic aristocracy now retired from all connexion with their fellow slaves, and maintained a sulky silence upon political affairs. However, their inertness did not extend itself beyond their circle; and during the following summer, meetings were held in various parts of the country, at which they received several severe admonitions for their pretensions and pusillanimity.

In the meantime, letters were received from Rome, stating, that the deputation of Bishops was received in a most flattering manner by PIUS, who had returned to his capital, that the Octogenerian QUARANTOTTI was disqualified, and his rescript disavowed. This caused great satisfaction in Ireland. But the news was not altogether confirmed; on the contrary, a rumour was soon after set afloat, that the POPE was strongly inclined to consider favourably the VETO CLAUSES of the last Catholic Relief Bill. Whilst the matter was in abeyance, Dr. POYNTER went off suddenly to Rome, on the part of the English Catholic Board, and in opposition to Dr. MILNER, the Vicar Apostolic of the midland district, who was acting in co-operation with the Irish Prelates. We shall see shortly how far the rumour was well founded.

We have arrived at the period of Lord WHITWORTH's Government, of which PEEL was the Chief Secretary.—His Lordship was not content with issuing a Proclamation to crush the popular Spirit in Ireland, which was rapidly strengthening and extending. Prosecution of the Press was another means adopted, and the unfortunate MAGEES were again the objects of attack. The Catholics of Kilkenny, after the trial of JOHN MAGEE, in which O'CONNELL so distinguished himself, met, in the month of February, 1844, Major BRYAN in the Chair; and passed a series of ill-considered and injudicious resolutions, the publication of which, in legal construction, was undoubtedly libellous. The resolutions were first published in the *Correspondent*, a Government Journal; and in two days after, were copied into the *Dublin Evening Post*. The Government passed by the *Correspondent*, and prosecuted the *Dublin Evening Post*!! So impartial was justice in Ireland in those days. The result was, that poor MAGEE, who then lingered in a jail, was fined

£1,000, and sentenced to imprisonment for six months, after the term of two years, under his former sentence, would expire. But this was not all—Mr. O'CONNELL made a speech in the Catholic Board, descriptive of the orgies of the "ORANGE BOVEN." The speech was reported in the *Evening Post*, but evidently not with accuracy. JAMES MAGEE, then Proprietor of the *Post*, was prosecuted for it. Mr. O'CONNELL offered at the trial to hand in, from the short-hand notes of a brother barrister, a true report, verified on his and the Reporter's oath, as a true and literal report of what he said; and in that shape admit himself the author of the publication, provided MAGEE was relieved from the responsibility. This was refused, unless Mr. O'CONNELL would consent to stand, without any reservation, in the Traverser's stead. The proposition was of course rejected. He was ready to abide the consequence of his own expressed language. Nothing could be more honourable—nothing more could be expected. But the proposition was refused, and the ignoble course taken, of fastening on the victimized and persecuted Journalist.—MAGEE did all he could, previous to the trial, to transfer the onus to O'CONNELL, who was satisfied to accept it, provided he had himself furnished the speech, of which—being then in the habit of doing so—he was not certain; or, if he did not, provided the Reporter who did furnish it to the paper, would swear to its correctness. The speech was taken by a professional Reporter, but he would not vouch on oath for its accuracy. At a subsequent period, this same MAGEE brought an action, and recovered damages against PURCELL O'GORMAN, for a speech of his delivered in Derry, which he supplied himself. MAGEE was attacked for it, as a libellous production, and a verdict was had against him; where-

upon, he turned round upon O'Gorman, and recovered the full damages. This shews how dangerous it is, in troubled times, to report one's own speeches.

The only matter of novelty in the meetings of the Catholic Board, this year, was the temporary appearance on the political stage of Mr. Phillips, the well known orator. The Husseys and Finlays, and Clinches, and all that class had moved off, and were replaced by barristers of more modern date. O'Connell alone held his position, and improved it. While acquiring unequalled practice in his profession, he never forgot the claims of his country. His famous speech this year, in the Provinces, was at the great Aggregate Meeting in Cork, during the August Assizes. In Cork he was always at home. It was his stronghold. There he had many admirers up to the latest hour of his life; and there his gay, buoyant spirit used to roam abroad freely and familiarly, communing, year after year, with his many tried friends in that locality.

O'Connell was now the acknowledged Leader of the Irish people. He had no competitor in their affections. "The Counsellor" was the exclusive object of their attachment. Lord Fingall, and most of the old aristocratic leaders, had seceded from their councils; few of them who remained, were crotchetty and vetoistic. O'Connell was moderate and well-judging in his acts—yet determined and uncompromising in the discharge of his duty to Ireland. He professed not the antiquated bigotry of honest Dr. Dromgoole; neither did he follow the place-hunting system of Sheil, who maintained boldly, in 1815, that eligibility to place and office was the real and natural object of the Catholics in seeking Emancipation—omitting to take into account, that the consciousness of religious freedom and civil equality, was worth all the places

at the disposal of the Crown. The hopes of Ireland began, then, to rest exclusively on O'CONNELL; and, wherever he went, he was sure to be followed by crowds of enthusiastic friends, cheering him on his way. This was particularly observable towards the close of 1815; and in the different Assize towns he visited during Circuit.—The Catholic body that year voted him a piece of plate, value one thousand guineas; and the gratitude of the whole, Nation began, henceforward, gradually to unfold itself. A sentence or two from Counsellor FINLAY's character of O'CONNELL, written about this time, will show the estimation in which he was held by those who knew him intimately and well. "He is social and sober, polite and unceremonious, candid and sincere, proud with the haughty, meek with the humble. His frown rebukes arrogance into inferiority, and his smile lifts humility to his own level. His virtues cannot be indifferent to you. They should be the objects of your care, for they have been agents of your interests."

No testimony could be higher; and the man by whom it was written, was as well qualified to form a true and accurate estimate of the LIBERATOR's qualities and worth, as he was incapable of unmanly adulation.

O'CONNELL continued, ardently, his professional pursuits, and on Circuit was engaged in almost every case of any importance. His brief-bag was a ponderous affair to carry; but bearing the weight with ease, his portly form could be seen cleaving its way through those crowds, congregated round the Assize Courts, to whom he was an object of intense curiosity. Wherever the "Counsellor" appeared, there would the anxious groups collect, to cheer him and observe him as he passed on, leant on by some Assize friend or brother Barrister. To hear him cross-examining a witness was always a treat eagerly

sought after. He knew so intimately the habits and character of the humbler class, that he was able by cajolery or intimidation, to coerce them, when on the table, into truth-telling. An amusing anecdote will exemplify his rare sagacity. He was once examining a witness, whose inebriety, at the time to which the evidence referred, it was essential to his client's case to prove.—He quickly discovered the man's character. He was a fellow, who may be described as "half foolish with roguery." "Well, Darby," said the COUNSELLOR, taking him on the cross-examination, "you told the whole truth to that gentleman," pointing to the Counsel who had just examined the witness. "Yes, your honour, Counsellor O'CONNELL."—"How do you know my name."—"Ah, sure every one knows our own *pathriot*." "Well, you are a good humoured, honest fellow." Thus he went on cajolling the witness, until he became quite familiar and friendly. "Now, tell me, Darby, did you take a drop of anything that day?" "Why, your honour, I took my share of a pint of spirits." "Your share of it; now, by virtue of your oath, was not your share *all but the pewter*?" "Why then, dear knows, that's true for you, Sir."—The court was convulsed, at both question and answer. It soon, step by step, came out, that the man was drunk, and was not therefore a competent witness. Thus O'CONNELL won the case for his client. Of his mode of adapting himself to the character of Juries he was called upon to address, we may here relate an example that occurred, some years later, in Cork. We take it from an admirable sketch of "O'CONNELL in Court," which appeared, we believe in 1833, in an English Newspaper—and is related graphically in the following manner:—

"I cannot conclude this slight sketch without mention-

ing another anecdote, which even better than a lengthened disquisition, may show that I do not overrate the extraordinary ingenuity and quickness for which I give O'CONNELL such ample credit. One of the most remarkable personages in Cork, for a series of years, was a sharp-witted fellow, named JOHN BOYLE, who published a periodical called "The Freeholder." As BOYLE did not see that any peculiar dignity hedged the Corporation of Cork, his "Freeholder" was remarkable for severe satirical remarks upon its members, collectively and personally. Owing to the very great precaution as to the mode of publication, it was next to impossible for the Corporation to proceed against him for libel—if they could have done so, his punishment was certain; for in those days there were none but Corporation juries; and the fact that BOYLE was hostile to the municipal *clique*, was quite enough for these worthy administrators of justice. It happened, on the occasion of a crowded benefit, that BOYLE and one of the Sheriffs were coming out of the pit of the Theatre, at the same moment. A sudden crush drove the scribe against the Sheriff, and the concussion was so great, that the latter had two of his ribs broken.—There could be no doubt, that the whole was accidental; but it was too lucky not to take an advantage of. Mr. BOYLE was prosecuted for assault. O'CONNELL was retained for his defence. The trial came on. The Jury was a Corporation Jury. The evidence was extremely slight; but it was an understood thing that on *any* evidence, or *no* evidence, the Jury would convict BOYLE. Mr. O'CONNELL (who was personally inimical to the Corporation) scarcely cross-examined any witnesses and called none in defence.—He proceeded to reply. After some hyperbolical compliments on the "well-known impartiality, independence, and justice of a Cork jury,"

he proceeded to address them thus :—"I had no notion that the case is what it is ; therefore, I call no witness. As I have received a brief, and its accompaniment—a fee, I must address you. I am not in the vein for making a speech ; so, gentlemen, I shall tell you a story. Some years ago, I went specially, to Clonmel Assizes, and accidentally witnessed a trial which I never shall forget. A wretched man, a native of that county, was charged with the murder of his neighbour. —It seemed that an ancient feud existed between them. They had met at a fair and exchanged blows ; again, that evening, they met at low pot-house, and the bodily interference of friends, alone prevented a fight between them. The prisoner was heard to vow vengeance against his rival. The wretched victim left the house, followed soon after by the prisoner, and was found the next day on the road—murdered, and his face so beaten in by a stone, that he could only be identified by his dress. The facts were running strong against the prisoner, —in fact, it was the strongest case of circumstantial evidence I ever met with. As a matter of form—for of his guilt, there was no doubt—the prisoner was called on for his defence. He called, to the surprise of every one—the murdered man. And the murdered man came forward. It seemed that another man had been murdered ; that the identification by dress, was vague ; for all the peasantry of Tipperary wear the same description of clothes—that the presumed victim had got a hint that he would be arrested under the Whiteboy Act—had fled— and had only returned, with a noble and Irish feeling of justice, when he found that his ancient foe was in jeopardy, on his account. The case was clear—the prisoner was innocent. The Judge told the jury that it was unnecessary to charge them. They requested permission to

retire. They returned in about two hours, when the foreman, with a long face, handed in the verdict 'Guilty' Every one was astonished. 'Good God!' said the Judge, 'of what is he guilty? Not of murder, surely?'—'No, my lord,' said the foreman; 'but if he did not murder that man, sure he stole my grey mare three years ago!' The Cork jurors laughed heartily at this anecdote, and ere their mirth had time to cool, O'CONNELL continued, with marked emphasis, "So, gentlemen of the jury, if Mr. BOYLE did not wilfully assault the Sheriff, he has libelled the Corporation—find him guilty by all means!" The application was so severe, that the jury, shamed into justice, instantly acquitted Mr. BOYLE."

Another excellent anecdote illustrates his great tact and coolness. We find it in the *Journal of Belles Lettres*, under the well known initials of "J. R.," and dated "Cork." It runs thus—"It is stated in an article, in the *Edinburgh Review*, that Lord BROUGHAM was intended to lead a libel case; but immediately before the trial, it was discovered that the other Counsel—a mere special pleader—was his senior, and the mistake proved irremediable. It was thus, I may remark, that the supersession of Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY, after the battle of Vemiera, in 1808, by two senior, but far less competent officers, arrested the course, and blighted the fruits of that victory. On an occurrence, however, in this city, not dissimilar to that of Lord BROUGHAM, Mr. O'CONNELL, with instant happiness of thought, applied the remedy which had evaded the learned Peer's sagacity. Engaged in a case, the success of which mainly depended on his examination of the most material witness; a department of the profession in which he had no superior; he found to his surprise, on entering the court, that his destined station and consequent task were occupied by another; the client having, without communication, and wholly

unconscious of the etiquette of the bar, or its consequences, in this instance, to himself, privately retained an old friend, of more moral than intellectual merit, but Mr. O'Connell's senior. The law-agent, Mr. Denham Franklin, of Cork, my informant of all the particulars, naturally dissatisfied with this act of his employer, and fearful of the issue in such hands, was about to abandon the cause; when Mr. O'Connell, chiding him for his despondency, directed him to ascertain the name of a gaping clown, whom his searching eye had espied in the crowd. The individual was immediately called up, and to his astonishment, presented as first evidence, by the instructed attorney, for examination to the intrusive counsel; but was dismissed, as totally incapable of a pertinent answer. Thus, however, the desired end was attained; and the leader, on his part being accomplished, stood no longer in the way of Mr. O'Connell, who succeeded him, and failed not to achieve the expected result."

As an instance of Mr. O'Connell's determination to perform to the utmost his duty to his clients, and place its performance beyond all other considerations; we may relate a trifling anecdote connected with his circuit labours about this time. He was engaged in a record of great interest in Cork. The direct evidence of a very particular friend of his, told strongly against his client, and made a decided impression on the Jury. He was cross-examined by O'Connell, with his usual humour, but with great severity. When the former came to address the Jury, his remarks were still more personal and severe. He dealt rigorously with the evidence of his friend, who some time before had left the Court. In a short time after, the trial concluded, the son of the latter, who remained until the trial had terminated, having occasion to see his father, on some matter of business;

found him, to his astonishment, walking arm-in-arm with O'CONNELL, who had just come out of Court. The son kept in the back ground, until O'CONNELL went away, and he then told his father how pointed and unjustifiable was "the COUNSELLOR'S" attack. The father smiled with great good humour, "Oh! that's nothing—what else was he feed for—why should he spare me, if his duty to his client required it? We should take no notice of it." Such was the father's magnanimous reply; and so well did his dearest and most intimate friends know O'CONNELL'S unbending professional fidelity.

The question of the VETO was discussed with intense virulence in 1815; and it is not difficult to see, that if the POPE had followed up, in the same direction, the Rescript of QUARANTOTTI—that Catholic Unity would have been in great danger. But, happily, God averted from Ireland that evil.

The Catholic Committee occasionally met at the commencement of the year, at Lord FINGALL'S House; where, on these occasions, cake and wine were regularly provided for the members. O'CONNELL, to the annoyance of many of his admirers, attended these meetings; but he was decidedly adverse to non-publicity, and took always the popular view of matters in discussion. Lord FINGALL had become unpopular, because of his known adhesion to the Veto; yet, the people respected him, and were delighted, when he once more joined the agitation, however confined its sphere. An Aggregate Meeting having been agreed upon, Mr. SHEIL was appointed to draw up the petition. Lord FINGALL was anxious that Counsellor BELLEW, brother of Sir EDWARD BELLEW, and well known afterwards as the Castle pensioner, should draw the petition. Mr. O'GORMAN also declared his intention of framing one. But, at a subsequent meeting of the Com-

mittee, Mr. SHEIL's draft was alone produced for discussion. Mr. BELLEW's was printed in one of the Newspapers, and O'GORMAN's was not heard of. At the Aggregate Meeting, held in pursuance of the plan of action thus adopted, Lord FINGALL refused to preside; and again seceded from the Catholic body, because the Resolution called for unqualified Emancipation. It was at this meeting, Mr. O'CONNELL established, on a solid basis, his Leadership, and rendered the question of unqualified Emancipation triumphant.

We have already stated, that when O'CONNELL found Government were determined to strain the Convention Act to the utmost, and not permit the existence of any delegated committee, for the management of Catholic affairs; he issued circulars to a number of gentlemen to meet him, as individuals, in Capel-Street. From that circular arose the Catholic Association. It was at one of the early meetings of this body, that Mr. O'CONNELL called the municipal functionaries of Dublin, "a beggarly Corporation." He had become exceedingly obnoxious to the Orange party; particularly after his attack on SAURIN. He was, we need not say, an object of intense hatred, within the precincts of the Castle. To get rid of such a man, would be an invaluable service. The "insult" he had put on the *immaculate* and *wealthy* Corporation, offered too inviting an opportunity to be passed over. A champion of Ascendency appeared in the person of Captain D'ESTERRE. The whole of this painful episode in the life of our illustrious countryman, deserves to be given to the reader, the more particularly, as we know it was a transaction that preyed much on his mind in his last days. We, therefore, adopt the account of the transaction, *literatim*, from the newspaper publications of the day; adding, at the termination, a few particulars not generally known:—

"We regret much we are forced to record one of those occurrences, which prove how much the feelings of false honour predominate over the dictates of reason and the maxims of morality. If we devote more space to the recital, than such a subject would appear to deserve, it is because we cannot avoid looking upon the aggression to have been made by an intolerant party, for the purpose of endeavouring to terrify into silence, those who would be sufficiently able and honest to expose the oppressors of their country, or the *false brethren* who would betray her for their own private emolument; and because we are aware of the anxiety to read the particulars of a transaction in which O'CONNELL was implicated."

"Mr. O'CONNELL applied the words—"Beggarly Corporation" to the Aldermen and Common Council of Dublin, in a discussion at Capel-street, on the 22nd of January, 1815. Certainly, expressions infinitely more contemptuous were applied to this body, from time immemorial. They were stated, generally speaking, to comprise neither the Mercantile Interest of Dublin, nor a tithe thereof. They were described as Bankrupts in reputation and in fortune—as a convocation of Policemen, Jobbers, and Place-hunters. Every epithet expressive of derision, every term, by which scorn could be indicated, had been applied to them, from the moment Mr. GIFFARD raised his bold front in that assembly. It is not now the question, whether this treatment of the "second Corporation in the Empire," was justifiable or not. They may have been the reverse of all that has been sung or said to their prejudice—they may have possessed the wealth, talent, and integrity, not only of the City, but of the Kingdom; Mr. GIFFARD may have been a WHITBREAD, in eloquence and honesty, and SAINT MACAULEY, another WILBERFORCE, notwithstanding his support of the White Slave Trade—Alderman ALEXANDER, the Bank of England

personified, and Alderman REED, the intellect of the India House—but certain it is, the Corporation had always been described as very contemptible. Mr. O'CONNELL, therefore, said nothing new nor rare, when he called it a "Beggarly Corporation." They had been listening to the charge for forty years, and never thought of rebutting it by the valorous ordeal of the Duello."

"On the 22nd January, the offensive words were uttered. Mr. D'ESTERRE's friends took time, until the 25th, to consider whether it would be advisable to take personal notice of them. Three days elapsed. A victim, perhaps, was wanting—a man with more courage than prudence. Be this, however, as it may, Mr. D'ESTERRE, on the 25th, wrote for an explanation. He received such an answer as a prudent man and a bold man should give. What, then, did Mr. D'ESTERRE's friends do? Did they advise Mr. D'ESTERRE to send a Message? did they act as honourable men? as men wishing to vindicate the reputation of their friend for courage, or for common sense?"

"What did these men, and the Political Convocation with whom they acted on this great occasion—what did they do? They advised Mr. D'ESTERRE to send *another* letter, after Mr. O'CONNELL had expressly declined any further epistolary intercourse. This was a plump defiance flung in Mr. D'ESTERRE's teeth by Mr. O'CONNELL. He wrote a scolding letter, which was returned with expressions of contempt and insult by Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL. Thus his friends subjected Mr. D'ESTERRE to a second insult, more grievous than the first. In this emergency, with a double insult upon him, they advised him to carry a horse whip, and to offer personal violence to Mr. O'CONNELL."

"On the 1st of Feb., nearly eleven days after the insult was received, and eight days after explanation was de-

manded and REFUSED, this misled gentleman was advised to send a message."

"The deadly hostility, with which the Councils of Intolerance had encountered the Catholic Petitioners, threatened to produce a corresponding but tremendous reaction. Individuals were proscribed by the scurrility of the Castle Press; and with cowardly baseness pointed out, as objects of sanguinary aggression. To this source, every observant person ascribes the Duel. Some time before, Mr. D'ESTERRE, announcing himself as a candidate for the office of City Sheriff—his friends in the Corporation had remarked instances of Castle favour bestowed upon men, whose sole merit consisted in an opposition, or show of opposition, to Counsellor O'CONNELL or his friends.—This experience probably suggested the idea of promoting Mr. D'ESTERRE's Civic objects, by a repetition of the practice. The experiment, however, proved fatal in the present instance."

" Mr. D'ESTERRE was unfortunately advised to select Mr. O'CONNELL as his Adversary. Accordingly, on Thursday, the 26th of January, he addressed a Letter to Mr. O'CONNELL, in the following words:—

" SIR—*Carrick's Paper* of the 23d inst., in its Report of the Debates of a Meeting of the Catholic Gentlemen, on the subject of a Petition, states, that you applied the appellation of *Beggarly*, to the Corporation of this City, *calling it a beggarly Corporation*; and, therefore, as a member of that body, and feeling how painful such is, I beg leave to inquire, whether you really used or expressed yourself in such language.

" I feel the more justified in calling on you on this occasion, as such language was not warranted or provoked by any thing on the part of the Corporation; neither was it consistent with the subject of your Debate, or the deportment of the other Catholic gentlemen, who were pre-

sent; and, though I view it so inconsistent in every respect, I am in hopes, the Editor is under error, and not you.

"I have further to request your reply in the course of the evening—and remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"J. N. D'ESTERRE,

"11, Bachelor's-Walk, 26th Jan., 1815.

"To Counsellor O'CONNELL, Merrion-square."

"Mr. O'CONNELL replied as follows:—

"SIR—In reply to your letter of yesterday, and without either admitting or disclaiming the expression respecting the Corporation of Dublin, in the print to which you allude, I deem it right to inform you, that, from the calumnious manner in which the Religion and Character of the Catholics of Ireland are treated in that body, no terms attributed to me, however reproachful, can exceed the contemptuous feelings I entertain for that body in its corporate capacity—although, doubtless, it contains many valuable persons, whose conduct, as individuals, (I lament) must necessarily be confounded in the acts of the general body.

"I have only to add, that *this Letter must close our Correspondence on this subject*. I am, &c., &c.

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"Merrion-square, January 27, 1814.

"To J. N. D'ESTERRE, Esq., 11, Bachelors' Walk."

Mr. D'ESTERRE was advised to persist in the correspondence, and addressed another Letter, (but directed in a different handwriting,) to Mr. O'CONNELL. It was returned to him by Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL, inclosed in a letter couched in the following terms:—

"Sir—From the tenor of your letter of yesterday, my brother did not expect that your next communication would have been made in *writing*. He directed me to

open his letters in his absence: your last letter, bearing a different address from the former one, was opened to me; but upon perceiving the name subscribed, I have declined to read it; and by his directions, I return it to you inclosed, and *unread*—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES O'CONNELL.

"Merrion Square, Friday Evening.

"To J. N. D'Esterre, Esq,, 11, Bachelors'-walk."

"Things remained in this position until Sunday following. On that day Mr. James O'Connell received a note from Mr. D'Esterre, containing disrespectful observations on himself and his brother. Immediately on the receipt of it, he sent his friend, Captain O'Mullane, to Mr. D'Esterre, to say, that after he adjusted his affair with his brother, he would bring him to an account for his conduct to himself peculiarly. Captain O'Mullane at the same time intimated that Counsellor O'Connell was astonished at his not hearing, in what he conceived *the proper way*, from Mr. D'Esterre. Nothing further happened on Sunday; and on Monday morning, Mr. Lidwell, who remained in Dublin several days, to be the friend of Mr. O'Connell, though some members of his family were seriously indisposed, left town fo home, despairing of any issue being put to the controversy. Monday passed on, and on Tuesday considerable sensation was created by a rumour that Mr. D'Esterre was advised to go to the Four Courts, to offer Mr. O'Connell personal violence. Neither of the parties came in contact; but it seems that Mr. D'Esterre was met on one of the quays by Mr. Richard O'Gorman, who remonstrated with him, by stating that he conceived he was pursuing a very unusual sort of conduct. "You conceive," said he "that you received an offence from

Mr. O'CONNELL—if so, your course is to demand satisfaction. This, I understand, you have not as yet done; but if you are now resolved to do so, I undertake, on forfeiture of having a riddle made of my body, to have Mr. O'CONNELL on his ground in half an hour." This occurred about 3 o'clock, but no challenge followed. At four it was understood that Mr. D'ESTERRE was on the streets, and Mr. O'CONNELL paraded about with one or two friends, but did not come across his antagonist.—A multitude soon collected about him, and he used several expedients to avoid them. He went into TUTHILL's, in Dawson Street, at one time, and came out through the stable yard. Still, however, a crowd pressed on, among whom there could not be less than five hundred gentlemen of respectability; all of whom seemed carried away with a singular enthusiasm in favour of "the Man of the People." Mr. O'CONNELL, then, had no other resource left, than to take refuge in a house in Exchequer Street. In a short time, however, he was assailed by the most formidable interruption which he had yet encountered. Judge DAY entered in his magisterial capacity, to put him under arrest. The Honorable Justice said, he would be satisfied if he had the guarantee of Mr. O'CONNELL's honor, that he would proceed no further in the business. "It is not my duty, Mr. Justice," said Mr. O'CONNELL, "to be the aggressor—I will, therefore pledge my honor that I will not be the aggressor—further, however, I must tell you, that human consideration will not induce me to go." The Honorable Judge then retired, and Mr. O'CONNELL shortly after repaired to Merrion-square. In the meantime, it was observed that Mr. D'ESTERRE was in a shop in Grafton-street, surrounded by a number of friends. Tuesday, then, ended without a challenge."

"On Wednesday morning, however, Sir E. Stanley, as the friend of Mr. D'Esterre, waited upon Mr. O'Connell, with the hostile message so long expected.—(Sir Edward was one of the Duke of Richmond's City Knights, Wine Merchant to the Castle, and made Barrack-Master to the City of Dublin, at a salary of £800 a year, by the Duke.)—The message was accepted; the necessary measures were arranged between Sir Edward and Major Macnamara, of the Co. Clare, son-in-law of Judge Finucane, eldest son of Francis Macnamara, of Doolen, Esq., an officer of consummate bravery and polished manners. The hour appointed was 3 o'clock on Wednesday; the place, Bishop's-court Demesne, Lord Ponsonby's seat, in the co. Kildare, 13 miles distant from town. It was agreed by the seconds, that the distance should be ten paces; and that each party should have a case of pistols, to fire according to his judgment. They fired nearly at the same instant."

"Mr. D'Esterre's bullet fell short; but he received that of Counsellor O'Connell, in the thick part of the thigh, which occasioned his immediate fall, and terminated the encounter. Surgeons Macklin and Peele were in attendance; and notwithstanding the universal opinion of Mr. D'Esterre's being killed, the skill of those eminent gentlemen had so far restored their patient, as that hopes were entertained of his recovery. Nothing could be more correct or honorable than the conduct of the parties upon the ground. Mr. O'Connell displayed all the gentleness of heart, so peculiarly belonging to his character; and his particular request to his Medical Friend, before taking his ground, was this—"Should "any fatality happen to my opponent, I entreat you to "consider HIM as your patient—treat him with all the "care you would devote to me."

"When it had been agreed by the Seconds that the opponents were to take their ground with a case of pistols each, to use as they thought proper; Sir Edward Stanley, Mr. D'Esterre's friend, addressed Major Macnamara, Mr. O'Connell's friend, as follows :"—

"Sir EDWARD—Well, Sir, when each has discharged his case of pistols, I hope the affair will be considered as terminated, and that we leave the ground."

"Major MACNAMARA—Sir, you may, of course, take your friend from the ground, when you please. You, Sir, are the challenger, and you may retire from the ground whenever you think proper; but I shall not enter into any such condition as you propose. However, it is probable there may be no occasion to discharge the whole of a case of pistols."

"The opponents took their ground, and the first shot terminated the affair as already stated."

"The Surgical report of Thursday noon was, that the state of Mr. D'ESTERRE was of a doubtful nature. The ball had "traversed the thigh," and after penetrating about the depth of an inch, passed round to the rere, and lodged in the most fleshy part, from which it could not be extracted without agony and serious danger. All along the road, as the parties returned from the ground, the people loudly expressed their joy at Mr. O'CONNELL's safety."

"On Thursday night, it was ascertained that Mr. D'ESTERRE was shot through the body, and that the ball had probably passed through the bladder. The Surgeons declared that if it turned out that such was the case, Mr. D'ESTERRE could not recover."

The Papers of the day go on to say :—

"Sunday, 5th February, 1815.

"Mr. D'ESTERRE unfortunately died on Friday, and his remains were interred in St. Mary's Church, at an early

hour. His friends expressed a wish to bury the unhappy circumstances of his case in oblivion, and an official letter was forwarded by them to Mr. O'CONNELL to that effect, and assuring him that they had not the least disposition to resort to any further proceedings. It appears that the deceased was in very distressed circumstances: the executors of a Mr. BOLES REEVES, an Attorney, issued an execution against the property of the deceased on Saturday evening, for a very large sum. The enforcement of the writ was attended with some circumstances of a very awkward nature. Mr. O'CONNELL had not gone abroad since Wednesday—his characteristically generous and benevolent feelings had been very deeply affected; but his manly forbearance and well-regulated courage, were the subjects of general approval."

Another paper writes:—

"The fatal result of the duel is well known—Mr. D'ESTERRE is dead, and it is impossible not to deplore the fate of the unfortunate man who has fallen a victim to his own infatuation, or to the impetuosity of his temper, or to the malignant advice of men, with cruel hearts, but without the courage which distinguished the misguided deceased gentleman."

"The Duel must be considered as a party quarrel. It is impossible to view it in any other light; because Mr. D'ESTERRE could not allege, that he had received any personal insult, and because he could not substantiate the opinion, on which alone he grounded his right to challenge Mr. O'CONNELL. Mr. O'CONNELL called the Corporation of Dublin, a beggarly contemptible Corporation, and Mr. D'ESTERRE, though he demanded satisfaction for the words uttered against that body, could not prove that the allegation was false—Mr. D'ESTERRE could not prove that the Corporation, according to the import of

the words, in a general application, was not a beggarly Corporation; and, therefore, the duel must be considered as an effort to immolate a Catholic, in order to maintain, by the sacrifice of Catholic blood, a proposition in defence of the character of the City, which every person knew to be false."

"No man," remarked a Dublin Paper, writing on this affair with D'ESTERRE, "made more personal enemies than O'CONNELL. His intrepid denunciation of every bigot, of every persecutor, of every ferocious Orangeman, and of every trafficker in the liberties of the people, has raised him a host of enemies. He is hated by the venal wretches who oppose Catholic Emancipation, and who are the enemies of Irish prosperity. They hate him; but henceforth they must endure something worse than the stings of hatred. *They will fear the man they hate*, and they will exhibit all the characteristics of that state to which nature assigned them. They will resemble trembling slaves.—The Duel, fortunately for the safety of the life of a man, so dear to Ireland, as Mr. O'CONNELL is, has established two facts. It has proved that Mr. O'CONNELL possesses in a pre-eminent degree, a cool intrepidity which no danger, however frightful to others, can affect. He will, therefore, be henceforth known, as a man who will be ready to fight on a moment's notice. But the result of the Duel establishes another fact, on account of which he will be also known as a man, who adds all the scientific precision of a marksman, shooting for his amusement. Henceforth, his right hand will be considered as guided in such cases by the ANGEL of DEATH, and any champion for the ideal dignity of the Corporation, or any nominal vindicator of any imaginary insult, will think, before he shall send a challenge to Mr. O'CONNELL, whether he ought not, in

anticipation of his fate, to exclaim with the SYBIL, in the Roman Poet"—

Facilis descensus Averni!

"We deprecate, however, such a procedure; and we exhort the different parties, who may think themselves aggrieved by the freedom of public discussion, to resort to the proper tribunals, which will afford redress and vindicate character. But, above all things, we exhort Mr. O'CONNELL never again to take notice of such a call, but to appeal to the laws of his country, against any attempt to take away his life; whether the attempt be the result of a Quixotic irregularity of mind; or of something worse than the influence of a heated imagination.

"Mr. D'ESTERRE solemnly declared on the ground, that he had no hostility to Catholics. Such a declaration was superfluous; because public opinion on the subject would be guided more by his acts than his professions. Let him be tried by a reference to his conduct! Who were his associates?—Who were his political companions?—The tree is known by the fruit: and Mr. D'ESTERRE's words can be easily brought to the test.

"Mr. D'ESTERRE expired, without a groan. Early in the morning, having passed a very bad night, he exhibited the most alarming symptoms, and Surgeons MACKLIN and PEELE despaired of his recovery. Mr. CRAMPTON was called in, and at nine o'clock in the morning, they pronounced the wound to be mortal. Until that moment, his wife had not been apprized of his situation, being absent from the house, and kept in ignorance of the transaction. It was now, however, deemed necessary to send for her. The meeting may be imagined.—Not a tear escaped her. She remained unmoved and insensible. He was perfectly aware of his dissolution, and with that coolness and fortitude which

he so uniformly displayed, endeavoured to urge her to composure. He next called for a clergyman, and having received the sacrament, and occupied an hour in ardent devotion, turned his attention on worldly affairs. His relations, who surrounded him, having informed him that it had been insinuated in some of the Papers, he had been urged to the business by a party, he desired that Sir EDWARD STANLEY should be called to him, and in the presence of all his relations and friends, embraced him in the most ardent manner; stated that he was sorry to find that his humane interference had been so unfairly represented; assured his wife and family that the entire correspondence had taken place without his consulting any individual in the world; that Sir E. STANLEY was not acquainted with any circumstance, till he (Mr. D'ESTERRE) was called on by Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL; and that all the solicitations of Sir EDWARD STANLEY, or the whole world, would not have induced him to have abandoned the cause which he had espoused. He then thanked Sir EDWARD for his exertions for him, and he laid his head upon the pillow, and in less than half an hour breathed his last."

In some respects, the accounts we have given from the papers, differ from the version communicated to us, as the statement of one who had been present during the whole transaction. For instance, the papers say that the parties did not meet in the streets. The circumstances detailed to us, do not justify that statement. It appears, that after the correspondence between the parties, Mr. O'CONNELL was attending his professional duties at the Four Courts, and was in the act of addressing the Judges, in some case or other, when his brother came in, and intimated to him that Mr. D'ESTERRE was on the quay opposite the Courts, with a whip in his hand, waiting to

meet him. Mr. O'CONNELL requested his brother to wait, until he had concluded his observations, and he then asked him where D'ESTERRE was, in order that he might proceed in that direction. Having been informed, he left the Court, and meeting D'ESTERRE, the latter lifted his whip and shook it over Mr. O'CONNELL's head. A collision was about to ensue, when the bye-standers interfered, and Mr. D'ESTERRE was forced into a shop, in order to avoid the indignation of the crowd.

It has been stated, among the many accounts connected with this memorable transaction, that there was living near Ennis, County of Clare, a gentleman named M'NAMARA, whether he was a Major in the army or not has not been positively asserted, but the story goes that such were his rank and profession. It is said, he was a member of the MORIESQUE family, in that county, and that Mr. O'CONNELL, in writing to his friend Major M'NAMARA, of DOOLEN, addressed his letter to "Ennis," where M'NAMARA, of MORIESQUE, received it. DOOLEN is far away from that town, on the coast, and near the county of Galway; MORIESQUE is near Ennis. The letter having been opened by M'NAMARA of MORIESQUE, and the absence from home of his namesake, for whom it was intended, discovered by him, he is stated to have exclaimed, that O'CONNELL should not want a friend; and it is added, that he actually set off to Dublin, and was much disappointed, when he found Major M'NAMARA, of Doolen, at his post before him. He was remarkable for his intrepidity and skill in affairs of honor, and hence he had acquired the *soubriquet* of "FIRE BALL."

Another version of the story, and a simpler one, is, that there were two Major M'NAMARA's, and that O'CONNELL's letter, intended for one, being misdirected, reach-

ed the other ; who, at once seeing the mistake, and thinking there was no time to remedy it, volunteered to be O'Connell's friend, and posting off to Dublin, acted in that capacity.

We have made every inquiry into both these statements, and can discover no foundation for either. Nothing of the kind, we believe, occurred. The present Member for Clare, was the party, to whom, and no other, the letter was addressed, and by whom it was received. He was previously an intimate personal friend of O'Connell's, and possessed great experience in affairs of honor.

Major M'Namara, of Doolen, having been commissioned by O'Connell, proceeded to Sir Edward Stanley to arrange the meeting. By him, it was proposed that the mode of fighting should be after the following fashion. He suggested, that both should be handed a brace of pistols ; reserve their shots until the signal, and then fire when they pleased ; advancing or retiring after each shot, as they thought proper. Major M'Namara would not assent to this mode of fighting, without first consulting Mr. O'Connell and his friends. O'Connell, at once directed him to accept the terms. Major M'Namara then returned to Sir Edward Stanley, and finally arranged the meeting. The parties proceeded to take their ground, and were handed a brace of pistols each. The signal was given. Both reserved their fire or some moments. Mr. D'Esterre first changed his position, moving a pace towards the left hand, and then stepped towards Mr. O'Connell. His object was, to induce him to fire, more or less at random. He lifted his pistol, as if about to fire. Mr. O'Connell instantly presented, pulled the trigger, and the unfortunate man fell.

In close attendance on O'Connell, at the ground, were

Major M'NAMARA, NICHOLAS PURCELL O'GORMAN, and RICHARD NUGENT BENNETT, as seconds and friends; for all may be said to have acted in the double capacity; as they stood round him, while preliminaries were in course of arrangement, to prevent his being "marked in," as the phrase is. D'ESTERRE, at the same time, stood, apparently with cool indifference, twirling his right leg round a cane he held in his hand, until the moment came when both principals were called on to confront each other.—Such was the anxiety of O'CONNELL's personal friends, as to the result of the duel, that a Catholic Priest, Father O'MULLANE, an estimable Clergyman from the Diocese of Derry, posted out to the place of meeting, without apprising any one of his intention, and stationed himself in a neighbouring cottage, for the purpose of being at hand, to render spiritual assistance to O'CONNELL, in the event of his being wounded. This good Priest afterwards died in the West Indies.

It was reported in Dublin, that Mr. O'CONNELL was shot; and a party of Dragoons were despatched from Dublin, for the protection of Mr. D'ESTERRE. On their way, the Officer by whom they were commanded, met, on its return, the carriage containing Mr. O'CONNELL and his brother. The Officer called on the postillions to stop; whereupon Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL pulled down the window. The Officer addressing him, asked if they had been present at the duel, to which he replied in the affirmative. The Officer then said, "Is it true Mr. O'CONNELL has been shot?" Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL replied, "No; the reverse is the fact; Mr. D'ESTERRE has unfortunately fallen." The announcement had a visible effect upon the military; they were not prepared for the intelligence; and something like consternation was exhibited. The carriage was allowed to proceed; the military party being evidently not aware who were its occupants.

When Mr. D'Esterre fell, the spectators could not refrain giving expression to their excited feelings; they actually shouted, and a young Collegian who was present, and who is now an excellent exemplary Protestant Clergyman, was so carried away by the general feeling, as to fling up his hat in the air, and shout "Huzza for O'Connell!!" Very different was the conduct of the three occupants of O'Connell's carriage. They displayed no exultation. The moment D'Esterre fell, they went off; and though the place of meeting was near Naas, they were close to Dublin before a single word was exchanged between them. At last O'Connell broke the silence, saying, "I fear he is dead, he fell so suddenly. Where do you think he was hit?" "In the head, I think," said his medical friend. "That cannot be—I aimed low: the ball must have entered near the thigh." This will be considered a remarkable observation, when it is recollected where, as was subsequently found, the wound was inflicted. It shows the perfect coolness and humanity of O'Connell. Being one of the surest shots that ever fired a pistol, he could have hit his antagonist where he pleased. But his object was, merely, in self-defence, to wound him in no mortal part; and he aimed low with that intention.

The excitement in Dublin, when the result was known, cannot be described; and, indeed, is scarcely to be credited by those who were not then in the Metropolis. Over seven hundred gentlemen left their cards at Mr. O'Connell's the day after the occurrence. Great commiseration was felt for D'Esterre's family, but it was considered, that he himself lost his life foolishly. He was not called on to be the Corporate Champion. We may add, that he was an Officer in the Navy, and an eccentric character. He, at one time played off rather a serious joke upon his friends, who resided near Cork. He wrote to them from

abroad, that he was sentenced to be hanged for mutiny, and implored of them to use every interest to save him.—Lord SHANNON interested himself in the affair, and the greatest trouble was taken to obtain a pardon. But it turned out to be a hoax practised by D'ESTERRE, when under the influence of the Jolly God. Knowing his character, many even of opposite politics, notwithstanding the party spirit that then prevailed, regretted the issue the unfortunate gentleman provoked.

When the carriage reached O'CONNELL's residence in Merrion Square, he requested his brother to go immediately to Dr. MURRAY, the Catholic Coadjutor Archbishop, to communicate to his Lordship the melancholy result, and say how deeply he deplored the occurrence.

"Heaven be praised," exclaimed his Lordship; thinking for the moment only of the LIBERATOR'S escape, "Ireland is safe;" so highly and prophetically did he even then regard the life and future services of O'CONNELL. On his return from Dr. MURRAY'S, Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL was requested by his brother to retain Mr. RICHARD PENNEFATHER, now Baron PENNEFATHER, to defend him in case of need. The precaution was, however, unnecessary, as will appear from the subjoined letter, which, the day after the death of D'ESTERRE, Mr. O'CONNELL received from Sir EDWARD STANLEY, the friend of the deceased:—

"Royal Barracks, 4th Feb. 1815.

"SIR,—Lest your professional avocations should be interrupted by an apprehension of any proceeding being in contemplation, in consequence of the late melancholy event, I have the honour to inform you, that there is not the most distant intention of any prosecution whatever, on

the part of the family or friends of the late Mr. D'Esterre.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"Edward Stanley.

"Daniel O'Connell, Esq., Merrion-square."

To this Mr. O'Connell returned the following reply :

"Merrion-Square, 5th Feb., 1815.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday ; and I beg of you to accept my sincere thanks for your very polite and considerate attention.

"It is to me a mournful consolation, to meet such generous sentiments from those who must be afflicted at the late unhappy event. But, believe me, my regret at that event is most sincere and unaffected ; and, if I know my own heart, I can with the strictest truth assert, that no person can feel for the loss society has sustained in the death of Mr. D'Esterre, with more deep and lasting sorrow than I do.

"Allow me again to thank you, Sir, for the courtesy of your letter—a courtesy quite consistent with the gentlemanly demeanour of your entire conduct in this melancholy transaction.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "Daniel O'Connell.

"Sir Edward Stanley."

Thus terminated an affair which made afterwards so deep an impression on O'Connell's mind, and influence in so decisive a manner his future career. It created a lasting and universal sensation; and the details, at this day,

will be read with the deepest interest. It is a fact known to many, that O'CONNELL offered to secure a handsome annual provision for Mr. D'ESTERRE's Widow. Indeed, his words were—"to share his income with her." But the offer was refused. He acted, however, subsequently, in the noblest manner, to a daughter of Mr. D'ESTERRE's —a most accomplished lady, whose circumstances were not affluent. She was allowed by him an annuity, to the day of his death—and to her mother he was ever ready to afford any kindness in his power. A short time previous to an Assizes at Cork, having been specially retained to go another circuit, pressing letters were written to him, in order to induce him to come down to Cork.— Some important cases were to be tried there, and his professional assistance was earnestly required. He declined attending; but receiving a letter from the late Rev. T. ENGLAND, P. P., Passage, stating that the plaintiff in one of those cases, was the Widow of Mr. D'ESTERRE, and that to her and her children a favourable result was of the last importance; he threw up his special briefs, his large retaining fees, and, proceeding to Cork, acted on her behalf, and succeeded in obtaining a verdict.

An anecdote of the late Sir MICHAEL O'LOGHLIN, connected with this fatal transaction, will be read with interest. It is a singular circumstance, that Sir MICHAEL O'LOGHLIN owed his great, though justly merited, success, in a great degree to O'CONNELL's retirement from the profession. His briefs were speedily given to his friend and junior; and a way, too, was opened for him, as a Catholic, to reach professional dignity, of which his political position deprived O'CONNELL. At the time of the duel, term was going on, and O'LOGHLIN was engaged in a case in the King's Bench with O'CONNELL. It

was a cause of great importance. "When it came on," says the writer in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, from which we extract it, "the Court echoed a dozen times to the cry "call DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq.;" DANIEL was not forthcoming. O'LOGHLIN then informed the Court, that his senior counsel happened to be engaged in a very unfortunate circumstance, which prevented his appearance there on that day. He then applied for a postponement, because of his senior's absence, and his own inability to argue so important a cause; but the Bench was peremptory—deaf as adders to the repeated remonstrances of the junior: he was desired to begin. And fortunate for him was the judicial inflexibility! He now beheld the first streak of light in the opening of the cloud—all depended on the ability with which he was to conduct that case. Opposed to him were some of the ablest lawyers at the Bar. Opposed to them was a beardless youth, unnoticed and unknown—a Troilus encountering Achilles! Such were the disheartening odds. But he quickly gathered up his energies—looked for a moment or two on some notes on the back of his brief, and commenced. His modesty, and extremely juvenile appearance, operated strongly on the Court; they listened to him with marked attention, and cheered his progress with nods of approbation. He had, however, more than youth and modesty to recommend him to their favour. He astonished Bench and Bar alike, by his clear and prompt exposition of intricate facts; divesting the statement of all surplus matter, and putting prominently forward such facts only as were important—by the masterly skill with which he connected them, by strong and searching principles of law, which he skillfully applied to them—and by the process of reasoning, orderly and logical, with which he wove out the whole tissue of brilliant argument of two hours' duration. Such an unexpected

exhibition of power surprised the court; and they complimented him in terms as flattering as they were merited. The Tribonians of the inner bar, caught a Tartar instead of a calf, as they fondly anticipated. Even Mr. Cooper, unpursed the edge of his right eye, which always had a most fascinating tendency to winking, and looked serious a moment.—The case occupied the court for several consecutive days, and he fought alone. Mr. O'CONNELL was too much occupied with the distracting consequences of that fatal fray, to devote any time to briefs. The reply devolved on Mr. O'LOUGHLIN, and it far surpassed his first effort in power and learning. The "native hue was brushed away," and with increased confidence he acquired increased strength. He had now weighed anchor—"the ship was cleared, the harbour cleared," and he was fairly afloat.

We may add, in dismissing this transaction, that Mr. D'ESTERRE, after he left the Navy, was a provision merchant and contractor, lived on Bachelors'-walk, Dublin, and on the way to the Four Courts, it was necessary to pass his house. For years after the fatal encounter, it was observed, that whenever O'CONNELL passed the house, he always lifted his hat, but not in a manner to attract public observation; and his lips were seen to move, as if in silent prayer. This continued for several years.

Mr. O'CONNELL soon after resumed his political labours, resolved that the Catholic cause should not rest in abeyance. He had no notion of permitting his veneration for GRATTAN to overrule the duty he owed to his country. GRATTAN was opposed to pressing forward the Catholic claims, in Parliament, until the "securities" were obtained—O'CONNELL determined they should be prosecuted. GRATTAN was therefore passed over, and the Catholic petition consigned to the hands of Sir HEN-

BY PARNELL. There can be no question, that the Prince REGENT's known reluctance to have even their claims discussed, operated materially against the Catholics, and accounts, in some degree, for the apathy by which their best friends were then distinguished. It was the current rumour of the day, that the REGENT was influenced by a noble female, if we recollect rightly, it was the Marchioness of ——— in his dogged hostility to the Catholic claims. The REGENT's great characteristics were self-indulgence, selfishness, and love of ease. He cared very little for public matters, except so far as they interfered with his own comforts, or clashed with his prejudices. Those who surrounded him, as courtiers, were deadly foes of the Catholics. We are sorry to add, that the ladies of the Court—those who then condescended to enter the precincts of WINDSOR and CARLTON-HOUSE, were most violent in their prejudices. What ease could the *pious* REGENT have, if he went against the current, and even hinted at doing justice to the Irish Catholics? This feeling was for years known to the Catholic Leaders, to exist in the REGENT's breast; however inconsistent its retention may be with the well-known intimacy between him and the great Catholic advocate, Lord DONOUGHMORE; and however inconsistent, too, with his professions on the occasion of his visit, as KING, to Dublin. It was, however, the knowledge of this antipathy, that induced, in 1813, the Catholic Body to pass the Resolutions to which we have already alluded —known afterwards as the *witchery* Resolutions; because in one of them it was plainly asserted that the REGENT's hostility arose from the "witchery" under the influence of which he lived. This hostility, undoubtedly, had its effects on the spirits of the Roman Catholics. They were easily depressed. They had not then sufficient determination and perseverance to bear up boldly against difficulties.

In the meantime, the Veto controversy went on with increasing virulence. The popular party were seriously alarmed, lest the Pope should yield to the demands of the English Catholic Board, whose views were pressed on the Roman Court by Dr. Poynter. It was said, too, that his Holiness was so anxious to get possession of the Pontine marshes, hitherto held by Murat, that he was willing to give Castlereagh the Veto, as an equivalent; and rumours went the round of the papers, of certain negociations with his Lordship, while at the Congress of Vienna.

When Dr. Murray returned from Rome—where, as has been already stated, he and other Irish prelates went in company with Dr. Milner, to protect, by their presence, the Irish Church from the undue interference with his Holiness of the Catholic aristocracy—a deputation from the Catholic body waited on his Grace, to ascertain the result of his mission. Though no precise information could be obtained, the interview left a favorable impression on the deputation, and a conviction grew up in the public mind, that the danger of a Veto was averted. The hopes of the People and Clergy rose in consequence. A remonstrance against any concession by the Court of Rome to the English Government, however, was, towards the close of the year, addressed by the Catholic Association to the Pope. This celebrated document was committed to the charge of a deputation, to which the Rev. Mr. Hayes, a Dominican friar, was appointed secretary. The deputation did not set out, and the Rev. Gentleman alone proceeded with the remonstrance to Rome; where, assuming the habit of his order, as the Court dress, he had an audience of his Holiness, and presented the document. He was graciously received. The result of these negociations was, that, though the return of Napoleon from Elba, and his subsequent successes, obliged his Holi-

NESS again to quit Rome, the POPE was determined that nothing should be done to displease the Irish Hierarchy, however anxious he was to testify his gratitude to the English Government.

Leaving the negociations going on at Rome, for the present, let us revert to the history of the Catholic cause in Ireland. Great excitement prevailed throughout the three Provinces, and in Dublin, on the Veto question. Meetings were convened in various quarters. One was held in Cork, and was made remarkable both by Mr. O'CONNELL's presence and his powerful address to the people. The speech was a brilliant anti-Vetoist one.—After tracing the history of the enactment and repeal of the penal laws, he then adverted to a recent charge, delivered by Judge DAY, which was a political disquisition emanating from the Bench. It was a violent attack on the Catholic Association, denouncing it as an illegal body. It was precisely the same kind of thing as the celebrated charge of Baron SMITH in 1834, and which O'CONNELL himself brought under the consideration of Parliament. It is singular that the defence set up on that occasion, for Baron SMITH, was, that he had but followed the example of Judge DAY, who, though a friend of the Catholics, thus attacked their Association. O'CONNELL, in 1815, had no power to impeach in Parliament the conduct of a Judge; but at the Cork meeting, to which we allude, he did not spare his Lordship. Though there were many private reasons, for his passing over remarks coming from that quarter, he was unmerciful in his laceration of the learned functionary.

O'CONNELL's method of thus dealing with the great, has been often blamed even by his friends. It is said, that both his father and his uncle MAURICE, of Derrynane, used their influence with him, to abandon the system of

attack, he was so fond of adopting. He resolutely refused, though the refusal might have cost him an inheritance; for his Uncle was not bound to make him his heir, and his leaning was, to the conciliatory policy. O'CONNELL knew better what was necessary for the cause of the trodden-down Catholic, which he so enthusiastically advocated. We have already spoken of this "rough work" policy of his, and alluded to the well-ascertained opinion of Lord FINGALL, expressed in his last moments. The circumstance so fully vindicates O'CONNELL, on a subject on which he has been more violently abused than on any other, that we cannot defer giving it here, though it properly belongs to the year 1836.

In the year 1836 Lord FINGALL died. A more estimable human being never represented our nature. Everything that constituted honor, virtue, love of country was his. A very short time before his death, he requested one of the most influential members of the Catholic body, to call on Mr. P. V. FITZPATRICK, the intimate bosom friend of O'CONNELL—one who through life adhered to him with an affection and attachment creditable to both. This gentleman called as directed, and opened the conversation by saying: "Lord FINGALL is surprised that you have not recently called to see him." Mr. FITZPATRICK explained, that the only reason for it was, that he was apprehensive his visits might be unpleasant after the exclusion of Lord FINGALL's son from the representation of Meath, and that he was not aware his Lordship had any wish to see him. "He is," said the gentleman referred to, "most anxious to see you, and has asked me to intimate his wish to you." "Then," said Mr. FITZPATRICK, "I shall at once call on him." He did so. Having announced his name, at his lordship's residence, Mr. FITZPATRICK was shewn into the library, where his Lordship was reclining on an easy

chair. His frame seemed much attenuated, but his intellect was in its full power and brightness. After some introductory and commonplace remarks, he said, "Mr. FITZPATRICK, I have been for some time thinking whom I should pitch upon to discharge my conscience of a heavy debt, and I have fixed upon you as the most appropriate person, because you not only know me and Mr. O'CONNELL, but you knew us all who were connected with Catholic politics for years, and well. You know, too, that I went forward to an extent that caused me to be sometimes snubbed by those of my own order, in that body; but, notwithstanding, I, like them, was criminally cowardly. We never understood that we had a nation behind us—O'CONNELL alone comprehended that properly, and he used his knowledge fitly. It was by him the gates of the Constitution were broken open for us; we owe everything to his rough work, and, to effect further services for Ireland, there must be more of it. I never understood this properly, until they made me a Peer of Parliament; and I feel myself bound to make the avowal under the circumstances in which you now see me, preparatory to my passing into another world. You will communicate this to O'CONNELL, and my most earnest wish that he will receive the avowal, as an atonement for my not having always supported him, as I now feel he should have been supported."

At that time, the Clergy of the second order, took a decided stand against the Veto, and shewed a disposition, in case of necessity, of opposing even the Hierarchy, should their views take an opposite direction. This conduct was the subject of remark, in a sermon delivered by a revered and venerable regular, now resident in Cork.—The sermon produced a great sensation at the period, and, of course, was the subject of much comment at both sides

—of praise at one—of censure at the other. This respected Clergyman was then a first-rate preacher. To this day, the talent continues; though his advanced age does not admit of its frequent use. Mr. O'CONNELL adopted, of course, the side of the Clergy, and very sharply took the Reverend Friar to task. When we recollect that this Clergyman was as much anti-Vetoist as Mr. O'CONNELL, and that his observations applied to a matter of Church discipline, it is plain it was a subject, that ought, for the sake of union, have been avoided at a Catholic meeting. But the feelings of both parties were so excited in these days, that it is now difficult to criticise, with justice, their acts, or appreciate their motives.

The most memorable Meeting held this year, 1815, was the Aggregate Meeting in Dublin, on the 27th of August, where O'CONNELL made the celebrated Speech, in which he taunted Mr. PEEL with dastardly conduct, in saying of him in Parliament, what he dared not utter elsewhere.—This defiance led to another affair of honor; the narrative of which, taken from the publications of the day, will bring the eventful history of our Great Countryman to the end of 1815.

"Dublin was a good deal agitated in September, 1815, by a variety of reports, respecting an affair of honour, subsisting between Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. PEEL.

"It appears that the charge made by Mr. PEEL on Mr. O'CONNELL was, that he had said, in the course of a speech, that he, Mr. PEEL, "would not dare, in the presence, or in any place, where he was liable to personal account, use a single expression derogatory to his integrity or his honour." The passage was in the following words:—

"All I shall say of him, (Mr. PEEL,) by way of pa-

renthesis, is, that I am told he has in my absence, and in a place where he was protected from any account, grossly traduced me. I said, at the last Meeting, in presence of the note takers of the police, who are paid by him, that he was too prudent to attack me in my presence. I see the same police informers here now, and I authorise them, carefully to report these my words—that Mr. PEEL would not dare, in my presence, or in any place, where he was liable to personal account, use a single expression derogatory to my integrity or my honour."

The whole transaction was communicated to the public in the following memorandum. addressed

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN CORRESPONDENT.

"SIR—As I feel anxious that an early statement of a recent transaction. in which I have borne a part, should be before the public, I enclose a memorandum, to which I have to beg you will give insertion in your paper.

"I am, sir, your obedient and humble servant,

" CHARLES SAXTON.

" Dublin, September 1, 1815.

"MEMORANDUM—That on Thursday, the 31st of August, I called on Mr. O'CONNELL, and informed him, that Mr. PEEL had understood, he had expressed a wish at a public meeting, on Tuesday last, that some communication should be made as from him to Mr. PEEL, who was desirous of learning the purport and terms of that communication, and that I had waited on him from Mr. PEEL, for the purpose of obtaining them.

" To that application, after ascertaining that what he should say would not subject him to any consequences, either of law or parliamentary privilege, Mr. O'CONNELL stated the expressions used by him on the occasion referred to, in terms so substantially the same as the Report

of his Speech, at the public meeting before mentioned, that I was induced to take the Paper from my pocket, and read from it that passage which related to Mr. PEEL; remarking to him its similarity with what he had just stated. To this remark he assented, admitting that it was what he had said. On that I observed to him, that, as it was clear his speech alluded to something that had fallen from Mr. PEEL, in Parliament, I was empowered by Mr. PEEL, to say to him, that there was nothing he had ever said, or that he had seen reported as said by him, with respect to Mr. O'CONNELL, that he did not unequivocally avow, and for which he would not hold himself responsible. As Mr. O'CONNELL did not offer anything directly in answer to this communication, but was proceeding to comment on Mr. PEEL's conduct on this occasion, as handsome and gentlemanlike, which he subsequently repeated, with the desire that *his* opinion to that effect, might be conveyed to Mr. PEEL. I took occasion to say, that I presumed Mr. PEEL might expect to hear from him, in consequence of the communication he had just received. His answer was, that it certainly was his feeling, that a communication from him to Mr. PEEL ought to follow, but that he must advise with his friends; for that, indeed, the nature of the communication with which I was charged, seemed to make this course necessary. To this observation I replied, that, putting together the expressions he had then acknowledged, and the communication then made from Mr. PEEL, the conclusion was easily drawn. On parting, it was settled, that whatever communication Mr. O'CONNELL should have to make, in consequence of what had passed, I might expect to receive at the house of Mr. OTLEY. Mr. LIDWILL having called there in my absence, and leaving word where he was to be met with, I went to his hotel, as soon as I re-

ceived notice of his visit; and on being introduced to him, began the conversation by acquainting him, that I had called, having heard that he had some communication to make to me from Mr. O'Connell; in consequence of a communication I had made to the latter by Mr. Peel's desire—the particulars of which I began to state, in the terms I had conveyed them to Mr. O'Connell, and had proceeded so far as to repeat the words in which Mr. Peel avowed whatever expressions had been used by him in Parliament, when I was interrupted by Mr. Lidwill, desiring, in the first instance, to communicate to Mr. O'Connell (who he subsequently said had placed himself in his hands) what had passed between him and myself. That morning he had called on me, and not from a conviction, that any communication from Mr. O'Connell to Mr. Peel was necessary, but least my conversation with Mr. O'Connell, should have led me to expect the hostile message, which it was Mr. Lidwill's opinion that Mr. O'Connell was not called upon by the circumstances to make—and Mr. Lidwill followed up his own reasoning on the matter, which I do not consider it necessary to relate; as it did not go in the least degree to remove the conclusion, that Mr. Peel was to expect the communication from Mr. O'Connell.

"Charles Saxton.

"Dublin, Sept. 1, 1815."

In reply to this memorandum, of Sir Charles Saxton's, Mr. O'Connell published the following statement:

"To the proprietor of the Freeman's Journal.

"Merrion Square, 5th Sept. 1815."

"Sir—The very novel and extraordinary course pursued by Mr. Peel and Sir Charles Saxton having

terminated in a Newspaper publication, I beg of you to publish for me the enclosed letter, which I received from my friend Mr. LIDWILL.

"The dexterity of my adversary, in publishing on Saturday evening, has given him what I suppose he estimates highly—one day's *talking* at me. This paltry trick he resorts to; and yet he declares that "he feels anxious for an *early* statement of a transaction" which occurred two days before!!!

"The conversation between Sir CHARLES SAXTON and me, is very inaccurately stated by that gentleman. I will only notice two particulars: First, his omitting to mention that on my expressing *my own opinion*, on the fitness of my sending to Mr. PEEL, I added, "any friend would disappoint my hopes and wishes, who should advise me not to call on Mr. PEEL;" and secondly, his inserting the last reply which he has attributed to himself—*not one word of which did he utter in my presence.*

"For the rest, I leave the case to the Irish public. I have disavowed nothing; I have retracted nothing; I have refused the gentlemen nothing. I have only to regret that they have ultimately preferred a paper war.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient and humble servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

"Saturday, September 2nd, 1815.

"Kearns's Hotel, Kildare-street.

"MY DEAR O'CONNELL—The statement relative to your affair with Mr. PEEL, made by Sir CHARLES SAXTON, in which he says so little and suppresses so much, of what passed between himself and me on that subject, renders it necessary that I should communicate to you, in regular order, the whole of what occurred between us,

on both the days he waited on me here; leaving you at liberty to make what use you please of the information. When the public shall be informed that he spent 20 minutes with me on Thursday, and 42 minutes on Friday, (the visit of which day, and the object of it, he studiously conceals) in discussing the transactions which caused both interviews, and shall contrast it with the little he reports of what must have passed in such a space of time, it will naturally draw a conclusion, different from the object he had in view, in making that statement.

"After hearing from you Sir CHARLES SAXTON'S communication from Mr. PEEL, and resisting the view you took on the subject, I went to Mr. OTLEY'S, where not finding Sir CHARLES, I mentioned to Mr. OTLEY, I came for the purpose of letting Sir CHARLES know (had he been there,) that I did not conceive any thing which had passed between you and him on that day, altered the relative position in which you and Mr. PEEL heretofore stood, or rendered it in any way necessary that *you* should make through me any hostile communication to Mr. PEEL; but that if Sir CHARLES should wish to see me on the subject, I would wait at home until six o'clock, leaving him my address. He came to me nearly at that hour, and was proceeding to detail what passed between you and himself, until I interrupted him by mentioning what I said, as above, to Mr. OTLEY, and giving it as my fixed opinion, that it was not *you* who should commence any hostile proceeding.

"He then resumed his narrative of what passed between himself and you, and added, that you thought differently from me on the subject; for though you said you would act under the control of your friends, yet, that any friend who would advise you not to send to Mr

PEEL, would be, in your opinion, much mistaken, and disappoint your wishes, or words to that effect. This was the only point in which your report and Sir CHARLES SAXTON'S, of your interview in the morning, did not exactly agree; but this, and some observations on his part, tending to alter my opinion, compelled me to assign the reasons which determined me to decide for you as I had done. I then told him, that the asperity of the language you had used respecting Mr. PEEL, while under the impression of receiving ill treatment from him, had been so grossly offensive, that I still considered you to be the aggressor—that the English language did not admit of an expression more galling and debasing, than to say of any man, he would not dare to do, in the presence of another, what he did in his absence—that it was a broad and unqualified charge of cowardice, which a denial, or even an offer to prove unfounded, was not sufficient to repel—that though it may tend, in some respect, to set up the individual so abused, yet it did not go to punish the insult;—that this impression was so strongly fixed on my mind, that I told you, that if you persisted in wishing to send a hostile communication to Mr. PEEL, I must decline any further interference on your part; for that it would be an unjustifiable prodigality of your own life, and a wanton aggression on that of another.

"After some little pause, Sir CHARLES SAXTON asked me if I knew what were the observations of Mr. PEEL in Parliament, of which you complained? I candidly acknowledged I had not seen any report which could justify your charge on him; but that you had mentioned to me, he had said, in quoting some passage of a speeech of yours, that in quoting you, it was not an ordinary individual, but one who could lead the Catholics of Ireland to his own purposes; and broadly insinuating that these pur-

poses were dishonest.—Sir CHARLES instantly replied, "Mr. PEEL never said any such thing, or anything which justified personality to him;"—that he got every report he could, and that no one bore any such feature; that he would avow every one he saw, or any thing he had said. I agreed with him, as far as those I had seen, and mentioned my regret at the observations which you had made respecting Mr. PEEL. He then apologized for trespassing so long on my time; and as he was going, I again repeated, to avoid any misconception, as I then observed, my opinion, that it was not from *you* any hostile proceeding should come, for the reasons I before stated. Thus ended the business of Thursday.

"On Friday, I waited at home till one o'clock, thinking it probable that on consideration he might judge it necessary to come to me again. Between that hour and half after two, he called twice, and the last time he left the note I herewith enclose—(See No. I.)—In consequence of my acquainting him I was then at my hotel, he immediately came there. I must here observe, that at the moment I sent to inform him I was at home, I also wrote a note to you, (which I suppose you have) desiring that the horses might be in waiting; as I would appoint an immediate hour, and the nearest field in the county Kildare to the town of Celbridge, for the meeting, which I conceived Sir CHARLES was coming to require—(See Nos. 2 and 3.) You may judge my surprise, when, on his entering my room, I saw him hold out some papers which he said he wished to show me, as containing the substance of what passed between us on the day preceding. Before he read two paragraphs of the first paper, I observed I could not agree with him. He attempted to alter my view. He did not succeed. I offered to meet him with my notes,

and to agree on a mutual statement if we could. He declined it. He told me, while altering, he intended to publish, but briefly. I answered, I could neither agree to the correctness of a partial publication, nor admit the correctness of such part as he had read. He then said, for the first time, that when I told him the day before, that I did not judge the communication he, Sir CHARLES, had made to you, rendered a call on Mr. PEEL necessary, on your part, he considered his mission as at an end, and that everything I said afterwards was reasoning. I told him I could not agree with him, for there was no other subject common between us, and that I considered he was even *then* on that mission. He asked, were not there some things said by me, which I would not wish to have published? I replied not; for every word which I had used would only more strongly prove how firm my conviction was, that it was not from *you* any thing hostile should proceed. Then rising to depart, he said, I have shewn you this paper. I answered, I will not admit what I have seen of it to be correct; and I shall make my observations on whatever you publish, and add those reasons I have given for the opinion I entertain. He then left me about four o'clock. While he was altering what he had brought with him, I wrote out the paragraph, in which I mentioned my opinion, that you would not be justified by anything which had passed, in calling on Mr. PEEL; he said it was substantially correct, and I must say, it was nearly what he has published on that head.

"This is the substance of what passed; committed to paper on each day, as soon as Sir CHARLES SAXTON had left me. You know how tenacious my memory is, and how perfectly this agrees with what I related to you after

each interview. If I delivered a message under these circumstances, to what reproaches would I have exposed myself! Should I do so, because his friend had said, he would avow a report, which would prove you had been unjustifiably severe on Mr. PEEL? Did he say he would avow any thing which was either insulting to, or untrue of you? Did he tell you, you were either a calumniator or a liar? No, he simply said, he would avow any paper which he himself had seen, or anything which he himself had said; neither producing the one nor re-asserting the other. Did his simply denying your reflection on his want of spirit was neither just nor well-founded, inflict any punishment on you for so mortifying an insult? Reason by analogy. If a man tells me I am a liar, in a certain assertion, will my denying it, and even adducing circumstances to prove I was correct, set me right under such a charge? I will thereby shew I did not deserve the imputation; but must not I, to ease my own feelings, and satisfy the public opinion, seek other reparation for my wounded honour?

"If I had delivered a message, and was called on to state the grounds for it; would it be deemed a sufficient excuse, that Mr. PEEL had said he was responsible for what he had said, or what *he had seen* reported of him to have been said, without knowing, or his avowing what that was, or that either was offensive? No, there was but one plain and obvious course to be pursued by me. That was (in case you had been approached in a different manner,) to call on you either to produce some document to justify your asperity, or if you could not do so, to advise you to admit you had acted under an erroneous impression, and to express your regret.

"I am not inclined to doubt the courage of any man; if I was, the character of Mr. PEEL in that way, would

not be raised in my estimation, by his conduct on the present occasion. Labouring under a charge which he has given ample evidence he deeply feels, he might have *led* you to the field; but in place of that, he has compelled you to *follow* him to the Printing Office. In a transaction, in which I know I was not only accountable to the Public, but eventually might be awfully responsible to my Maker, I acted with the most mature deliberation.—Whether I am as competent to form as just a conclusion on such a subject as Sir CHARLES SAXTON, our Countrymen must judge. But whatever that judgment must be, I should be unjust, if I did not take the entire responsibility on myself, for I acted throughout without once respecting your feeling on the occasion,

"Your's, &c.

"GEO. LIDWILL,

"DAN. O'CONNELL, Esq. Merrion-square.'

(No. I.)

Sir CHARLES SAXTON did himself the honour of calling on Mr. LIDWILL this morning, for the purpose of asking a few minutes conversation with him on the subject of their conference of yesterday; but unfortunately finding him from home, is under the necessity of troubling him with this note, to request he may be informed, as soon as Mr. LIDWILL returns to his hotel, by a line addressed to him, at Mr. OTLEY'S, No. 4, in Ely-place, where Sir CHAS. SAXTON will remain in expectation of Mr. LIDWILL'S answer.

"4, Ely-place, September 1, 1815.

"GEORGE LIDWILL, Esq.

"Kearns's Hotel, Kildare street."

(No. II.)

"My Dear O'Connell,

"Sir Charles Saxton called on me twice while I was absent from this. The last time he left a note, to say when he would hear I was at home, he would again call on me. I expect him every moment, and therefore write this to you, to have horses ready, as I will appoint the first field adjoining Celbridge, in the County Kildare, and an immediate hour for meeting, which I must naturally think he is now coming to require. Your's.

Friday. G. L.

"Daniel O'Connell, Esq."

(No. III.)

"My Dear Friend,

"Do just as you please; I only think the County of Kildare ought to be the place—I care not where there—everything will be ready expeditiously.

My family would be less alarmed, if we postpone it till morning; but do just as you please. I will remain here. —Your's, D. O'Connell.

Harcourt-street—Friday.

"To G. Lidwill, Esq."

In reply to this, the following publication appeared from Sir Charles Saxton:—

"To the Editor of the Patriot.

Dublin, Sept. 5, 1815.

"Sir,

"For the sole purpose of vindicating the accuracy of my statement, inserted in *The Patriot* of Monday last, and in consideration of the period which must elapse before I could make known the following particulars, in the

ordinary course, I have to request you will give them an early insertion in your paper.

"Mr. DICKENSON, who waited on Mr LIDWILL, at my request, obtained an interview with him early this morning, and received from him the admissions annexed to the requisitions, which are contained in the following paper, subscribed by Mr. DICKENSON.

"Sir CHARLES SAXTON requires,

"Firstly—His admission that after he had delivered the sentence contained in my report: viz., "that he came from Mr. O'CONNELL," &c., and ending, "Mr. O'CONNELL was not called upon by the circumstances to make." Whatever conversation passed between us, was prefaced with an observation from me—"that, as between ourselves, I might then be permitted to remark to him," &c. (my remarks going to my view of the turn the affair in question had taken.)

"To this requisition Mr. LIDWILL replied:

"Although I do not remember to have heard this expression on Thursday from Sir CHARLES SAXTON, I believe it to have been then the impression on his mind, that he was speaking from himself, and not from Mr. PEEL.

"Secondly—That in using the term, "suppresses so much," and again, "studiously conceals," Mr. LIDWILL does not mean to impute intentional misrepresentation.

"Reply—I did not intend to charge Sir CHARLES SAXTON with misrepresentation, in using those words.

"Thirdly—That, as well in the relation, which in my first interview with Mr. LIDWILL, I gave him of what had passed between me and Mr. O'CONNELL, as in the written statement I read to Mr. LIDWILL on the following day, he more than once repeated, that there was no disagreement between Mr. O'CONNELL's statement and mine, except in the very passage which I subsequently erased, and

for the insertion of which Mr. O'Connell has since contended: viz.—"That he thought the office of a friend would be ill discharged by any one who should dissuade him from a hostile step."

"Reply—I admit this in substance, but there may have been some variation in the words of the quoted passage. This is admitted in my statement.

"Fourthly—That the phrase I assert to have been used by me: viz., "putting together the expressions Mr. O'Connell had then acknowledged, and the communication then made to him from Mr. Peel, the conclusion was easily drawn," made part of my statements to Mr. Lidwill, both oral and written; and that in my second interview with him (on Friday), when stating the variance between my account and Mr. O'Connell's, although he informed me that he had noticed that variance (as it appeared to him to be), to Mr. O'Connell, he did not give me to understand, that Mr. O'Connell himself had made any objection either to my accuracy in this respect, nor in respect of the passage last above quoted.

"Reply—I do not recollect these words; but Sir Charles Saxton expressed himself to me as having more strongly intimated to Mr. O'Connell his expectation of a communication to Mr. Peel: and finding a variance between Mr. O'Connell's report and Sir Charles Saxton's statement to me, of what had passed between them (Sir Charles Saxton and Mr. D. O'Connell), except that Mr. O'Connell had not mentioned to me his remark, in respect of his being dissuaded by any friend: of course I did not, at my second interview, or at any other time, give Sir Charles Saxton or Mr. O'Connell to understand that any variance existed between their statements.

"Fifthly—That the mention of Mr. Lidwill's regret at the observations uttered by Mr. O'Connell, preceded

any question of mine, or any conversation respecting the import of the words attributed to Mr. PEEL; and that on hearing them from Mr. LIDWILL, my observation was, that "I did not know; but that I did not believe they were ever used by Mr. PEEL; and that I had searched for them as far as lay in my power"—but that the words "personal hostility" were never introduced by me.

"Reply—I admit that I frequently expressed my regret, but at what periods I cannot say; and that Sir CHARLES SAXTON'S remarks, concerning the use of the words attributed to Mr. PEEL, was his own answer to my quotation of the supposed words. The words "personal hostility" were never used, but personality was.

"Sixthly—That his objections to my written statement were not offered until I had finished reading that part which recited my conversation with Mr. O'CONNELL; and that Mr. LIDWILL'S objection then was, that the paragraph referring to words used by Mr. LIDWILL, viz., "that Mr. O'CONNELL did not feel himself called upon to take any step in consequence of Mr. PEEL'S communication," should have been, as it is now printed, viz., "that he, (Mr. LIDWILL) did not think Mr. O'CONNELL called upon by the circumstances to send any hostile message.

"Reply—I refuse to agree to this.

"Seventhly—That it was not until I insisted that it was unnecessary for me to insert Mr. LIDWILL'S reasoning on the subject, that he declared he could not admit any part of the proposed statement.

"Reply—I admit that it was after Sir CHARLES SAXTON said that it was unnecessary for him to insert my reasoning, that I declared I could not admit any part of the proposed statement.

(Signed)

J. P. DICKENSON.

From the sixth Article, Mr. LIDWILL dissented; and also required that the declaration subjoined hereto, should be considered preliminary to any publication of his admissions, viz. :—

I make this explanation, in answer to Sir C. SAXTON's minute, under the stipulation, that my declaration—"That I entered more freely into an explanation, because "I was in custody of the Magistrate, and my arms tied "up—therefore I could not be supposed to be under any "influence on earth, but a sense of what was right"—shall accompany any publication or statement made of my eplanation.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES SAXTON.

In the meantime, Mr. PEEL acted his part. In Mr. O'CONNELL's published letter of the 3rd of September, there was, in the Chief Secretary's opinion, an insult offered him; and, accordingly, on the next day, Monday, at half-past six o'clock in the evening, Colonel BROWN called on Mr. O'CONNELL, and delivered to him the following letter:—

"Dublin Castle, September 4, 1815,
One o'Clock.

"SIR—Having seen in a Newspaper of this evening, a letter bearing your signature, connected with a communication which I have recently made to you, imputing to me a "paltry trick," and concluding with the expression of your regret that I had "ultimately preferred a paper war." I have to require that you will appoint a friend, who may make, with Colonel BROWN, the bearer of this letter, such arrangements as the case requires.

"I am, Sir, &c., &c., &c.,

"ROBERT PEEL.

"DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq."

At the present day, when the war of politics is carried on after a different fashion, it will appear strange that one in Mr. PEEL's position, in the Irish Government, should have deemed it consistent with his public duty to challenge to deadly combat, any one who would dare arraign his conduct as a public man. Now a days, public men are considered public property; and, if in the exercise of one's right, as a citizen of the state, you criticise, however severely, the acts of a public servant, it does not follow that murder, under the pretence of honor, is to be the possible result on either side. But in those days it was different. Duelling was in vogue—the moral responsibility attaching to the act was disregarded; and, independently of this, there is every reason to suspect that the Government did not look upon it as foreign from the public duty of a subordinate official, to endeavour thus to encounter and to damage, either in character or person, the man who, of all others, was to them an unceasing perplexity. We do not say that either the Government or the Corporation, in this year, 1815, desired to rid themselves of their tormentor; but we are quite satisfied they were in hopes so to disparage him, according to the received notions of society, as to render his animadversions innocuous, and to diminish his utility as a popular leader. Mr. O'CONNELL never forgot the principles of religion, which early education had implanted in his breast. In the heyday of youth, he may have neglected the full practice of those strict rules of a Christian life, enjoined by the religion he professed; but its maxims he never ceased to reverence and remember. This was well known; and hence, more than once, previously, attempts were made by those seeking to rise into eminence at his expense, to goad him into a criminal infraction of Catholic ordinances. These paltry efforts, though they

may interest, as anecdotes connected with the history of so great a man, deserve scarcely notice in this MEMOIR. It was such a motive that originated the painful tragedy in which D'ESTERRE was victimized, and which, to the last moment of our illustrious Countryman's life, preyed on his mind and oppressed his spirits. To put down the obnoxious AGITATOR, was an achievement worth the trial. PEEL had a career of ambition before him. He was undoubtedly a man of known personal courage. We have read and heard repeated anecdotes of his personal courage, and of his sensitiveness as a public man. He sent the celebrated Dr. MAGINN—we have heard the learned Doctor tell the story—a hostile message, because of his severe strictures on him in the *Standard*, in 1829, on account of his political tergiversation on the Catholic question. On that occasion, the modern JOHNSON sent PEEL word, that until he had his family provided for, he deemed it imprudent of him to accept the honour of being shot at by a King's Minister. To forward his ambitious views, a rencontre of the kind with O'CONNELL was just the thing. In later days, a rancorous diatribe against him, made one man a Judge—and a speech in reply to the Irish Repealer, made another a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ultimately sent him to the House of Lords. Thus, it may be, that PEEL took notice of O'CONNELL's speech at the Aggregate Meeting, and of his letter of the fourth of September, which we have transcribed. Public opinion would not now tolerate such exhibitions on the part of public men. It is said that Lord LIVERPOOL, when the transaction came under his notice, sent a despatch to the Irish Government, reprobating it in the strongest terms, and alleging it to be nothing more or less than a religious and political conflict, and not a private affair of honour. That being his conviction, he condemned it.

But, to return. It was determined by Mr. O'CONNELL, after the receipt of Mr. PEEL's letter, that Mr. LIDWILL should forthwith wait on Colonel BROWN. But, it so happened that Mr. LIDWILL was out of town. This was a perplexing circumstance. Mr. O'CONNELL sent another friend to inform Colonel BROWN of the cause of delay, and to state that he should hear from him in the morning. In the mean time, Mrs. O'CONNELL, whose vigilance was quickened by the late *rencontre* with D'ESTERRE, had her apprehensions excited, by observing a strange visitor come to Merrion Square, while the family were at dinner, and that visitor an Officer connected with the Castle. She had already seen the Newspaper correspondence, arising from the transaction with Mr. PEEL. Her fears were roused, and she felt, as an attached wife would, alarmed for her husband's safety. She sent off privately an intimation to the SHERIFF, who arrived, and arrested O'CONNELL. It is said, however, that, from another quarter, besides Mrs. O'CONNELL, this functionary received a hint of what was going on.

At seven o'clock on the morning of the 5th September, Colonel BROWN, having received no communication, wrote to Mr. O'CONNELL on the subject of the delay, and Mr. O'CONNELL immediately sent the following note in reply :

" Mr. O'CONNELL presents his compliments to Colonel BROWN, and with the utmost concern begs to inform him that the delay to which his letter alludes has been caused by a circumstance of the most painful nature—his having been put under an arrest by the Sheriff ; which is still aggravated, in his feelings, from having been done at the instance of Mrs. O'CONNELL, who, agitated by the publications in the Newspapers, sent privately, and after he had gone to bed, to the Sheriff.

"Mr. O'CONNELL will, the first possible moment, send a friend to Colonel BROWN, to make such arrangements as the present state of things renders necessary.

"Merrion-square, 5th September, 8 o'clock."

At two o'Clock that day, RICHARD NEWTON BENNETT called upon Colonel BROWN, on the part of O'CONNELL, who, placed under arrest, had been with the CHIEF JUSTICE, and had been detained with him to that hour. Mr. BENNETT was a particular friend of O'CONNELL's, and was nearly of the same standing with him at the Bar.—He was a liberal Protestant, and was, in after years, appointed Chief Justice of Tobago. Mr. LIDWILL, having been bound over by a Magistrate, O'CONNELL sent off an express to the County of Kildare, for his friend Mr. BENNETT. It reached him at midnight, and he at once posted off to Dublin. At the interview between him and Colonel BROWN, the following written agreement was drawn up and signed:—

"Mr. BENNETT waited on Colonel BROWN, from Mr. O'CONNELL, to answer the call from Mr. PEEL; and stated, that inasmuch as he (Mr. O'CONNELL) is prevented by his recognizance, just entered into, from giving him a meeting within the reach of it (the United Kingdom,) that he is ready to give such a meeting at the most convenient part of Europe; that Mr. O'CONNELL is now ready to go, but will make the time of meeting convenient to Mr. PEEL, at any reasonable distance.

"Col. BROWN, being fully authorized by Mr. PEEL, accepts the arrangement for the meeting of the parties, as suggested by Mr. BENNETT.

"And proposes that Ostend should be the place of rendezvous; at which place, the parties, as they arrive, should leave their address at the Post Office.

"Col. BROWN suggests, that as it is impossible to fix a

day for meeting, when the seas are to be crossed, that it be left to the discretion of the parties to use all convenient speed in reaching Ostend.

"Col. BROWN suggests, that the parties should engage, and bind themselves to keep this arrangement in secrecy, as much as possible, consistent with their convenience.

"If either party should find it convenient to delay the journey for two or three days, it is at their option, giving notice.

"Ostend is named as a place of rendezvous; but, on the arrival of the parties, they may fix any place on the Continent more convenient.

"S. BROWN.

"R. N. BENNETT.

"Dublin, Sept. 5, 1815."

In the evening of the 5th, Mr. BENNETT informed Colonel BROWN, that he had found more delay necessary in leaving Ireland, than he had at first expected; and added, that he would write to Colonel BROWN on the subject.

On the next day, Sept. 6, Colonel BROWN having early in the morning intimated to Mr. BENNETT, Mr. PEEL'S intention of leaving Ireland that very night, addressed the following note to him:—

"Colonel BROWN presents his compliments to Mr. BENNETT, not having received the letter which he had expected from Mr. BENNETT, he has only now to enquire if Mr. BENNETT has anything further to communicate to Colonel BROWN, before he leaves Ireland, and to say that he feels assured, that their arrangements are so fully understood that a misunderstanding is not possible.

"20, Stephen's-green, 6th Sept. 3 o'clock."

After this note had been dispatched, the following letter was received from Mr. BENNETT, and the subjoined answer returned by Colonel BROWN.

"Sir—I received from you this morning an intimation that Mr. PEEL intended sailing for England this night. I beg to remark that the right of appointing the time was originally vested in me exclusively; and I did not conceive that there would have been any difficulty in my adding a few days to the time at first proposed, for my personal accommodation, when I had conceded to you the fixing of the time, as it now stands, in courtesy to Mr. PEEL's public situation. This, surely, was not unreasonable on my part; having had no idea, on leaving my country house, that the business would not have terminated here yesterday. But being disappointed in this hope, it now only remains for me to apprise you, that Mr. O'CONNELL will leave town to-morrow morning, for the South of Ireland, and will embark at Cork or Waterford, and use all convenient speed in proceeding to the Continent; if a vessel can be had, and the weather answers, he intends to go all the way by sea. He prefers going by the South, from reasons suggested by the circumstances in which he now stands; all mainly tending to insure the certainty of the intended meeting; and for the same reason, he elects to proceed by water, to trusting himself in England, where the officiousness of ill-judging friends might obstruct him.

"It is my wish to change the rendezvous to Calais, in order to accelerate the meeting, and as more consistent with the original intention, *i.e.* appointing the most convenient part of the Continent, (which I consider the nearest) and Ostend being fixed upon under an erroneous impression. I have &c.

"Harcourt, Sept. 6. "R. N. BENNETT.

"P. S.—I am just leaving town. My address in the country is, Newberry, Edenderry; where I shall be happy to receive any further communication you may deem

necessary ; and shall be happy to co-operate with you in rendering the details of this unpleasant business as little burthensome as possible to yourself."

To this, Colonel BROWN returned the following, reply :—

" Dublin, 6th Sept., 1815.

" Sir—At three o'Clock this day, my servant left a note at your house in Harcourt street, since which hour, I have received your letter, dated two o'Clock.

" Upon its contents I must observe, that Ostend was fixed upon by us to be the place of rendezvous, upon various grounds, most of them suggested by yourself, which made it appear to us the most eligible place ; Calais and Hamburgh having both been under our consideration.—I shall therefore proceed with Mr. PEEL to Ostend, in fulfilment of the agreement.

" I presume I am to consider your letter as notice of the intended delay of your journey, as specified in our agreement.

" I cannot pass by your desire to render the details as little burthensome as possible, without acknowledgments ; and with this view, I mention, that should any communication occur to you as necessary to be made, previous to your leaving Ireland, it may be addressed to me, No. 20, Stephen's green, and it will be forwarded.

" To obviate as far as possible, all obstructions to arrival at Ostend, we leave this to-night.

" I scarce need remind you of our agreement, that though Ostend is named as the place of rendezvous ; " on the arrival of the parties, they may fix any place on the Continent more convenient."

" I have the honour to be, sir,

" Your obedient servant,

"S. BROWN."

In return, Colonel BROWN received the following from Mr. BENNETT.

"Sir—I had the honour of your letter of the 6th inst. by the post of yesterday, and hasten to reply to the only part of it that appears to me material to notice until we meet, viz.—"Whether you are to consider my letter as notice of the intended delay of Mr. O'CONNELL's journey." I do not entirely agree with some of your impressions on the transactions between us. With respect to that part to which I allude, I have to say, that I told you I required a few days to prepare myself, having come to Dublin unprepared to go further, and I proposed to specify that time; but as you declined to enlarge our agreement, and as Dublin is not the place of embarkation, whatever time, the agreement allows, will be taken by Mr. O'CONNELL in the South, exclusive of the time occupied in travelling. On his arrival at Cork, if a vessel can be procured direct for the place of rendezvous, immediately, or in a few days, he will embark; but if not, he will proceed to Waterford, and if a vessel can be got there, for that place, he intends to go by it. If any considerable delay be likely to arise from such conveyance, he proposes to go in the packet to Bristol, avoiding a journey through England at all, or as little as possible, for reasons before stated. Mr. O'CONNELL is to write to me promptly, on ascertaining whether it be probable that he can proceed to Cork by sea. If the opportunity be immediate, he will go on without me, and I will follow, without a moment's delay, as well as I can. I am here nearer to Cork or Waterford than Dublin. As there is uncertainty, whenever seas are to be passed, and especially in a long voyage, in order to save you and Mr. PEEL inconvenience, I beg to suggest, that it would be better not to pass to the Continent, until you are apprised whether a vessel can be had direct to Ostend from Cork,

or Waterford; as I shall not be here to receive an answer. I am at present at a loss how to convey this intelligence to you, as a letter to your house in Dublin, the only address you have favoured me with, would be too tedious, I shall, however, try to discover some way of doing so if possible. Under the circumstances I have stated, I will lose no time in relieving you and your friend from the suspense which circumstances create in this unpleasant affair.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"R. N. BENNETT."

In the mean time, Mr. LIDWILL returned to Dublin, and in reply to Sir CHARLES SAXTON'S letter of the 4th, addressed to the People of Ireland the following letter.—Independently of the personal nature of this document, the sentiments he utters show how intensely interested the whole Nation was in this "affair of honor," and how correct was the view taken of it by Lord LIVERPOOL :—

"TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

"Sir CHARLES SAXTON again precedes me in publication. That, which I have read in *The Correspondent* of last night, suprises me not a little, for these reasons :—

"First, That he should resort to any publication at all, under the circumstances in which he and I now stand mutually pledged.

"Secondly, That we should have published, as explanations given, those which, were only admitted *would* be given by me, under a condition which his friend refused to comply with, and which he was told by me, if he quitted my apartment without complying with, the whole was at an end.

"Thirdly, Sir CHARLES, in his publication, has complied with the very condition demanded by me, and ob-

jected to by his friend; namely, that the admission required of me, which I rejected, should be inserted, together with my rejection of it, in any statement to be published. His friend had offered to withdraw this proposal, and then to take the other explanations, as I was satisfied that I could give them.

"For these reasons, his publication has surprised me.

"Now, a word as to the explanations.

"First—That I admitted my belief of an impression upon my mind, "that in the instance referred to, he was speaking from himself, and not from Mr. PEEL."

"This I could not have doubted; not only because he subsequently said so, but because he took the trouble to impress such a belief upon my mind by an extraordinary species of argument; namely, by distinguishing his personal from his representative capacity, and observing that he could hear some of my arguments in the former capacity, though not in the latter. To the validity of this distinction, I did object.

"Secondly, The English language will not admit the expressions of 'suppressing and concealing,' under any circumstances, to be 'misrepresentation;' but certainly not in the instance before us, relative to Sir CHARLES SAXTON; for he admits, in his own statement, that a great deal was said by me, which he calls 'reasoning;' and forbore to relate; because it did not go to remove the impression then upon his mind. This does not appear to be 'misrepresentation,' though certainly a material 'suppression.'

"The third explanation is exactly what is stated by myself, in my Letter of last Saturday, to Mr. O'CONNELL.

"The fourth is as stated.

"The fifth, 'That I expressed my regret at observations originally made by Mr. O'CONNELL, relative

to Mr. PEEL.' This will be deemed most natural, when it is recollected, that it being my object to prove, that the first hostile message should come from Mr. PEEL, it was my argument to make Mr. O'CONNELL appear as much in the wrong originally, as my sense of his error would admit; and I have already stated, in my letter to Mr. O'CONNELL, that I did express that regret.

"As to the latter part of that explanation, relative to the remark made by Sir C. SAXTON, as to words attributed to Mr. PEEL, I must consider the remark to have been Sir CHARLES'S own; inasmuch as Mr. PEEL could not have foreseen what answer I could make to Sir CHARLES'S question.

"'Personality' was the term which I asserted, in my letter to Mr. O'CONNELL, to have been used by Sir CHARLES—and to the use of that term, by him, I adhered in my explanation.

"The sixth admission required, was the only one which, in my opinion, militated against any part of the statement in my letter to Mr. O'CONNELL; and I rejected it at once—and demanded that it should be inserted as having been required by him, and rejected by me; and thus prove to the public that I would be as firm in refusing what I ought to resist, as willing to explain what I ought to explain.

"Sir C. SAXTON'S friend refused to consent to this demand; but said that he would withdraw it, as if it had not been proposed, and let the explanation, No. 7, stand in its stead, as in No. 6.

"The seventh explanation is as stated.

"Whilst Sir CHARLES SAXTON was altering his notes to meet my objection, and whilst I was transcribing that passage which he said was substantially correct, as re-

ported in my letter to Mr. O'Connell, and which I admitted was correctly published by him, Sir Charles observed, that his publication would be brief; for that he would not publish my reasoning. I then rose and said, that I would not consent to a partial report, or agree to the correctness of his notes, as read to me; inasmuch as I did not then know whether he would publish that of mine, which he said was substantially correct, or that of his own, which he read to me before he began to alter.

"Guarding against any possible future event, I wished to give you every information relative to this part of my conduct, which has been prematurely brought before you by Sir C. Saxton. I boldly call upon the people of Ireland to compare these explanations, as given by him, with the statements contained in my letter to Mr. O'Connell; to look at the declaration which I stipulated should accompany any publication of those explanations, and then to decide whether my honour is or is not unsullied.

"I go to the Continent in your quarrel, for I have none of my own.

"I go under the heart-rending circumstances of being obliged to put to the test the fortitude of a dearly beloved and affectionate child, in a delicate state of health, and whose only surviving parent I am; by confiding to her the truth, to save her from the torture of doubt—but I go on behalf of a country, in which I have drawn my first breath—I go for a people, the more endeared to me by their misfortunes; and for a cause, to which my last words shall bear evidence of my fidelity.

"I feel no uneasiness for *my* character in my absence. Wherever I may be present, your's shall never be tarnished in my person.

"Sept. 7, 1815." "George Lidwill.

In the above counter-statement, Mr. LIDWILL alludes to the engagement, to meet and fight Sir CHARLES SAXTON on the Continent. The day appointed was early in the following month of October. The duel took place; but, as will be seen, without disastrous consequences.

On the night previous to the date of this letter, Mr. PEEL sailed for England, on his way to the continent. Now, it is rather remarkable that the Sheriff of Dublin had not arrested him as he did Mr. O'CONNELL. The latter, however, was bound over by the Chief Justice—the other either escaped the authorities, or was designedly allowed go free. Was that fair? Was it not a concocted plan to give the Government, through their Chief Secretary, a triumph; by affording one every advantage to establish a fighting name, after the method of Lord CASTLEREAGH; while every effort was made to embarrass the other? Was it consistent with Lord LIVERPOOL's alleged disapprobation? It is absurd to deny that they could, and ought have been put on an equality. Mr. PEEL, though the English Government of course were informed of all that occurred, and aware of his having come over from Ireland, and for what purpose—was permitted, without the least molestation, to pass through England, without the slightest attempt at disguise on his part, or detention on others. He arrived at Dover, on the 13th September. He must, therefore, have been at least six days in England. Where was he domiciled during the time? Did he conceal himself? Did not, in point of fact, the Ministers see him in London, and know his place of residence? It is not to be credited that they were ignorant of it; and a conviction of the fact will impress itself upon us, if we bear in mind the exertions made, and the *espionage* set on foot, to secure the

person of O'Connell. It, at all events, looks suspicious. On the 13th September, Mr. Peel stopped at Dover, at the most frequented hotel in England; and his arrival there was announced in the *Sun*, a Ministerial paper, and the *object of his journey set forth*. On the 15th, he reached Ostend, and in the Post Office there, the following note was left for Mr. Bennett:—

"Colonel Brown has the honour to acquaint Mr. Bennett, that having determined to wait his arrival at a short distance from Ostend, in preference to waiting in the town, Colonel Brown has directed a person to call twice a day at the Post Office for letters; and Colonel Brown will not fail to pay immediate attention to any note from Mr. Bennett.—Ostend, 15th Sept."

On the 22d Sept. Col. Brown received the following letter by post:—

"Argyll-street, Sept. 18, 1815.

"Sir—Mr. O'Connell and I have arrived here, after some delay on the way. We are getting passports for Holland and France, which we expect this evening, and shall leave this to-night, or early in the morning, and proceed without delay. Learning from the papers that you are at Ostend, I direct this there."

On the 23d Sept. Col. Brown received the following note from Mr. Bennett:—

"Mr. Bennett has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Col. Brown's note of the 15th inst., left at the Post Office. Mr. Bennett hastens to inform Col. Brown that he arrived here last evening (after the Post Office had closed) leaving Mr. O'Connell in the custody of the Bow-street Officers, in London. Mr. Bennett will meet Col. Brown at any house he may appoint this day. Col. Brown will please to make his appointment by a note left at the bar of the hotel.

"Ostend, 23d Sept., 1815, Hotel Cour Imperiale."

At three o'clock Mr. BENNETT met Col. BROWN, and delivered to him the following note:—

"Ostend, 23d Sept., 1815.

"Mr. BENNETT acquaints Col. BROWN, that under the circumstances in which Mr. O'CONNELL *now* stands, as communicated this morning, it is not his intention to proceed to the Continent. On the part of Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. B. has nothing to communicate to Col. BROWN, in addition to what is contained in his note of this morning, save that he thought it his duty to make this communication in person.

Let us now return, and trace Mr. O'CONNELL's movements. He proceeded at once to Cork, and we read, in the Cork Journals of the day, of his arrival there, and of his departure for Kerry. Not the slightest suspicion was entertained of his going on the Continent, to meet Mr. PEEL. In the meantime, the Police in England were set at work, to ascertain and report to Government, the names of parties arriving from Ireland, in the Packets. It is affirmed that "the names of Mr. "O'CONNELL and of Mr. LIDWILL, were respectively "noted, and their descriptions taken, by officers station-"ed for the purpose, at Milford Haven and Holyhead." It is further said, that no sooner did Mr. LIDWELL and Mr. O'CONNELL make their appearance in England, than the roads and coasts were beset with Policemen. "No "less than one hundred were despatched to the different "ports opposite the coast of the Continent. Some were "despatched to Calais, where they actually broke into "a gentleman's room, in search of Mr. O'CONNELL.

"Eight Policemen were sent down to Ramsgate, and placed under the direction of Mr. BURTON, a resident Magistrate of that town, who assisted them with the

ocal Police ; and the greatest vigilance was exercised, by day and night, to prevent the possibillity of the escape of Mr. LIDWILL and Mr. O'CONNELL. Special letters were sent from the Home Department, to all the Mayors and other Officers of the outposts, of England, to stop Mr. O'CONNELL, Mr. LIDWILL, and their friends ; very particular descriptions of their features and persons accompanied those Letters. Both were described, as large sized, athletic, strong built men, with open countenances and frank manners. Their complexions, statures, visages, sizes, usual dress, were all minutely detailed."

After such precautions, on the part of the Government, which were altogether neglected as regarded Mr. PEEL, it was scarcely possible for Mr. O'CONNELL to have escaped. Is it reasonable to suppose that anxiety for O'CONNELL's safety instigated all this vigilance ? Was it on his account English officials were so active ? He was arrested in London, in the act of entering his carriage, *en route* to Dover. The following we take from one of the Dublin liberal papers, of the day. It gives rather a graphic, and, in our opinion, a faithful history of his arrest. " On Tuesday morning, the 19th instant, at the early hour of *four* o'clock, Mr. O'CONNELL was arrested, when stepping into his chaise for Dover. An immense mob of Police Constables rushed into the private hotel, (Holyland's, in the Strand.) All the lower apartments were soon filled ; their joy was ferociously clamorous—one would have almost imagined that another Buonaparte had been captured.

" They openly boasted, that this great prize would yield them fifty guineas each. For such was the promise of SIR ROBERT PEEL. Crowds of the Londoners were about—all eager to see the famed " Irishman ;" and on

Thursday last, Mr. O'CONNELL had become an object of as great curiosity and interest to the gaping citizens, as ever the Allied Monarchs, the "BLUCHERS," or the WELLINGTONS, had been in their day.

"To make matters still more sure, Mr. O'CONNELL was conveyed in a coach to the Police Magistrates at Bow-street, escorted by *forty* picked Constables.

"He was there bound over to keep the Peace, towards Mr. PEEL and Sir CHARLES SAXTON; and not to leave England for the purpose of fighting either of them, &c., &c.

"No man in his senses will believe that the Police Magistrates could not as easily have secured Mr. PEEL or Sir C. SAXTON, who were perfectly well known in every town and city through which they passed, as they arrested Mr. LIDWILL and Mr. O'CONNELL, who were utter strangers, and endeavouring to conceal themselves.—It would be most miserable affectation of want of penetration, to appear to doubt for a moment that these strange circumstances were not the result of a regularly organized plan to tarnish the honour of one party, and exhibit the others as men of most ardent courage. We cannot forget, that a similar system was twice practiced in this city towards Mr. O'CONNELL. When the unfortunate Mr. D'ESTERRE sought the life of Mr. O'CONNELL, he paraded our streets at noon day, told every one he met, of his intention to offer insult and outrage to Mr. O'CONNELL; yet he was suffered to pass unattended to and unrestrained; while Counsellor O'CONNELL was not only bound over by a JUDGE of the land, but his house was beset by Police Officers. Again, in the present instance, Mr. LIDWILL and Mr. O'CONNELL are arrested, while Mr. PEEL and Sir CHARLES SAXTON live at their ease in town, and then go on board the public packet, without

any restraint or interruption from the Police. The conduct in Great Britain is merely the continuation of the same system; the same effort to bolster up the character of a man whom it was intended to preserve; and whom do we find the informer on this occasion against Mr. O'Connell? Is he a friend of Mr. O'Connell or Mr. Lidwill? No such thing; he probably never saw either of them. Is he an indifferent person, influenced by a desire to preserve the public peace? By no means, he is the friend and associate, and companion in office of Mr. Peel, a Mr. Beckett, who must have been influenced by no other desire than to gratify the desires, or execute the directions of Mr. Peel's friends. He is either the Under Secretary, or the brother of an Under-Secretary, and holding office under Government. This is the gentleman who gives the information upon which Mr. O'Connell is arrested; while he suffers his friend and colleague, Mr. Peel, to pass to France, without making any affidavit to justify or obtain an arrest."

Mr. O'Connell was taken before Mr. Justice De Blance, of the King's Bench, and there bound in recognizances, himself for £5,000, and two sureties £2,500 each to appear before the court, within two years, when called on. We find him, in 1817, appearing before Lord Ellenborough, to have his bonds of recognizance cancelled; which was done, after some hesitation, on the part of his Lordship.

The following characteristic effusion, in a national Journal of that day, though long, we cannot withhold from our readers; as it certainly exhibits, in strong relief, the popular sentiment, in respect to this exciting topic:—

"Affair of Ireland.

"Arrest of Mr. Lidwill and Mr. O'Connell by the British Government.

"MR. PEEL AND SIR CHARLES SAXTON PRESERVED.

"An Express Extraordinary has brought the above account to the Irish Government. Mr. LIDWILL was arrested on Sunday. The arrest of Mr. O'CONNELL is described in the following terms, by *The Sun*, a Government Print.

"BY EXPRESS.

"*From the Sun of Tuesday.*

SUN OFFICE, Two o'Clock.

"We have the pleasure to inform the Public, and it is with no small degree of pleasure, that Mr. O'CONNELL was taken into custody last night, and will this day be obliged to give security for keeping the peace with all his Majesty's subjects. By *the laudable vigilance* of Government, who have on this occasion, and in the capture of Mr. LIDWILL, as we yesterday stated, in the instance of Mr. PEEL, a gentlemen has been *preserved*, whose character is highly valued by his own friends, and by every friend to the country."

"Thus far goes the Government account, so far as we can judge from one of its habitual organs. Mark the cunning of the plan—PEEL and SAXTON are allowed to pass; *they* (the Irish Secretary and his friend) escape the vigilance of the Government; they, gallant fellows, reach the appointed place of meeting, seven days before the appointed time, to strut their busy hours; but, so choice is the British Ministry of the lives of Mr. LIDWILL and Mr. O'CONNELL, that they watch them with a more efficient Police, and ensure their capture!! But, it is not necessary to dwell upon this point; when the object of the arrest of the Irish gentlemen, is thus roundly avowed to have been to preserve the lives of Sir CHARLES and Mr. PEEL, and particularly the latter. We do not regret that their lives have been thus preserved—GOD

forbid. We certainly should hope that some chastisement would be inflicted upon them by their superiors; but we do not by any means regret, that they should have escaped the unerring destiny which inevitably awaited them, had not their colleagues in the Government "*preserved*" them, in the manner represented by their official Journals. All accounts concur in stating that the display of valour manifested by the English combatants, in their occupation of the field, for seven clear days, is considered a ridiculous and miserable exhibition. This parade is noticed by *The Pilot*, London Paper, of Monday, in the following cutting terms:—

"Thus it appears Mr. PEEL is first in the field, where he waits listlessly, like the forlorn maid in the song, who sings "nobody coming to marry me, nobody coming to woo," unless when he chooses to enliven the scene by a preliminary and *preparatory* exercise of the valour, which is soon to be more appropriately employed in real combat. In the mean time, we will fancy this valiant Chief Secretary, *shooting at marks*—hitting aces of hearts; and then, like his apt prototype, the Duelling Bull in Virgil, heating the wind and kicking about the sands, transformed by imagination into his absent antagonist"

"ventosque lacessit
Icubus, et sparsa in pugnam proludit arena."

"We may safely collect from the observations of so respectable a Print, what were the occupations of Mr. PEEL, since his visit to the Continent; but we set no value upon such facts. His drilling would not have availed him much on the day of trial; his colleagues knew that well, and therefore adopted a more certain course to ensure his *preservation*.

"Well, they have him; and Ireland gets back her own loved children, uninjured in honour, character, or

person. They had no friends ; no favourers, no advisers in the Cabinet or the Court. They had not any second-rate Secretary to direct their course. They could not receive the friendly hint or *express* advice. Their lives were not of much consideration to Mr. PEEL's party.—They could indeed have been spared by the State, in the estimation of that party ; they had no favourers to organize a system of protection. They had no friend in influence to say, "do you go at once to the Continent;" every one will say you are a gallant fellow, and burn for the fight—we will then watch your opponents at every post, dog them at every stage, and finally arrest them ; so as to raise up a character of valour from your activity, and an imputation of cowardice from their tardiness."—No, no ; neither LIDWILL nor O'CONNELL could command such management—GOD forbid they could ; or if they could, still, they would not take advantage of their influence to play off such paltry tricks.

"We had written thus far, when the London Papers of Tuesday, reached us in course. The following article, extracted from the *Courier*, proves pretty clearly that we have not miscalculated the system :—

"We understand Mr. O'CONNELL was this morning arrested by the Police at Holyland's Coffee-house, in the Strand. He will probably be (as his friend Mr. LIDWILL was yesterday) bound over to keep the peace *here* and *elsewhere*. We cannot but congratulate *ourselves* that the *fortunate delay which has taken place in the departure of* Mr. O'CONNELL and his friends, has led to an event which seems to promise a conclusion of the affair, about which we believe all right minded men have felt considerable pain and anxiety.

"We understand that measures had been equally taken to intercept Mr. PEEL ; but the *rapidity of this gentlemen's movements*, disappointed the activity of the Police.

" A word or two are necessary to place this matter in its true light.

"Mr. O'Connell, having, upon his arrest in Dublin, on Tuesday the 5th instant, offered to give Mr. Peel the meeting which he required, in any part of the world he should name, it was finally determined by their friends that they should meet on Thursday, the 21st, at Ostend. Mr. O'Connell proceeded to leave some of his family in the County of Kerry, in order to prevent any further suspicions, and made such arrangements as should prevent any circulation of the account of the intended meeting. He remained a week in Ireland, allowing himself another full week to travel to the appointed place of meeting. He did not, to be sure, run off to Ostend, to excite public anxiety and curiosity, by his remaining there eight or nine days in expectation of a combat; his character did not require such aid; neither did he treat the matter as one of such vast importance, as to render it necessary to derange all his other affairs; he proceeded with his accustomed punctuality, without display or flourish, in sufficient time for the proposed purpose, and would have easily reached Ostend on the day before the appointed time of meeting, had he not been arrested by the vigilance of Government, who were anxious, as the *Sun* informs us, to ' preserve' Mr. Peel's life. So far for the delay in the departure of Mr. O'Connell."

" Now, as to the rapidity of the movements of Mr. Peel, we are informed with all due pomp by the Government Prints of this City, that Mr. Peel and his friends sailed on the evening of the Thursday after the appointment for a meeting was made, and on the Wednesday following he appears at the hotel in Dover, and is regularly announced in the leading print of his

own party, as one of the passengers for Calais. Thus he must have passed six days in England. The public prints had announced the purpose of his departure. The British and Irish Government were fully acquainted with it. It was well known, that he was to proceed to France, and he moves perfectly at his leisure, taking six days to accomplish a journey which he might make in three days, if rapidity of movement had been his object ; at length he reaches Dover, takes up his residence in the most frequented hotel at present in the United Kingdom ; makes himself and his friends known to every body ; there is no travelling in disguise under feigned names :—his arrival is regularly announced, and he proceeds on board the public packet—and this is the rapidity of movement which enabled him to escape the Bow-street officers, and 'disappoint the activity of the Police,' as if, forsooth, the Government, or the Police, could not have secured his arrest either on the road, or certainly in Dover."

"It is the misfortune of low plans, that they generally defeat their own objects; and we are confident there never was a more complete manifestation of the justice of this observation than in the present instance. Mr. PEEL spends six days in England, and yet by the rapidity of his movements, disappoints the activity of the Police, who arrest Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. LIDWILL in less than five days. Mr. PEEL could not be watched in Dover, only a few hours' journey from London, although Mr. O'CONNELL could be watched in Milford, a distance requiring three or four days to travel over. There is no mistaking the objects of such misrepresentations—they form a part of the system which commenced its development in this city. Hitherto, we have cautiously avoided adverting to some facts connected with this system, which in the present posture of affairs, we are much inclined to

disclose; but we consider it utterly impossible, that a subject, in the consideration of which the feelings and interests of Ireland are so deeply involved, can be suffered to pass away ,without a variety of further commentary and animadversion."

" After the arrest of Mr. LIDWILL, on Sunday the 17th, Sir NICHOLAS CONANT, at the head of the Police, stated that orders had been issued to officers of all the western ports, to transmit lists of the names of the passengers on board the packets from Ireland, to the Office of the SECRETARY for the Foreign Department. He added, that the object of this regulation was, to prevent the possible escape of Mr. LIDWILL or Mr. O'CONNELL; that they were watched at every stage since their arrival, and orders sent down to all the ports on the coast, opposite France and Holland, to prevent their embarkation."

" Mr. LIDWILL, however, succeeded, as he supposed in avoiding a discovery, and concealed himself from the moment of his arrival, until his arrest in London, being about fifteen or sixteen hours. His retreat was discovered by a Bow-street officer, who, having made out Mr. PRITTIE, followed him closely, and traced him to the apartments of Mr. LIDWILL. Mr. LIDWILL being put under arrest on Sunday, remained in custody until Monday, when he was brought before Lord ELLENBOROUGH, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England, when he was bound over, under a penalty of three thousand pounds, not to leave the kingdom for the purpose of fighting a duel with Mr. PEEL or Sir CHARLES SAXTON, until the first day of next Term. What the ultimate control is, to which Lord ELLENBOROUGH looks forward, we cannot say ; particularly as the entire of the proceeding, on the part of his Lordship, seems altogether of novel character, and must raise a legal question for consi-

deration. We apprehend it will be very difficult to find out any precedent for such a proceeding."

"Mr. O'CONNELL, having been informed of the arrest of Mr. LIDWILL, changed his lodgings, and used every means to avoid detection. It was necessary, however, to obtain passports from the Dutch Ambassador; and accordingly, the friends of Mr. O'CONNELL proceeded for that purpose to the house of his Excellency, but could not see him during that day, although they remained there from an early hour. Several of the Officers from Bow-street, and the other Police offices, were at that time dispatched to the different hotels, and their vicinity, in search of Mr. O'CONNELL, while others were stationed at the different roads, to prevent his escape. At a late hour in the night, the friends of Mr. O'CONNELL succeeded in obtaining the passports from the Dutch Ambassador, without which they could not travel to Ostend, or in any other part of the dominions of the King of the Netherlands. Arrangements were then made for departure before light; Mr. O'CONNELL was to have taken the route to Brighton, and his friends to have proceeded by Calais; but the Officers continued on the watch, and succeeded in arresting Mr. O'CONNELL, as he was in the act of starting, about four o'clock in the morning. He was then surrounded by an immense crowd of Policemen, who seemed to consider that they had made as great a prize as if they had taken the Emperor NAPOLEON, when in the plentitude of his greatness. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the members of the Ministry, and other persons of high distinction, to inform them of the arrest, and an express messenger was ordered to proceed to this City, to communicate the intelligence to the Irish Government. Will any man in his senses believe, that the Police Officers who watched the movements of Mr. LIDWILL and Mr. O'CONNELL, with such vigilance and

success, from the period of their arrival on British ground, could not have secured Mr. PEEL or Sir CHARLES SAXTON, also, if inclined to do so? No, certainly; it would be a libel on the most efficient Police in the world, to suppose them so incapable and inadequate. Here again, then, the little plan breaks out. They let PEEL and SAXTON escape, and arrest LIDWILL and O'CONNELL. Can it be supposed that Mr. GREGORY, or his under-doers have been so negligent of the interests of the Government, as not to have transmitted immediate accounts of the proceeding of the Chief Secretary at every stage, and on every change? No man will believe them capable of such remissness, when it is known that every little riot or disturbance between the most insignificant individuals is regularly communicated to the Noble SECRETARY for the Home Department. For what were the express communications revived with an increased alertness, unknown at any former period? Did the Under Secretaries communicate the disorganized State of the Vice-Regal Government? If they did not, they were most culpably deficient in the discharge of their duties; and if they did, it is plain that Mr. PEEL could have been arrested with as much facility as Mr. O'CONNELL. But even admitting, what we do not suppose, that these public officers neglected their duties, still the Government Prints supplied the deficiency by immediately announcing the departure of the SECRETARY and his friend. The truth of the case is best ascertained by again referring to the facts:—Mr. PEEL sent his Message on Monday; Mr. O'CONNELL was arrested on the night of that day; the meeting at Ostend was fixed upon on Tuesday; Mr. PEEL sailed on Thursday in the Packet; the account of his sailing must have reached London by the ordinary Mail on Sunday morning, and by the Express on Satur-

day. Well, he proceeds to Dover on Wednesday ; that is, FIVE DAYS AFTER the account of his sailing from Ireland must have reached London, and yet he pursues his course without any interruption ; and immediately after his departure, the activity of the Police is resumed. Nay, at the very time that he arrives at Dover, on his route to Calais, an officer is in waiting at Milford, to announce to the London Police the arrival of Mr. O'CONNELL in the extreme point of Wales. Thus, Mr. PEEL, the Chief Secretary for Ireland—the ATLAS of the Ministry of this part of the United Kingdom—passes undisguised and unobserved, and uninterrupted, within seventy miles of London ; while Mr. O'CONNELL, the Irish Agitator, the Popish Demagogue, the first object of Ministerial detestation in this part of the United Kingdom, or perhaps in any part of it, becomes all at once a favourite of their regards—the preservation of his life is esteemed a matter of such value, that he is not allowed to put his foot upon British ground, until his name is entered in a book by a special officer sent down for that purpose, and transmitted to the capital from the extremity of the island, nearly three hundred miles distant from London, and full four times the distance of that city to Dover, where Mr. PEEL was at the same time passing his leisure hours without any apprehensions of arrest or interruption."

"Here we will let this curious case rest for the present, referring again to the extract already given from *The Sun*, the principal official organ of Mr. PEEL's party, which plainly and distinctly informs us, that Mr. O'CONNELL's arrest was owing to 'the vigilance of the Government,' and that the real object was to 'preserve' the life of Mr. PEEL. This disclosure of the secret will not, we fear, increase the friendly dispositions of the party towards their editorial representative. It is, how-

ever a most interesting and important avowal, and must defeat every effort of the menial press to misrepresent the history of this transaction. The People of Ireland must see, that their Representatives and Champions have not shrunk from the maintenance of their honourable character. It is true, they did not descend to any puerile exhibitions of valorous ardour—they acted with the same temper and ease, as they would have manifested in a rencontre with any other individuals."

"They had not, at first, any reason to expect that the CHIEF JUSTICE of England would have exercised towards them an authority and control such as they had never before heard of; but when it was ascertained to have been resolved to arrest them, they used every means to avoid the interruption, an effort which must ever prove nugatory in such a country as England, when the Police Officers are seriously disposed to make good the capture of any individual. Their gallant opponents have thus received all the benefits they could have expected to flow from their untimely and indecorous publications; but we must reserve our observations on this head for another occasion."

"Mr. PRITTIE and Counsellor BENNETT had left London to proceed to Calais, to notify the interruptions which prevented the attendance of Mr. LIDWILL and Mr. O'CONNELL. This measure of etiquette was certainly due to Colonel BROWNE and Mr. DICKINSON."

It may be necessary to observe, that Mr. LIDWILL was on his way to give Sir CHARLES SAXTON a meeting. Sir CHARLES' friend was Mr. DICKINSON. It is not necessary, now-a-days, for us to observe, how totally incredible is the statement, that PEEL was practising at pistol-firing at Calais, while waiting until the day of the appointed meeting arrived. Such conduct would have been

unworthy of any man, much less of a man of such honorable bearing, in private life, as PEEL has throughout his career proved himself to be.

Mr. O'CONNELL returned to Dublin. It was folly to pursue the affair farther. Not only was he bound in a large pecuniary penalty, not to do so, either in the United Kingdoms, or on the Continent—but he was distinctly told by Justice LE BLANC—"If, after he had entered into his recognizances, any meeting should take place, and prove fatal, the survivor and his friend would be pursued by all the British force and influence on the Continent, and, when arrested, brought to trial at the Old Bailey, and if convicted, most certainly be executed within forty-eight hours."

We have only to regret, that one of his strong mind and religious tendencies had not risen then superior to the prevailing opinion, respecting duelling, and refused, as a public man, to be made, after so barbarous a fashion, accountable for his public actions. Happily for the country, the transactions of this year aided his own high moral feeling, in overcoming established prejudice; and through good report, and bad—amidst sneers and taunts, he steadily refused giving "satisfaction," by committing murder, for any language in which, in the impulse of the moment, and in the heat of debate, he has so often indulged. In the use of language which has galled and injured, O'CONNELL was sometimes carried away by momentary feeling. The recollection of the language, and of the injury passed off with the occasion. And afterwards, he has been astonished at the coolness of those he considered friends; and, when informed, bitterly regretted the cause. Where a man has an absorbing thought—an engrossing pursuit, and that, the attainment of his coun-

try's freedom at all hazards, and at any personal sacrifice, it is difficult, nay, unfair, to judge of him as you would of ordinary men. Fortunately for Ireland, religion stepped, in and took him beyond the consequences of those personal attacks, to which his position, of necessity, would have rendered him liable.

We cannot close this particular portion of O'CONNELL's history, without stating our conviction, that, in this transaction, Mr. PEEL acted as a man of personal courage and determination. It is puerile, nay more, it is unjust, to deny him the possession of these qualities. But we do not so readily acquit him of a desire to pick a quarrel with O'CONNELL, nor the Government of an anxiety to disparage the high reputation of their great opponent. It is, however, right to say, that, at a later period of his career, Mr. O'CONNELL informed Mr. PEEL, through Mr. BENNETT, that he did him wrong, in the observations he made at the public meeting, and that he regretted them; in fact, that he was wrong, and PEEL right. This he repeated again, in public, many years after.

Mr. LIDWILL, it will be recollected, was under an engagement to fight Sir CHARLES SAXTON, on the Continent. He was arrested with Mr. O'CONNELL in London, and returned with him to Dublin. However, the arrest did not prevent his fulfilling his engagement; and he repaired to Calais, and received Sir CHARLES SAXTON's fire, declining to return it, in consequence of the injunction of Justice LE BLANC. In Mr. LIDWILL's letter of the 7th September, he made a statement, which gave offence to Mr. PEEL. In consequence he gave his friend Colonel BROWNE, a letter addressed to Mr. LIDWILL, to be delivered after his affair with Sir CHARLES SAXTON had terminated; demanding satisfaction. But when his friend Colonel BROWNE as-

certained that Mr. LIDWELL had not returned Sir CHARLES SAXTON'S fire, and his motive for not doing so, he at once withdrew the letter, stating that under the circumstances, he should consider it as criminal as murder, to fire on one who would not return it. Thus terminated an affair half-political, half-personal, which occupied the public mind in Ireland for four months, and engrossed during that time the deepest attention.

We have seen that Mr. O'CONNELL was, in the first place, arrested in Dublin, at the instance of Mrs. O'CONNELL.—Mr. LIDWILL, it is also said, was informed against by his own daughter. These facts were, of course, the subject of remark, and drew forth, from the ready pen of the accomplished BUSHE, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the epigram suggested by the fourth Commandment—

> "Our heroes, not relishing slaughter,
> Improve on the Jewish command;
> *They* honour—the wife and the daughter,
> That their days may be long in the land."

It has often been insinuated against O'CONNELL, that he was privy to the information which led to his arrest. Now, we can positively state, that there was no foundation whatever for that insinuation. While he remained in London, *incog.*, he stopped at the house of a Capt. RAYCRAFT, a friend of his; who, feeling that his life was too valuable to Ireland to be risked, gave private information, which led to his arrest. Capt. RAYCRAFT held a high military appointment in Chelsea Hospital, and was married to a lady from Macroom, connected with a respectable family residing near Killarney. He repeated afterwards, and most solemnly assured the friend from whom the fact comes to the writer—that O'CONNELL knew nothing of his intention to give the information, which led subsequently to his arrest. This testimony is unim-

peachable, and sufficiently disposes of the calumny.—It is a curious fact, that O'Connell knew not the person of Peel, for nearly a year after the transaction we have above recorded. O'Connell had, in the following year, to appear before the English Court of King's Bench, of which Lord Ellenborough was Chief Justice, to have his recognizances discharged. While in London, business of a private nature, with the Knight of Kerry, took him into the House of Commons. He was accompanied by a friend, and as they were passing out of the lobby, near the spot where Perceval was shot, a gentleman in a blue coat passed them in a hurry, and brushed against O'Connell. Both turned round, and for the first time he saw his political opponent; for the party he thus encountered was no other than Mr. Peel. The next day, O'Connell attended in the King's Bench, before Lord Ellenborough, to have his recognizances discharged, and was accompanied by a number of friends, among whom were, Mr. Silvertop, Mr. Blood, Mr. Finnerty. &c. He was at once the observed of all observers, and when the case of the King v. O'Connell was called on, every eye in Court was fixed on him. His Counsel stood up to make the necessary motion, but either from nervousness or some other cause, he did it so awkwardly, that O'Connell stepped forward himself, and with his hat in hand, applied in the usual way to have his recognizances discharged. The Chief Justice merely nodded his assent; and after an interchange of bows, without a word more having passed, Mr. O'Connell left the Court.

Before passing on from 1815, we may mention a fact, illustrative of O'Connell's anxiety to conciliate, in every reasonable way, the Regent. In a preliminary meeting of the Committee of the Association, he propos-

ed an address to his Royal Highness, of congratulation on the victory of Waterloo. The motion was opposed and debated for several days.

The leader of the opposition was Mr. STEPHEN COPPINGER, a gentleman connected with the County of Cork, who took a most prominent part in political agitation, for twenty years before Emancipation. He, with many other respectable Catholics, dissented from O'CONNELL's proposition. He argued, that it was not fitting for the Catholics of Ireland to express any sentiment of gratification at the overthrow of the French Army. On the day before the general meeting, at which the address was to be proposed, O'CONNELL was told, that many of his friends would deem it their duty to oppose him, if he brought it forward, "Then," said he, throwing down the draft of the address he held in his hand, "if nobody else will propose it, GEORGE LIDWILL will." The next day, at the meeting, NICHOLAS MAHON, at the suggestion of O'CONNELL, did propose the address. It was warmly opposed. The principal speakers were, Mr. COPPINGER, and Mr. FINN (afterwards M. P. for Kilkenny). O'CONNELL, seeing the feeling of the meeting, did not speak at all; and, eventually, MAHON was obliged to withdraw it. At a subsequent aggregate meeting, however, in Cork, a similar address was agreed to. A petition to Parliament, and a series of resolutions were adopted at the same meeting: and as the Earl of LIVERPOOL, then Prime Minister, was erroneously supposed to be inclined to entertain the Catholic claims, in consequence of his having shortly before used this observation, in the course of debate, that "if the Catholics of Ireland were "emancipated at all, they ought to be emancipated unconditionally," Mr. COPPINGER, who was about proceeding to London, though opposed to the principle of

the address, took charge of it. He had an interview with Lord Liverpool, who promised to present the address to the Regent; though it was not, exactly, within his province, as Prime Minister. However, the interview was fortunate, for it gave Mr. Coppinger, who was a determined anti-Vetoist, an opportunity of explaining to him the sentiments of the Catholic body, on the all-absorbing question of the veto.

Let us, before we conclude this portion of the Memoir, glance back at the transactions we have narrated, and, viewing them with an impartial eye, endeavour to draw from them a lesson and a moral, and extract from them, as it were, the philosophy of O'Connell's history, up to 1815. Fixity of principle was, clearly, a grand feature of O'Connell's character. While he yielded to circumstances on points of detail, and made expediency an instrument for achieving his objects, he never swerved from the glorious principles of his life—namely, the enlargement of human freedom—the disenthralment of conscience from the bonds of intolerance—and, lastly, the legislative independence of his country. We have seen how, in early youth, the instinct of his nature was developed, when he heard of Grattan's deeds. Following him into manhood we find him regulating his principles of political agitation, by the maxims of his religious faith, and already teaching the glorious doctrine, of which he, afterwards, became the Apostle—that all political ameliorations can, by perseverance, be obtained without violence or civil convulsion. While he imbibed a love of liberty, by studying the history of the North American colonies, he, at the same time, was taught, in the ecclesiastical establishment where he was educated, during the worst portions of the French Revolution, that no liberty could be lasting, or worth obtaining, which was pur-

chased by the crimes of civil strife, and by the blood of his fellow-men. Tracing him further on, in his career, we find him repudiating the physical-force doctrines of TONE, of O'CONNOR, of FITZGERALD; and yet boldly denouncing CASTLEREAGH'S measure of the Union; and, after it was carried, perseveringly proclaiming it as a measure destructive of the national prosperity, and not only preferring its repeal to Emancipation, but going further still, and expressing a willingness, as a Catholic, to endure the enactments of the penal code, provided they were accompanied by a Repeal of the Union. This fixity of purpose remained with him, during life; though we will, as we advance in his history, observe him adopting the policy of quiescence, for a period, in order to try an experiment on the justice of England. The wisdom of that policy. we shall have occasion, impartially, to discuss. Turning our view to the struggle for Civil and Religious Liberty—we see how proudly, and without compromise, he asserted, for himself and his fellow Catholics, the right of perfect equality without condition or restriction. We see, how, single-handed, he battled against a virulent ascendency faction; and without hesitation, assailed them with the weapons they were so fond of employing against the more shrinking Catholics, who submitted to the infliction, until he breasted the assailants, and retaliated, as if he loved the strife in which their virulence involved him. The only one, of all the then Leaders, who assumed anything like a daring front, was DROMGOOLE. But he had no prudence in his assaults. He has been justly called the Catholic DUIGNAN, because of his ultra religious zeal; yet, than DR. DROMGOOLE there never lived an honester Irishman. His great "oriflamme speech," of which many editions were published, was an instance, both of his honesty and his intole-

rance. It was considered, at the time, highly injudicious; though it will ever attest the intensity of his religious ardour and of his patriotism too. It is not easy to convey an idea, just now, of the excitement it produced among the ascendency party, of whose insolent rule he was so powerful an opponent. In this speech, his manly boldness and his indiscretion, were brought into more prominence than on any previous occasion, and it was proclaimed as a great discovery, that he had at length, fairly let the "cat out of the bag" in reference to the ulterior aims of the Catholic body. That mighty discovery was founded on the following passage in his speech :—

" The claims of the Catholics are advancing, and Protestantism shall fall, like every other novelty, and nothing but the memory of its mischief shall remain."

Dromgoole, honest, steadfast as he was, was not the man to wrestle effectually with the malignity of the ruling faction. O'Connell extinguished his tormentors. A sneer —a nickname—a sarcasm from him well directed, often crushed them for ever. Dromgoole was not equal to such a task. On the other hand, Keogh was too much of the old school. He had done good service in his time, when the object of the Catholics was, simply, relief from penal enactments. He did not understand the policy of endeavouring to gain admission, by thundering at the door of the Constitution. Towards the close of his public career, he became jealous of the influence, which the young and rising members of the Catholic body, principally O'Connell, and Scully, and men of that class, were acquiring. He regarded himself, more than ever, the great leader, and, in fact, the Mentor of the Catholic party. His wish appeared to be, that he should continue to be publicly recognised as the

"Lord principal," and the mode he adopted to ensure that, was by many, deemed an extremely vicious one. He would wait, until the younger men had developed their intentions and views, and, if they were for petitioning, he was for "dignified silence." There occurred about this time, a remarkable event which brought to a close the political career of KEOGH. A day or two after the first or second letter of "CATHOLICUS IPSE," to which we have already referred, appeared, KEOGH attended a Catholic meeting at the Riding School, now DYCER's Horse Repository, Stephen's Green. He was then advanced in life, and was assisted on the table into an arm chair. He commenced by a severe attack on his anonymous assailant, and then went on to propound his views, as to the course to be pursued. He was for "dignified silence." He was, we have said, leader of the great body of the Catholics, and had a most respectable number of followers among the upper classes of the party. His principal and most influential supporter was, SYLVESTER COSTIGAN, an eminent Distiller in Dublin, a man of peculiarly strong intellect and decided honesty. He was uniformly a supporter of KEOGH's, as against the rising party; and, by his adhesion, gave considerable weight to to the opinions of his avowed leader. After KEOGH had spoken, Mr. PETER FINNERTY, a most remarkable man in his day, presented himself to the meeting, and delivered as able, effective, and telling a speech as ever was enunciated in any popular assembly. He took precisely an opposite view to KEOGH. He insisted, that if the Catholics wanted to press forward their claims, or had the natural, tho' not very charitable tendency to avenge themselves on their enemies, they should continuously and uncompromisingly "*press their petitions*," and he ended almost every passage of his

speech, by a repetition of the words quoted, as contradistinguished from KEOGH's advice of "dignified silence." The effect of this speech on the meeting was electrical. The active policy is always more acceptable to the tastes and ideas of a popular assembly than the passive, and he was enthusiastically cheered throughout. At the conclusion of his address, when he resumed his seat, Mr. COSTIGAN rose and said:—

"A delusion has passed away from my eyes—I feel that I was totally mistaken, and, by my still venerated leader, entirely misled. Mr. FINNERTY has satisfied me, that the course, which he recommends, must be continuously, and in the most vigorous manner, pursued by the Catholic body. I now adopt that recommendation, and am obliged to abandon for ever my friend KEOGH, as far as the principle he recommends this day is concerned."

Thenceforward KEOGH saw that his star, as a Catholic leader, had set, that his personal influence was destroyed; and he withdrew from all active participation in public affairs. SCULLY, though a sensible man, and a good speaker, was not made of the stuff to wrestle successfully with the powers then in the ascendant. Neither was FINLAY, nor CLINCH, nor HUSSEY, nor O'GORMAN, nor M'DONNELL; and it is scarcely necessary, at this stage of the Memoir, to say, the Catholic Aristocracy were not suited to the times. O'CONNELL had peculiar qualifications. He had the boldness to resent insult—he had the power of language to chastise insolence, and make himself feared; yet, withal, he had great prudence and foresight in his plans of action. In later times we will, in the impartial discharge of our imperative duty, have to disapprove of language directed against friends of the people, because they happened to differ honestly from him; but in the early

struggles there were wisdom and "calculation" in the "rough work" system he adopted, and for which he has been so unsparingly condemned. Again, mark how wisely he united the clergy and the people, at the sacrifice of personal interest, in the struggles for the preservation, intact, of the faith and discipline of the Catholic Church. In politics, then, O'CONNELL's history, up to 1815, shews the value of principle combined with discretion. To preserve union, he would often yield in matters of detail, and thus subject himself to idle taunts. To make the Catholics feared as well as tolerated, he would as often fling himself into the contest against their antagonists, with the utmost determination and fervour, and thus earn for himself the acrimony of a vindictive faction. But his principles he fearlessly carried out in the midst of taunts, and in spite of the bitterest invective. At the Bar, however, his spirit was conciliatory. His wit and humour won for him the intimacy of his political antagonists, and his effective eloquence and ready tact soon gave him, as we have seen, a high position in that distinguished profession.

Of his mental capacity, in early life, for the sphere in which he moved, we adopt here the description of a Scotchman, who wrote of him in 1835, almost in the very terms the writer himself has more than once used, in describing the intellectual and oratorical powers of his illustrious countryman ;—

"Although we had read much about O'CONNELL, we had entirely misconceived the style and character of his eloquence. We expected a stentorian voice, a manner untutored, coarse, stormy, and denouncing. Instead of this, we found a thorough-bred speaker, who seems to have studied the art of elocution with great care. His voice is soft, but of great compass, and better fitted, we should say, to persuade than terrify. His person is tall

and somewhat corpulent, and his round full face gives an impression of jolly good humour. His general manner is easy, yet the ease speaks of early study; his action striking, but seldom overcharged. The charm of his oratory, however, lies in its flexibility. He knows how to touch every chord with the hand of a master; he is gay and grave, sarcastic, humorous, pathetic, and indignant by turns; and his voice and gesture always adapt themselves most happily to the hue of his thoughts. The matter of his speeches seems perfectly unstudied, as if it were the spontaneous produce of his feelings at the instant. There are, however, no traces of pre-arrangement; no high-wrought passages, smelling of the lamp, and forced in for effect. He passes from one key to another, from the calm to the vehement, from humorous sketches to bursts of passion, the auditor hardly knows how; yet the transition seems always natural. Our impression was, before we saw him, and is still, that his speeches are all, in substance, extemporaneous effusions. He satisfies himself with thinking beforehand over the subject on which he is to speak; but he trusts entirely to the moment of delivery, for the succession of topics, and for arrangement and expression. Orators of this kind seldom or never say exactly what they intended. They commit mistakes, which better preparation would have prevented; but they strike out felicities of thought and language which previous study could not have reached; and their good things have that unpremeditated air, which is in itself a mighty charm. Upon the topics with which he is familiar, and they embrace a pretty wide range, O'Connell is absolutely and inexhaustibly stored; and hence, we believe, he could take dinners and make speeches every day for a month to come, without appearing to repeat himself. His language is generally careless and familiar, but full of *naive* and happy turns, and at times

it is abrupt, forcible, and boldly figurative. Nature and art, in short, have made him an orator of a very high rank; his eloquence is essentially Irish, stronger in its passion than its logic, and better suited to the Forum than the Senate. He is not great as a statesman, and still less as a philosopher; but as an agitator—as a speaker to wield at will the passions of a mixed multitude—he is without a rival in Europe. His faults and deficiencies are those of his countrymen; and they have perhaps contributed to gain him that wonderful ascendency over their minds, which is without a parallel in modern times. It was said of VOLTAIRE that his genius was a power in Europe; and it may be said with as much truth, that O'CONNELL'S influence is a power in the British empire."

The history, then, of O'CONNELL, up to 1815, demonstrates that tame subserviency gains nothing;—that, without the people's aid, no political grievance will ever be redressed; that half measures are sure to be discomfited; that a bold bearing, and an unshrinking assertion of right, without compromise, are the only means of succeeding in Politics; and, finally, that to be the LEADER OF MILLIONS OF FELLOW-MEN, ONE MUST BE ENDOWED WITH O'CONNELL'S INDEFATIGABLE INDUSTRY, HIS PERSEVERENCE, HIS MORAL COURAGE, HIS UNBENDING, PROUD TEMPERAMENT, HIS GREAT GENIUS, HIS COMPREHENSIVE KNOWLEDGE OF LAW, HIS TACT, JUDGEMENT, DISCRETION, SOUND SENSE—HIS HONESTY, AND HIS PRINCIPLES.

CHAPTER III.

1816---1827.

While O'Connell was struggling for civil and religious liberty through the channel of the Constitution, his progress was materially impeded by the agrarian outrages which were incessantly committed by the peasantry. The enemies of Ireland uniformly took advantage of these predial disturbances, in order to refuse the Catholic, religious equality with his Protestant fellow-subject; and to Ireland political equality with the sister country. Every fact was strained, every incident distorted, in order to prove a connection between the fair and legitimate agitation, of which O'Connell was the head, and the horrifying crimes which tyranny and oppression superinduced in various Counties in the south, particularly in Tipperary. In 1816, as in former and in subsequent years, that County was disorganized. Without the hazard of contradiction, the assertion may now be made, that O'Connell and the other Catholic Agitators neither created nor promoted the disturbances. The causes may be shortly stated. First, with reference to predial outrages generally; next, locally, with respect to Tipperary. Two social grievances had, from a remote period in Irish history, been sources of contention between the Protestant aristocracy, or portions of it, and the Catholic people. The first was, the Tithe impost, a never failing cause of bloodshed and crime for over a century, until 1838, when the law directed the incomes of the Clergy to be levied in a different manner. The second was, the social re-

lations of landlord and tenant—relations sure to continue the fruitful source of misery and outrage, until the tenants' rights are more distinctly recognised by the legislature. Why the Tithe system should cause this state of things, it is not necessary now to set forth at length, as we shall have occasion, when speaking of the great Tithe struggle that commenced in 1832, to dwell upon it with some fullness. Here we may simply state, that the laws which enabled the Tithe-proctor to enforce payment, were most unjust and arbitrary. They ground down the industrious poor man, and the more industrious he was, the more they oppressed him, and incited to outrage. Cultivation, by which the poor man lived, was taxed heavily; pasture, the condition in which the rich Protetsant proprietor held his land, was suffered to escape. This was particularly the case in the most disturbed portions of Tipperary, where a vast extent of pasture lands was always held by the landlords; and where there was often not enough left for tillage to feed the people. The description of this exaction, even from the eloquent lips of GRATTAN, fell short of the reality. Tithes, then, were one unceasing cause of outrage and crime. Again, the proprietors of the soil did not possess the confidence, or the affections of the people. Tradition told the hard-worked occupier, that his ancestors were once the owners of the land on which he was but a toiling serf—that his landlord became possessed of these rich acres by wars, forfeiture, and bloodshed. Though suppressed, these thoughts were brooded over by the peasantry. On the other hand, the landlord was distrustful; he felt as if he were in an enemy's country, and that he should protect himself. He kept himself aloof, in his garrisoned residence, from his dependents or tenantry, who were aliens from him in religion and country.

He did more. He was a legislator, and both Houses of Parliament were composed of the same class. He got laws passed for his purposes, and for the easier and more effectual subjugation of a stubborn and sturdy race. The native Irish, who, from their earliest history, had learned to venerate the old Irish tenure, could never endure the feudal system of property, which the English proprietors forced upon them. Feudalism was repulsive to their notions of freedom; and they have never, to this day, cheerfully submitted to its laws. Hence it was, that, from the remotest period, there was an enduring struggle between the proprietor and the occupier; the one endeavouring to get what he could, and the other to pay as little as he could;—the one acting from an impression that he was deceived by his tenant—the other determined, without hesitation, to deceive as much as practicable. When the Catholic people first sought with energy for their civil rights, religious rancour was added to the other causes of estrangement. The Protestant landlords then began to fear, that their religious ascendency was in danger; and the People, who, from the sweat of their brows, sustained them in affluence, and the Priesthood too, were the objects of their unceasing hatred. When the wars of NAPOLEON were over, and the prices of agricultural produce, which were sustained thereby, fell to a low rate, the Landlords became distressed; they were involved by an expenditure which they were unable to curtail. Their properties became embarrassed; and, instead of reducing their rents to a level with the reduced rates of produce, they were, to keep themselves above water, obliged to exact "rack-rents" from the peasantry. It became to the latter a life of oppression, difficult to endure; still, taking the population as a whole, they did endure it. Religion, and the advice of their Clergy sustained them in their trials. But there were amongst them the violent and ill-disposed, who

had no religious principle. A few Clergymen, scattered throughout the country, could not, adequately and effectively instil the Christian principles the Catholic Priesthood teach, into the minds of *all*; and there were no other means of education; for the Government in those days with held the boon, and refused in that respect to assist religion. The evil disposed perpetrated deeds of blood, and tarnished the character of a patient and enduring people. In Tipperary, contention had long prevailed. It was in that county, the great struggles between the Anglo-Irish aud the Irish Chieftains, and, afterwards, between the rival Chiefs of the Anglo-Irish race, were, for centuries, carried on. Many descendants of the Anglo-Irish race were amongst the peasantry; and we are told, on high authority, that it was even a more pugnacious race than the Celtic. The restless spirit, at all events, survives amongst the peasantry of the county. Then, the Landlords of one district being large graziers, who gave the people but little land to cultivate, were always at war with an increasing and a half-fed population. These locally and generally, were the causes of the agrarian disturbances, which, for a series of years, afflicted Ireland, and which were attempted to be remedied by Insurrection Acts, Peace preservation Acts, Special Commissions, and Martial Laws; each in turn, and each without effect.

In the years 1815–16, the country districts were in this manner disturbed. In Tipperary, abominable murders had been committed, particularly the murder of a gentleman named BAKER, who was described by the Attorney General, SAURIN, as "a Gentleman whose conduct and character "would do honour to any society; a Gentleman, who, "from long and intimate acquaintance, he could say, "was an ornament to his country, for humanity, gentle-"ness and kindness; a man, charitable and benevolent, "the generous supporter of the poor, the liberal patron

"of his tenantry, the honest Friend, the liberal Magis-
"trate, the affectionate Husband and most tender
"Parent. He fell a martyr to his uncompromising in-
"tegrity; murdered by a band of fiend-like conspirators,
"and by his death was completed, the overheaped mea-
"sure of their hellish iniquity." His supposed murderers, being taken up, became amenable, and a Special Commission was resolved upon, to try them, and others, on similar charges. When this determination was promulgated, the *Dublin Chronicle*, a violent Catholic and Nationalist Paper, denounced the Commission, proclaiming the innocence of the persons incarcerated for BAKER'S murder—impugning, impliedly, the integrity of the Judges and prosecutors, and endeavouring to influence the decisions of the Juries, though in language moderate and guarded in its tone; language, which, at the present day, would not be noticed by any Government, Whig, or Tory; or, if noticed, would not be condemned by an impartial Jury. The Proprietor of the *Dublin Chronicle* was, at the time, ENEAS M'DONNELL —then a most active Irish agitator. He had been previously Editor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, and in that capacity, and as a Barrister of some note, played a conspicuous, and, in our opinion, an honest part in Catholic Politics. He was a determined anti-Vetoist; and nearly the first to censure Dr. MILNER, when he thought he had damaged the Catholic cause:—censure which, however, he afterwards withdrew, when he found himself in error. He maintained, with ability, the Franciscan Friar, Mr. HAYES, when he was so mercilessly attacked for his self-election as Secretary to a deputation to Rome, whither, as the deputation never intended to go, he, from the first, purposed to proceed alone. We mention this circumstance here, to shew the then peculiar

Catholic views of Mr. ENEAS M'DONNELL. The article to which we refer, was written on the 11th of January 1816; and the Commission sat on the fifteenth. —At that Commission, Lord NORBURY, with whom was Baron GEORGE, referred in his charge to the Grand Jury, to certain Newspaper publications, intended to intimidate them from the honest, fearless discharge of their duty. Mr. ENEAS M'DONNELL was arrested; and at the very next term, the ATTORNEY GENERAL urged to have his trial take place, during the ensuing sitting. Here, O'CONNELL, who was leading Counsel for Mr. M'DONNELL, triumphed in a law argument over his great antagonist. He applied for a *traverse in prox*, to the next term. The ATTORNEY GENERAL resisted the application, and a long technical argument ensued. The Judges took until the following day to consider the arguments, and the result was, that the law was found to be with O'CONNELL, and the trial was accordingly postponed to the next term. It came on in the month of April. We may mention here, that O'CONNELL, before he demanded the postponement as a right, asked it as a favour from the ATTORNEY GENERAL, which he peremptorily refused, stating that he would show no indulgence to Mr. M'DONNELL. The application annoyed Mr. M'DONNELL, and he distinctly denied, in the *Chronicle*, expressing a wish on his part, to receive any favour from the Crown.

When the trial came on, the ATTORNEY GENERAL addressed the Jury in a violent tirade against Mr. M'DONNELL. He thus spoke of the paper of which that Gentleman was the Proprietor :—

"Gentlemen, it is a matter of congratulation, that the amended way of thinking in the minds of many, have rescued from the Press of Ireland that odious licentiousness, with which it had been tainted by this faction, and re-

trieved its honest character, all but this vile paper, the *Dublin Chronicle*. The Press of Ireland, I am happy to say, has completely purged itself from this odious and base connection, and it has felt its errors. The Proprietors have wisely taken a chaste course, and given every assurance that they have rescued themselves from this dark confederacy—have discovered the motives and designs of that infamous faction, and no longer will be passive dupes, and suffering victims, to their wicked and artful schemes. This, my Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury, is the last effort of expiring Jacobinism, in this country; and after this last and necessary exertion, in which I call upon you to give me every constitutional and virtuous co-operation, I trust in God I shall have done for the rest of my life in prosecuting such libellers, which my duty, the corruption of the times, and an honest feeling for the peace and safety of that society, of which I am a member, imperatively demanded at my hands."

O'Connell made, under the circumstances, a very able defence; but it was by no means a brilliant effort. We cannot detect much of his usual warmth of manner in it. He evidently did not like the subject. He was a decided enemy to agrarian disturbance. He was desirous to punish and put it down; and an article which even remotely tended to cover or extenuate such misdeeds, could have but little of his sanction or sympathy. But he exerted his energies to the utmost, as a lawyer. The result was, a verdict of Guilty, with a favourable recommendation from the Jury. Judge Day, however, in passing sentence, broadly asserted that the libel in question encouraged assassination. His words were—"You, Sir, have ventured to question the purity of the administration of justice, and that too at a time when every friend to peace and good order, every upright man, and every honest

Irishman, felt anxious for the success of that Special Commission, which you thought fit to defame and scandalize by this vile and infamous publication; seeking thereby to degrade the officers entrusted with the dispensation of justice—to hold them up to scorn, contempt, and ridicule—to excite in the minds of the Jurors a conviction, that they were to be deceived by false and deceitful charges from the Bench, and exaggerated speeches from the Crown Counsel, on purpose to encourage disaffection and assassination."

Mr. M'DONNELL very resolutely stopped his Lordship, and thus addressed him:—"I must interrupt your Lordship. There is not a particle of evidence to support your imputations. It is painful to be compelled to interrupt the Court—but if my life were to hang upon the word, I would tell you, as I now do, that your imputation is utterly unfounded. Yes, my Lords, you have charged me with encouraging assassination; I repeat it, if my life were the forfeit, I would pronounce that charge wholly unfounded. I mean no disrespect; but must add, that I am, at the least, as incapable of entertaining such a disposition, as the individual who has imputed it to me."

This manly interruption did not, perhaps, increase the amount of punishment; but a sentence was pronounced, of imprisonment for six months and a fine of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS.

In the mean time, while the peasantry of Tipperary were indulging in the "wild justice of revenge," and a Newspaper Proprietor remaining in jail, with the serious, and, we must add, most unjustifiable imputation on his character, of having given them encouragement, O'CONNELL was struggling, within the limits of constitutional agitation, against the intrigues going on to damage the national

religion. We now turn to the consideration of those intrigues; for with them O'CONNELL's history, at this period, is intimately wound up.

If we survey the political transactions of our country, from 1815 to 1823, when the great and regularly organized Catholic Association was established, we will find no green spot on which to rest the weary; eye all was desert and dreariness. The *veto* had blighted our ripening hopes. It produced an abundant harvest of disunion, and nothing more. At first, there were rancour and ill-feeling. These were succeeded by apathy and the total abandonment of the Catholic cause. "The "National leaders," as they called themselves, deserted their posts. The VETO section, who kept the field, were exceedingly jealous of O'CONNELL, and always thwarted him. The Parliamentary friends of the Catholics became indifferent, and their exertions relaxed. The *veto*, and nothing but the *veto*, was the order of the day. The Holy See was indecisive. The Prefect of the PROPAGANDA, Cardinal LILLA, had addressed a rescript to Dr. POYNTER, in which he set forth the oath of allegiance, which the Clergy should swear to the crown of England. He directed, in the event of Emancipation passing, that the appointments to the dignity of Bishop, should be submitted for approval to the Crown, before being transmitted to Rome for canonical sanction. This was, in point of fact, giving the King of England, a VETO.

The people—the second order of the clergy, and a majority of the Hierarchy were, however, steady for independent domestic nomination. Every thing bid fair for a disruption with the Court of Rome, if GONSALVI persisted in his English policy. In the midst of the storm, O'CONNELL was a firm anti-Vetoist, and, as such, earned the hostility of the English Catholics, *en-masse*, and of the *soi-*

distant Catholic aristocrats in this country. He adopted a fixed principle, in his agitation for Catholic Emancipation; it was universal in its application; it comprised HINDOOS, MAHOMETANS, METHODISTS, DISSENTERS of all kinds; it was the noble principle of universal TOLERATION, irrespective of creed or sect. It was this principle that, in the beginning of the year 1816, made him protest against the persecutions going on in France, by LOUIS *le desire*, against the Protestants of that country.

O'CONNELL'S popularity was, year after year, increasing. His favorite maxim of "being always in the right," stood him in good stead, in these his early days of agitation, and gave him a marvellous advantage over his competitors. In his profession, too, he was mounting rapidly; and in this year we find him engaged in some heavy and important causes; particularly the celebrated one which went to enlarge the corporate franchises of the people of Limerick, and establish their independence of a miserable junta, by whom they were over-ridden.

The Catholic Association of the day, which was established to avoid the penalties for delegation, under the Convention Act, as interpreted by the Judges, met but seldom, and effected little good. It got itself in debt; a great portion of which, we believe, O'CONNELL paid.—At all events, the existence of the debt tended, with other more serious causes, to the disruption, or, rather, decay of this Association. Aggregate meetings were given up, or, at least, they but seldom assembled.—One very important meeting was convened in Dublin, in 1816, at which Mr. O'CONNELL made one of his brilliant and argumentative harangues. But there remains of it only a meagre report. In those days, there were, in Ireland, no professional stenographers; and the orators had to report their own speeches; but the system of prosecuting the

Press was so constant, that the practice became more rare, particularly when experience taught the speakers, that no reliance could be placed on the newspaper proprietors of the time, and that, to save themselves, they were ready to give up the author. Hence, the reports of all the Catholic meetings, were jejeune and unsatisfactory. Knowing what O'Connell's powers were, in later times, when the rigidity of age was on him, we can well conceive what elasticity, humour, and impassioned energy he displayed, when, in the buoyancy of early manhood, he fought for equality with his fellow men. The absence of ample reports is to be regretted; but it is not to be wondered at. It is the demand that creates the supply of talents and mental acquirements, as it does of any article. Until O'Connell arose, there was no demand for professional reporting in Ireland. It was he established amongst us the noble profession, now known as "The Press." But for him, men of talent, in that calling, would, like other literary men, have emigrated to other lands—or have never emerged from obscurity, in their own. He gave them ample occupation. The intellect of the country is now stirring and educated; and the occupation will not cease, though the illustrious man who called the profession, in this land, into being, has ceased, too soon, to tax its capabilities and employ its powers.

Mr. O'Connell, if for nothing else, would deserve honor for his persevering resistance to the Veto. There was no man in Ireland, from his position, so interested, as we have previously observed, in Emancipation on any terms, as he was. The very moment it was granted, it would have given him a silk gown; and, as he said himself, was sure to increase his income, at least OVER ONE THOUSAND A-YEAR. It was within his grasp, did he but

yield what Dr. TROY, Lord TRIMBLESTON, Lord FINGAL, Mr. SHEIL, and a host of other leading men were willing to give. Yet, to his eternal honor, he stood firm—and he conquered. In this year, 1816—he wrote a most severe condemnation of the course adopted by Dr. TROY and Dr. MURRAY; but, particularly, the first, in consequence of their conduct respecting the "Securities."—It was addressed to Mr. HAY, the Secretary of the Catholics; and was, to Mr. O'CONNELL's great annoyance, afterwards published in 1822, long after all the feeling which produced the letter had subsided. Nothing could be so full of regret and apology, for having written it, than was the letter which Mr. O'CONNELL published when he saw, to his great surprise, this production in print. In acknowledging an error, when committed, or regretting a wrong, when done, he had no equal amongst the bustling agitators by whom he was surrounded. It was a trait of his character, and a generous and manly one. In 1836, writing in reply to the calumnies against the Catholics, uttered at Exeter Hall, by the Rev. Mr. M'GHEE, of "forgery" notoriety, we find Mr. O'CONNELL thus giving his reminiscences of Catholic affairs during the period to which we allude:—He said:—

"That the Irish Catholics were in that, and the subsequent year, 1817, engaged in a bitter controversy, increasing each day to intensity, upon the subject of allowing the Crown what was called the "VETO;" that is, the indirect but efficacious power of nominating the Catholic Bishops in Ireland.

"That this plan had at one time been directly, and in terms, favoured by the Catholic prelates; and in 1817 there were some of them who were believed still to favour it, as they certainly discountenanced the opposition of the laity to that measure.

"That almost all the nobility, and many of the more wealthy classes of the gentry and mercantile men, were desirous of obtaining Emancipation even upon the terms of making that concession to the Crown.

"That this plan was countenanced at the Court of Rome, as was manifested by Cardinal GONSALVI's celebrated rescript; and it was known that the Hanoverian Charge d'Affairs at Rome, as I recollect, the Baron OMPTEDA, employed for that purpose by the British Ministry, had every prospect of success.

"That the Catholic laity were totally repugnant to allow the Crown any power to nominate the Catholic bishops of Ireland. We steadily opposed the Court of Rome, as well as the inclination shown by our own prelates. We resolutely resisted the wishes of our nobility, and of so many of our merchants, backed as they were by the almost universal voice of the Catholics of England; and we firmly, loudly, and emphatically declared, that *we would not accept of Emancipation upon terms so derogatory to public liberty, as the power of nominating the bishops of another Church must be—if vested in the Crown; that is, in the minister of the day.*" For this we deserve the thanks of every lover of constitutional freedom—and, for my own part, I do believe that the Reform Bill would never have been carried if we had yielded that additional influence to the Ministers of the Crown. Those who recollect how much the Irish Members contributed to carrying that Bill will probably accede to the truth of my opinion.

"Ours was not a barren opposition. We—the Catholic laity—actually sent a special envoy or messenger to Rome, to remonstrate with the Pope, and to announce to him our determination to prefer political inferiority, or even persecution, rather than submit to the "Veto."

"That our envoy, the Rev. Mr. HAYES, a Franciscan Friar, having made our remonstrance known to the POPE, and having persevered with more obstinacy than was deemed proper, was ignominiously dismissed from Rome, and from the Papal territories, and sent home under circumstances of disgrace, without having been able to advance in any way the cause we espoused.

"That the VETOISTS amongst our body, were much encouraged by these circumstances, whilst, on the other hand, the ANTI-VETOISTS were not a little exasperated; but at the same time rendered only the more determined and resolute never to yield to the Crown the power of nomination of our prelates.

"That thus violent dissensions prevailed amongst us —animosities arose in the Catholic body—ambitious, selfish and other bad motives were mutually attributed; and, in short, all the weakness, as well as all the folly, of internal division was exhibited."

GRATTAN was, in 1816, beginning to fall in popular esteem. He was absolutely crotchetty with reference to the VETO. Nothing could alter his views; nothing could induce him to change his mode of action. He brought forward the question when he liked, and how he liked. He would submit to no dictation. Not so, Lord DONOUGHMORE. He abandoned his own views; and seeing his countrymen determined in their resistance to the "securities", he joined them. But all this division had a damaging effect on the Catholic question, and we, accordingly, find that, this year, Mr. GRATTAN'S motion was lost by a majority of thirty-two.

The evil of this controversary became so apparent, that, in 1817, an attempt was made to bring about an union in Catholic Councils. A meeting was held for that purpose, but it produced no permanent good. The feeling in the

country was strong against what were called the "TRIMBLESTON PETITIONERS;" that is, those who concurred with his Lordship in seeking qualified Emancipation; and as on that point there was an irreconcileable difference, there remained no hopes of perfect union. Mr. O'CONNELL, at a Catholic Meeting in Dublin, on the 28th February, made a powerful speech in favour of withdrawing the Catholic petition from GRATTAN, and entrusting it to Sir HENRY PARNELL, who was a strong anti-vetoist. It was a brilliant effort; for he was proud of the genius and political triumphs of his great countryman; but, borrowing his own language, he said of him, that he was a tree too old to be transplanted; that he pined and put forth little fruit in English soil. However, once more, the veteran patriot was entrusted with the advocacy of the national cause; for there was an unwillingness on the part of the Irish people to be separated from him. But his motion was lost by a majority of twenty-four; and in the House of Lords a defeat more signal awaited a motion of similar form and character.

In the interval, Mr. O'CONNELL was swiftly reaching his position at the Munster Bar. He was fast becoming the leader of it, in spite of his civil disabilities. He had GOOLD and GRADY to contend against, flippant or fluent men, but mere pigmies compared to him. As a Criminal Lawyer, he had no equal. With Juries he was quite at home. No matter what their complexion, or of what class they were composed, whether special, record, or criminal, he possessed an unrivalled power over them, and from his repeated success, it would seem that his influence was unprecedented. On all subjects he was *au fait!* ready at any moment to seize an opportunity with judgment and tact. With a quick memory, and extensive legal

and general knowledge, he was enabled, in the twinkling of an eye, to take advantage for his client, of every passing incident. This talent we shall bye and bye have occasion to illustrate. In cross-examination, too, as we have already said, he had no equal. He always proceeded in criminal cases, while examining a witness, as if under the impression that his client was guilty. He dexterously passed by for a time the main points, and took the witness into extraneous matters, until he found him stumbling and perplexed. Then he would venture, inadvertently, as it were, to come to the point at issue, and thus often raised, in the minds of the Jury, misgivings of the witness's veracity, and saved human life, though it might be the life of one, who, if the punishment of death be morally justifiable, deserved the forfeiture.

An anecdote connected with his circuit life, in those days, may be here inserted, as illustrative of his character and feelings of self-respect.

The late Sir WILLIAM M'MAHON, Master of the Rolls, was a man of very humble origin. His father was state-trumpeter; but, became afterwards possessed of considerable wealth, and was enabled to educate his son to the bar. For a long time after he had been called, he was held rather cheap by the gentry of the profession—the aristocratic barristers—in consequence of the humble position of his family. O'CONNELL, however, made it a point, seeing the manner in which M'MAHON was treated, to be particularly kind and attentive to him, at a time when it was of great value to M'MAHON that such kindness and consideration should be shown him; and for this he was ever after grateful. However, in course of time, his brother attained the office of Privy Purse to GEORGE the 4th. Then the practice of the bar "gentry" altered towards M'MAHON, for they began to

think that the man whose brother held so high an appointment near the person of the KING, was not exactly the man to make an enemy. Accordingly, the change was marked, and with some of them it was one from superciliousness to servility. Many who before would slight him, were now his adulators, and of this class was the late Master ———. One day while on Circuit in Limerick, M'MAHON came into the bar room, after having had a very long walk in heavy rain, and through muddy streets; he took off his shoes outside the door and put on slippers. ——— saw the shoes saturated with wet, and he brought them into the room, and put them to dry inside the fender. O'CONNELL happened to come into the room soon after, and saw them there. He asked, "whose shoes are these?" ——— replied, "they're M'MAHON's; I just put them there to air." O'CONNELL (M'MAHON being present) lifted each of them on the point of his toe, and kicked them to the door, saying, "———, you should have been compelled to carry out these nuisances: placing them at the fire-place, under our noses, is a great outrage." ——— made no reply.— M'MAHON briefly said, "O'CONNELL, you are right."

The Rev. Mr. HAYES who was, as we stated before, Secretary to the Deputation appointed to carry to Rome the REMONSTRANCE of the Irish Catholics, against the veto, was this year ignominiously, and, in our opinion, most undeservedly ordered to quit Rome. The Rev. gentleman proceeded alone, as we already mentioned, in the discharge of his mission; for the persons appointed declined to accompany him. He was by several subsequent resolutions of the Catholics recognized as their accredited agent. He was, however, too zealous for the English Catholic residents, and their patron, GONSALVI. We must, however, state our opinion, that he was too pressing in his importunities, and too unguarded and violent in

his language and demeanour, particularly towards His HOLINESS. Indeed, it was his demeanour at an interview with the POPE, that caused his removal by force from Rome. His HOLINESS, in a letter to the Irish Catholics, in the year 1818, stated that his conduct was insupportable, and that under all the circumstances he treated him with leniency, by merely dismissing him, instead of consigning him to the Castle of St. Angelo. After Mr. HAYES returned to Ireland a most flagitious libel was published against him, in England. He necessarily brought an action against the vender of the libel, not the publisher, and of course, without having an opportunity of going into merits of his case, he failed. This was at the time a cause of much regret, both for the sake of religion and of the cause of Catholicity.

In consequence of the conduct of the members of the old Catholic Board, and the encreasing apprehension that the POPE would yield to the intrigues going on in his Capital, the Irish Bishops deemed it advisable to express their sentiments individually by letters in the public papers. Dr. COPPINGER, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, was foremost in his opposition to the "securities"—that is, to the VETO. It was, we believe, at a meeting of the Clergy of his Diocese, that the plan of domestic nomination by Deans and Chapters, by means of their universal establishment in Ireland, was suggested, in the hope of averting the anticipated blow from Parliament. We cannot help thinking that the mode of election now in force is preferable to the limited one then proposed. The selection by Parish Priests, to be sanctioned afterwards by the Bishops of the Province, is an admirable mode of arriving at a just decision.

The social and political history of Ireland during the year 1818, presents two salient points. The first, fever

and famine to a fearful extent; the second, a growing anxiety for Reform, and a wish to place in abeyance the special claims of sect, in order to join with the English people in remodelling the Parliament, in the expectation that under a just system of representation, the rights of conscience would be respected. The Catholics gave up meeting for the furtherance of their own cause. England was in a fearful state; she was on the brink of a revolution. It was evident that things could not continue much longer as they were. To revolutionary principles wsa superadded great and unexampled distress, and there was a dogged determination about the people that boded a formidable issue. The Irish kept aloof from all this. Still, they were sanguine friends of Reform, and anxious for its constitutional success. Mr. O'Connell was amongst the foremost to join the Reform agitation.—Early in 1818, there was a constitutional meeting, for Reform, in Dublin, at which he made a most brilliant speech—a faint outline of which is alone preserved. For the three years succeeding 1818, the popular mind was full of the idea of organic changes, and the Catholics became very unwilling to petition Parliament at all, on their own special question; while, on the other hand, in consequence of the unsettled state of the times, their Parliamentary friends, including Lord Donoughmore, thought it utterly futile to introduce into either House, the project of Catholic Emancipation.

Mr. O'Connell, in pursuance of the policy thus adopted, carried a resolution, on the 4th May 1818, in the Catholic Board, against petitioning. In accordance with its tenor, the only separate demonstrations made during the year, by the Catholics, were—a public Dinner to the Board, at which O'Connell presided with his usual unrivalled tact; and a meeting of the Board to receive the Pope's answer to

their second remonstrance, having reference to the treatment experienced by the Rev. Mr. HAYES. We have already alluded to this document, which was the first direct communication the Catholic Laity ever received from Rome. Mr. HAYES made a most humble submission to His HOLINESS, and expressed his deep sorrow at having given the Holy Father cause for displeasure. This gentleman was in great pecuniary embarrassments, arising from debts he contracted in the Catholic service, during his residence at Rome; and yet, though Mr. O'CONNELL and Dr. ENGLAND exerted themselves, the one in Dublin, the other in Cork, to obtain subscriptions, the sum raised was exceedingly paltry, and by no means equal to meet the responsibilities he incurred. He appears to us, looking back from this distance of time, to have been an ill-treated man, erring, if at all, from disinterested zeal, and at least deserving the recompense denied him.

TheCatholic cause was slightly advanced by the death, during the year, of old Queen CHARLOTTE. She was a bitter enemy of Catholics. The Cabinet was now pretty equally divided on the question of their claims. It is said, there was in the Ministry but a majority of ONE against the Catholics. PEEL, too, had left Ireland, and was succeeded by Mr. GRANT, afterwards Lord GLENELG, a decided advocate of their claims. The Protestants in Belfast showed, by a public meeting in favor of Emancipation, an example to their fellow religionists throughout the country. On the whole, there was, as it were, an heliacal rising on the political horizon, which filled men's minds with hope, and indicated the approaching blaze of religious freedom.

Mr. O'CONNELL particularly distinguished himself at one period of the year, by the lead he took in getting

up a public dinner to THOMAS MOORE, on the occasion of his visit to Dublin. O'CONNELL, in returning thanks on behalf of the managers of the entertainment, of whom he was the principal, delivered a truly eloquent speech. His was only surpassed by the chaste and classic address of the distinguished guest. The writer of this MEMOIR recollects with pride, that but though then arrived at the age of seventeen, he made a similar effort to entertain the illustrious Bard in Cork. He failed, however, owing to the bigotry and prejudice which then prevailed against the Irish ANACREON, the playful writer of "TOM LITTLES'" Lyrics—poems which he then bitterly repented having ever written or given to the world.

The year 1819, is remarkable for being the first in which O'CONNELL commenced to publish his famous annual letters to the Catholics of Ireland. It was the only mode he had of arousing their attention. There were then no public meetings; and even if there were, there were no Reporters to transmit on the wings of the press, to the extremities of the land, his eloquent and honest counsel. He chose to write his sentiments, and so address, awaken, and inspire the people. ENEAS M'DONNELL who, as we have seen, was in those days a fiery patriot, and a steadfast anti-Vetoist, adopted the same mode. But O'CONNELL had a greater power of conveying his views in striking language, intelligible to the humblest intellect, than any other man of his own era, with the exception, perhaps, of COBBETT, and we might also say—ENSOR. This faculty O'CONNELL greatly improved, as he advanced on the road of agitation.

The spirits of the Catholics revived this year. The Protestants were beginning to show for their cause some sympathy. The Chief SECRETARY was a tried friend,

The Lord Lieutenant, Earl TALBOT, was neutral or quiescent. Under such circumstances the greatest meeting of Catholics ever hitherto held in Ireland, assembled in Dublin. Lord FINGALL came back to his old fellow-labourers, and was enthusiastically received.—O'CONNELL delivered a striking and masterly oration.—Its main purport was, to thank the Protestants for their sympathy and assistance, particularly THOMAS M'KENNY, then LORD MAYOR of Dublin. It was determined once again to petition. The question was, in due course, introduced by Sir HENRY PARNELL, in the House of Commons; but the motion for going into Committee to consider it, was lost by a majority of two. A similar fate attended Lord GREY's bill for the relief of Catholics.—It was thrown out in the Upper House by a majority of fifty-nine. In the course of the year, another great Aggregate Meeting of the Catholic body was convened; but without the attendance of the Aristocracy. They were still holding aloof. They were evidently jealous of O'CONNELL. But he and the people were become independent of them. They could stand alone, and were beginning to walk upright. O'CONNELL was Ireland's chosen leader. The "natural leaders" were annoyed at his supremacy; but there was no remedy for it; it was his right and destiny. His speech, at this Aggregate Meeting, showed how much he deserved the pre-eminence he enjoyed.

The celebrated "witchery" resolutions of 1812, in which the Catholics of Ireland charged the PRINCE REGENT with being influenced in his hostility to their cause, by the fascinations of the Marchioness of ——, were revived at one period of this year, and created a new sensation, on account of Mr. HAY, the Secretary of the Catholic Board, having stated, in his anxiety to excuse the Catholics, that

these resolutions were framed by his MAJESTY'S Opposition, and sent over to Ireland by Mr. PONSONBY to be adopted. Mr. O'CONNELL was indignant at such an imputation on the late Mr. PONSONBY'S honor, and utterly denied its truth. The transaction, we believe, formed the foundation for that warm friendship which existed between him and the BESBOROUGH family.

While Ireland was thus quietly pressing forward in the constitutional struggle, England was in a state of utter anarchy. The constitution was suspended—executions for treasons became numerous. HUNT, and OGDEN, and THISTLEWOOD were the physical force men of that day. Where are their labours now? Or what good did *they* effect?

O'CONNELL published, before the year closed, a second Letter to the Catholics of Ireland, in which he spoke in the highest terms of Mr. GRANT, the Chief Secretary, and enlarged on the services done the Catholic cause by the Protestant party. These letters attracted universal attention. They were remarkable for their force and moderation, and they influenced beneficially the minds of men. Catholic affairs, however, continued throughout 1820 in a very prostrate condition. To illustrate this, we may mention a circumstance connected with an aggregate Meeting held early in the year, under the presidency of Dr. TROY, in Liffey-street Chapel, Dublin, for the purpose of congratulating the King on his sucession to the Throne. It was there resolved that copies of the Address should be left for signature at the different Roman Catholic Chapels. It is a proof of the singular apathy of the Catholic body, with regard to the progress of their own agitation, that at this meeting, Mr. NICHOLAS MAHON, in referring to the mode of having the Address to the KING signed, said, "He hoped it would not meet the fate of the Catholic

petition, for which, although several months had elapsed since it was framed, a sufficient number of signatures could not yet be procured." Such was the feeling of indifference with which O'CONNELL had to contend.

GRATTAN died this year. He left behind him an imperishable fame. He had no equal. In Parliament, he left none to be his successor in the affections of the Irish people. Previous to his death he ran somewhat counter to their opinions, on a subject to them of deep interest. But still they loved him, and remembered gratefully his former services. Besides, the influence of GRATTAN in Catholic affairs was very considerable in Parliament. Sir HENRY PARNELL felt and acknowledged this, and in consequence declined taking the Question of Emancipation out of his hands. PLUNKETT, who, in truth, did become his successor, was a man of transcendant powers as an orator. As a reasoner he had no rival. But he was of a cold, marble-like disposition, and the gloomy sternness of his features indicated that he had no warm sympathies with his kind. Moreover, he had lost his popularity by his celebrated advocacy of CASTLEREAGH'S SIX ACTS, and because of his justification of the wanton and merciless conduct of the Government. Mr. O'CONNELL wished the affairs of the Irish Catholics to be transferred to another's keeping. BROUGHAM was then a public favorite, and he was spoken of. PLUNKETT however continued the manager of their affairs, in the House of Commons, and it is no more than common justice to say, that he did his part well, eloquently and zealously. He was, nevertheless, a strong advocate for "the securities." At this period, however, of our history, the talents of even PLUNKETT were of no real value. The Catholic Question was absolutely abandoned. There were neither petitions presented, nor motions made in favor of Emancipation. Every one felt it was hopeless. Parliamentary Reform was the favorite

pursuit in both Countries, and in England there was superadded a strong revolutionary feeling, which disheartened the friends of popular freedom, and made its enemies more stern and unrelenting. True, a Deputation from an Aggregate Meeting of Catholics was introduced by Lord KENMARE, at the Levee, and they presented to GEORGE the FOURTH the address emanating from the Meeting. His MAJESTY was then exceedingly unpopular in England. His conduct to the QUEEN had well nigh produced a social convulsion, and he was very glad of the prospect of some portion of public favour, even amongst the Catholics whom he secretly detested. This heartless Sovereign therefore received the Deputation most graciously, conversed familiarly with them, as they were introduced by Lord KENMARE, each by name. But so for the present the humbug terminated. A reception apparently cordial, and some courteous expressions were the whole result.

Mr. O'CONNELL's popularity continued to encrease progressively. Whenever he appeared in the Provinces, he was enthusiastically received. Indeed, the accounts of the Newspapers of those days give us no notion of the intensity of the people's affection for the "Counsellor." But, happily, we witnessed and can remember the popular joy; we recollect the happiness that beamed in every countenance, and the blessings which were poured on him as he passed with his loaded brief-bag from his lodgings to the Court, and the buz of delight amongst the waiting crowd, while he moved on. It was this year he offered himself to the regenerated Freemen of Limerick, as a candidate for the Recordership. Through the exertions of SPRING RICE, the corporate independence of that City was established, and privileges asserted which O'CONNELL was probably anxious to secure.

The contest which had been long going on between the Citizens of Limerick and the Corporation, terminated in 1820, by the triumph of the former. The Corporation affirmed a right to admit whom they pleased to the Freedom of the City, whether resident or not; and, being Freemen, that they were entitled to vote. As the Corporation had the power of making honorary Freemen, without limitation as to residence or number, the whole power of returning Members of Parliament rested with them; in other words, Limerick was a close borough under the patronage of the GORT family. The Citizens maintained that, under the statute of CHARLES II., and the new rule consequent thereon, all merchants, and traders, resident in the City, and all apprentices of Freemen, and the eldest sons and the sons-in-law of Freemen, were entitled to the franchise. This question was tried in the person of THOMAS SPRING RICE, Esq., now Lord MONTEAGLE. Colonel VEREKER, afterwards Lord GORT, was the Corporation candidate, and of course was returned the Member—the citizens claiming their freedom, not being admitted, and non-residents being held as entitled to vote. Mr. SPRING RICE petitioned aginst the return. The Committee of the House of Commons, after investigating the matter, delivered in the following report:—

"It appeared to the Committee that the merits of the Petition did depend in part upon the Right of Election, and that, therefore, the Committee required the Counsel for each party to deliver to the Clerk of the Committee, statements in writing of the Right of Election for which they respectively contended.

"That in consequence thereof the Counsel for the Petitioner delivered in a statement as follows:—

"That the Right of Election is in the Freeholders of the said County, and in such Freemen thereof as had

served apprenticeships in the said city, or as were resident at the time of their respective admissions to the freedom thereof.

"That the eldest sons of Freemen, and persons marrying the daughters of Freemen, and persons who have served regular apprenticeships, within the same city, to Freemen thereof, are of right entitled to the Freedom of the said City, and to vote at Elections therein.

"That all Merchants, Traders, Artificers, Artizans, Seamen, or otherwise, skilled or exercised in any mystery, craft, or trade, or in the working or making any manufacture or in the art of navigation, residing, inhabiting, and exercising their trade, mystery, or craft, within the said city, are of right entitled under the statutes and rules relating to the said city, to the Freedom thereof, and to vote at Elections for the same, during such their residence therein.

"That no persons, howsoever in any respect entitled, except such as have been residing and continually inhabiting within the said city, at the time of their admission to the Freedom thereof, or have been apprentices therein, to vote at Elections for the said City.

"That the Counsel for the sitting Member delivered in a statement, as follows:

"That the right of Voting is vested in the Free-
"holders of the City and County of the City of Lime-
"rick, and in all the Freemen of the Corporation of
"Limerick."

"That upon the statement delivered in by the Counsel for the Petitioner, THOMAS SPRING RICE, Esq., the said Committee have determined, that the right of Election, as set forth in the said Statement, is not the Right of Election for the said City and County of the City.

"That upon the Statement delivered in by the Coun-

sel for the sitting Member, the Hon. JOHN PRENDERGAST VEREKER, the said Committee have determined, that the Right of Election as set forth in the said Statement is not the Right of Election for the said City and County of the City.

"That the Committee have determined, that the Right of Election for the City and County of the City of Limerick, is in the Freeholders of the said County, and in such Freemen of the said City as had served apprenticeships, or were resident therein at the time of their admission to their respective Freedoms.

"That no person can be admitted a Freeman of the said City, who has not served an apprenticeship therein, or who is not resident therein at the time of his admistion.

"That subject to the foregoing limitation, the Sons of Freemen, the Sons-in-law of Freemen, and persons having served seven years apprenticeship to Freemen of the said City, are entitled to the Freedom of the said City, and to vote at Elections for the same.

"That Persons admitted to the Freedom of the said City, by virtue of an Act passed in the 14th and 15th years of the Reign of his late Majesty, King CHARLES II. intituled, 'An Act for encouraging Protestant Strangers and others, to inhabit and plant in the Kingdom of Ireland,' or by virtue of the new rules of the said City, are entitled to vote at Elections therein during their family's constant residence, and their own residence, for the most part therein, and no longer.

"That the Committee have determined, that the Honourable JOHN PRENDERGAST VEREKER is not duly elected a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the said City and County of the City.

"That THOMAS SPRING RICE, Esq. was duly elected,

and ought to have been returned a Citizen to serve in this present Parliament for the said City and County of the City.

"That the Petition did not appear to the Committee to be frivolous or vexatious.

"That the opposition to the Petition did not appear to the Committee to be frivolous or vexatious."

"Deputy Clerk of the Crown ordered to attend to-morrow to amend the return.

"House informed that HENRY D'ESTERRE, the Recorder of Limerick, being called before Committee as a Witness, was guilty of gross prevarication; and therefore they had committed him to the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House.

"Ordered, That H. D'ESTERRE, Esq., be, for his said offence, committed a Prisoner to his Majesty's Gaol of Newgate; and that Mr. SPEAKER do issue his Warrants accordingly.

"House, informed, that the Committee had come to the following Resolution:

"Resolved, 'That during the investigation before the said Committee various acts of the Corporation of Limerick, as stated in the Petition, were brought to light, which renders it necessary for the said Committee to request the House will order the Minutes of evidence to be printed.'

"Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee ordered to be laid before the House."

This report, dated the third July, was taken into consideration on the tenth of the same month, by the House of Commons, and their wish was expressed, that Mr. HENRY D'ESTERRE, the Recorder—a brother of the unfortunate gentleman who fell in the duel with Mr. O'CONNELL—should no longer fill the office of Recorder. That

office was one of annual appointment, or rather the right of appointment was exercised by, and was vested in, the Council of the Corporation. The appointment was made every September, and it was suggested that nothing should be done in the matter until the next election. As the LORD LIEUTENANT had a *veto* on the election, there was danger of Mr. D'ESTERRE being re-appointed. On the fourteenth of July, Mr. O'CONNELL, under the impression, from the report of the Committee, that D'ESTERRE would immediately retire, addressed the "Mayor, Sheriffs, and *Citizens of the City of Limerick*," the following letter:—

"Merrion-square.

"GENTLEMEN,—I beg leave respectfully to announce my intention to offer myself at the next vacancy as a candidate for the office of Recorder of your ancient and loyal Corporation.

"To maintain the privileges and franchises of that Corporation, to identify the Common Council with the resident citizens according to right and ancient usage, to administer justice without delay and at the smallest possible expense, and to exercise all the functions of the office of Recorder with the most pure impartiality; such are the duties of the office to which I aspire. To discharge these duties diligently and conscientiously (if I shall be elected to that office) is my fixed and unalterable determination.

"To make an individual canvass appears to me inconsistent with that feeling of delicacy which ought to belong to the Judicial character. I do not desire that any man should vote for me, unless he is in his conscience convinced I am competent, in professional skill and experience, and above all, that I should act as your Recorder with perfect impartiality and disinterestedness,

I hove the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

The letter must have been written to try the right of the Citizens to elect to that office, in the same manner as SPRING RICE did with respect to the Representation.—However, whether such was positively the case we have not been able to discover. At all events, no such election took place, and we hear no more of O'CONNELL in the transaction. Mr. HENRY D'ESTERRE was discharged from Newgate, on his petition, after receiving a most severe reprimand from the Speaker, for his pervarication before the Committee, which was doubly reprehensible in one of his profession and station. Notwithstanding this, Mr. D'ESTERRE, in September following, was reappointed by the Council, and his name sent up for the approbation of the LORD LIEUTENANT. His EXCELLENCY's sanction was withheld, on the earnest memorial of the citizens, setting forth all the circumstances. Mr. CAREW SMITH was nominated to the office, and he held it until the Irish Municipal Reform Act came into operation. It is singular that the recollection of O'CONNELL having so offered himself as a candidate for this office, has faded from the memory of some of the oldest and most influential citizens of Limerick—so little impression did the matter make. Because perhaps all knew how little was O'CONNELL's chance of success, and with what little seriousness he sought to assume or to retain the position.

O'CONNELL continued day after day to advance in his profession. He was now, as far as the law allowed, at the head of the Munster bar. He was employed in every case. Without reference to innocence or guilt, an impression prevailed amongst the people, that if the prisoner had the benefit of O'CONNELL's advocacy, he was almost

cert ain to escape ; on the other hand, if he could not have his assistance, that the case was hopeless. Indeed, there are so many anecdotes told of wonderful escapes through his instrumentality, that it is no matter of surprise such an opinion should have got amongst the people. The following anecdote, tho' the occurrence took place some years later than the period of which we now write, will demonstrate his success—He and Mr. DEVONSHER JACKSON were employed at a Cork Assizes to defend a process-server who was on his trial for perjury. This man was in the employment of some Attorney who gave him a law notice to serve on a person it was rather difficult to catch. It was necessary that he should be served, otherwise the suit at law would fall to the ground. The proceedings were against a person named WILSON, who, being somewhat of a lawyer, or in other terms, fond of litigation, knew perfectly well, that all that was necessary to secure the defeat of the process against him was, to put out of the way the individual who had to be served. Accordingly, he took a house for him in one of the back lanes of Blackpool, in the City of Cork, and had him secreted there for the requisite time. The proceedings, however, went on, for the process-server swore to his having served the party on a certain day on the same farm, near Cork. He was really secreted at Blackpool at the very time. Informations were accordingly lodged against the process-server, and he was put upon his trial. O'CONNELL and JACKSON were feed by the Attorney to defend him. The person who was put out of the way so knowingly, was a man with a short leg and of small stature. He swore at the trial of the process-server, to being in Blackpool on the day the notice was deposed to have been served elsewhere on him. He was cross-examined by O'CONNELL, who asked, amongst

other questions, whether it was not possible that Mr. WILSON, who was so very clever, and knew the law so intimately, might not have put a person on the farm, resembling the lame witness, so as to entrap the process-server, the prisoner at the Bar. Here the cross-examination was interrupted by Serjeant LEFROY, who was then presiding as Judge—"That is not," said his Lordship to Mr. O'CONNELL, "a legal question. It can't be put." "What, my Lord, am I, at my time of life to be told that any question I put to a witness, while defending a client, is not relevant or legal?" exclaimed Mr. O'CONNELL, flinging down his brief with great violence, amidst the profound silence of the Court. "You may take your bill of exceptions," replied the Judge. "Then, my Lord, I will," replied O'CONNELL, and he immediately sat down. Mr, JACKSON pressed him very strongly to go on. O'CONNELL peremptorily refused. He saw instantaneously the advantage the interruption of the Judge gave him, and he knew the prisoner had no chance otherwise of escape. He kept his advantage by refusing to continue the examination. He sent in his bill of exceptions—They were argued before the Twelve Judges, and in one fortnight after, the prisoner who was found guilty and sentenced to be transported, was discharged from custody. Our informant himself saw him a few days afterwards pursuing his vocation as a process-server. This anecdote illustrates O'CONNELL's professional adroitness, judgment, and profound knowledge of the law of evidence. Another anecdote equally applicable, as an illustration of his dexterity in compassing an unfortunate culprit's acquittal, may be here narrated. He was employed in defending a prisoner who was tried for a murder committed in the vicinity of Cork. The principal witness swore

strongly against the prisoner ;—one corroborative circumstance was, that the prisoner's hat was found near the place where the murder took place. The witness swore positively the hat produced was the one found, and that it belonged to the prisoner. whose name was JAMES.

"By virtue of your oath are you positive that this is "the same hat ?" "Yes." "Did you examine it carefully "before you swore in your informations that it was the "prisoner's?" "Yes." "Now, let me see," said O'CONNELL, and he took up the hat and began carefully to examine the inside. He then spelled aloud the name JAMES—slowly, thus :—"J—A—M—E—S." "Now do you mean "those words were in the hat when you found it?" "I do". "Did you see them there ?" "I did." "This is the same hat ?" "It is." "Now, my lord," said O'CONNELL holding up the hat to the Bench, "there is an end to the case—"there is no name whatever inscribed in the hat." The result was instant acquittal.

In February 1820, a case was submitted to O'CONNELL for his opinion on the point, whether a Catholic was capable of holding the office of sub-Sheriff, or whether its assumption was prohibited under penalties. He gave his opinion that no penalty did attach for so acting, and that a Catholic was capable of holding the office. After referring to several of the Penal Statutes bearing on the question, he used the following expressive sentence :—

"The truth is, that this abominable code was dictated by a very violent, but *muddy* spirit of bigotry. Its enactments were, in very many instances, very slovenly ; and there exist not a few instances in which the Legislature, in its contemptuous hatred of Catholics, took for granted that they were incapable of employment, altho' no such incapacity really existed."

Of O'Connell, though for years their great Agitator, there still existed amongst the Catholic body an unmeaning jealousy. This was, in 1820, exemplified at a great public dinner given in Cork to Dr. England. At the dinner, at which it was intended by the managing Committee to have proposed the toasts of "Queen Caroline." "The Revolutions of Spain, Naples, Portugal, &c.," the health of O'Connell was not included in the list, though he and Dr. England were alike Champions in the great cause of religious freedom. This shews the petty feeling existing in those days towards many who served their country honestly and well. The two toasts we have mentioned were expunged at the request of some of the Bishops, who attended on the occasion, and during the evening, O'Connell's health was given only incidentally by one of the company.

Mr. O'Connell exhibited, this year, his love of justice and fair play, in the teeth of popular prejudice and excitement. Colonel Devereux, who had raised a force in Ireland for Bolivar's army in South America, and sold commissions therein, proceeded to the scene of action. When the force arrived at the island of Margaritta, it was found that the commissions were not forthcoming, nor pay for the men. They were detained on the Island, and, as represented at home, endured great privations. The exasperation of their friends in Ireland was unbounded. A meeting was held in Dublin to consider what steps should be taken. At the meeting Mr. O'Connell came forward to defend his friend—of whom he spoke in the warmest manner. But he was scarcely listened to, so intense was the irritation. So confident was Mr. O'Connell of the integrity of General Devereux, that his second son, Morgan, went out with him, and so likewise did his nephew, Maurice O'Connell. His son's letters, published

at that time, from the scene of BOLIVAR's achievements, are, though written by a very young man, exceedingly interesting, and most distinctly prove the *bona fide* nature of General DEVEREUX's commission. This was, subsequently, in 1823, established beyond question, when DEVEREUX returned to Ireland in possession of full power and ample means to satisfy the claims of his disappointed followers.

The year 1821, which proved so pregnant with stirring events in Ireland, opened with proceedings consequent upon a Public meeting convened in Dublin County, and presided over by the High Sheriff, Sir RICHARD STEELE. The object was to address the KING. The meeting was held at the Court House, Kilmainham. So crowded was the building, that many gentlemen, among whom were Lord HOWTH, Judge DAY, Mr. HANS HAMILTON, &c., were obliged to be hoisted in through the windows. The proceedings were attempted to be got over quickly. Lord HOWTH proposed, and Lord FRANKFORT seconded, a motion to the effect, that an address be presented to the KING; and the High Sheriff was proceeding to nominate a Committee to prepare it, when Mr. O'CONNELL rose and said—"Mr. High Sheriff, I object to the appointment of Lord FRANKFORT on the Committee, and I require you to put the question."

The HIGH SHERIFF—"Pray, Sir, are you a Freeholder?"

Mr. O'CONNELL—"I am, Sir; and as independent in fortune as any of the men who surround you; and I have a profession which brings me more annually than the income of any of those present who live on the taxes."

While this brief colloquy was taking place, Lord HOWTH, Lord FRANKFORT, and one or two others retired, as a Committee, to prepare the address, and returned in a few minutes with one. At this moment, when the

address was being put from the chair, Lord CLONCURRY presented himself, and followed up Mr. O'CONNELL's objection to the appointment of Lord FRANKFORT on the Committee. Mr. BURKE. K.C., rose to move an amendment; when the HIGH SHERIFF, interrupting him, and putting the question on the address in the affirmative only, declared it to be carried, though shouts of "no, no" rang through the building; and then, in the midst of the greatest uproar, said, "I dissolve the meeting," and left the chair.

O'CONNELL then rose and said—"No question having been put on the address, no address has been voted. The High Sheriff having vacated the chair, we can proceed with business by appointing another Chairman, and I move that Lord CLONCURRY take the chair."

His Lordship accordingly did so, amidst the most enthusiastic applause.

The HIGH SHERIFF objected to the act, in a very peremptory manner.

Lord CLONCURRY, addressing the meeting, said—"Gentlemen, I will not desert you."

The HIGH SHERIFF exclaimed that he should use force to remove the Chairman.

"By force only," said the Chairman, "will I consent to quit the Chair in which the Freeholders of this County have placed me."

The HIGH SHERIFF then called in the military, and the Court House was instantly filled with armed soldiers, who strode over the benches and across the seats, and turned out the people at the point of the bayonet. An officer approached the chair in which his Lordship was sitting, and desired him to retire.

Lord CLONCURRY—"Sir, I am a Magistrate of this County, and I desire to know by what authority you act thus?"

The Officer replied, "by the authority of the HIGH SHERIFF."

His Lordship then said, he would yield to compulsion only, and he was accordingly forcibly removed from the Chair. The Officer, in the meantime, half drew his sword, but returned it again to its place.

The meeting thus dispersed, again assembled in a few minutes at a house in the neighbourhood, when Lord CLONCURRY was called to the chair, an address proposed and carried by acclamation, and a Committee appointed to prepare a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, praying for redress for the unconstitutional and illegal outrage committed by the SHERIFF. The crowds then, though in a state of much excitement, quietly dispersed.

A meeting of the Committee was subsequently held, on the fourth of January, at the Corn Exchange—Arch. HAMILTON ROWAN in the Chair. O'CONNELL moved that measures be there adopted to procure redress. In the course of his speech, of which however only a very imperfect report is given, he used the following words—"The meeting on Saturday was too peaceable to afford any pretence, even in Ireland, to take away the undoubted right of the people; but Ireland, like the man's head in the fair, lay so fair for a blow, that they could'nt resist the desire to strike at it."

ENEAS M'DONNELL, at this meeting, delivered a speech full of indignation at the atrocious outrage committed. He said "I heard the Sheriff exclaim to the soldiers, "why don't you do your duty;" and to do them justice, I must say, the soldiers seemed very well disposed to do it. If such atrocious proceedings are suffered, we are not safe when assembled anywhere—even in a Chapel, Church, or any place of worship." He ended by recommending the meeting to apply at once to the Castle, to know whether

such proceedings were sanctioned by Government. Mr. CURRAN followed, enforcing the same arguments, and thus concluded: "Though freedom is nearly extinct in this country—though we know little more of it than what we learn from books—let us at least have the ambition to be imitators in thus asserting our rights."

O'CONNELL then said "I beg to say that the words of the motion I have proposed, are 'that the Committee demand redress for the outrage.' The word 'outrage' was perhaps the strongest term I could use and perhaps the most fitting. I would not approve of sending to the Castle. I would have the affair brought before Parliament, and not to be left to be cushioned in the Castle. These are not times when we should go about with a begging box; we should assert our rights. See how the people of England have contended for liberty—see how the noble Spaniards have contended; look at Naples. She received aid, not from Austria, but from her own bayonets, after having acted towards Sicily, as one that we could name towards another country. Did Portugal in its emergency send a memorial to the Brazils, directed to some one with a long name at Rio Janerio, while they waited patiently a year and a half for an answer? The Portuguese have been termed by a noble Lord,

"Base Lusian slaves, the lowest of the low."

Yet what have these people achieved? They are now the freest of the free. I would recommend that this matter be brought immediately before Parliament; that an aggregate meeting should be called to hear the public opinion on it. It is the business of one and all to seek redress, and if we have it not, better be down at once and perish. Yet the poet's prophecy gives me a glimpse of hope:

The nations are fallen, but thou art still young;
Thy sun is but rising while others have set;
And tho' slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
The full noon of freedom shall beam round thee yet.

The following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy and freeholders of the County of Dublin, being, in pursuance of the summons of Sir RICHARD STEELE, Bart., High Sheriff, assembled in the County Court, in the Sessions House at Kilmainham, on Saturday, the 30th December, 1820, they were, whilst comporting themselves in a peaceable, orderly and decorous manner, without any provocation or justification whatsoever, and before the business for which they had been convened was concluded, violently and illegally assaulted, dispersed, and driven out of the Sessions House by an armed military force acting by the direction of the Sheriff."

Another Committee meeting was held, LAURENCE CLINCH, Esq., in the Chair; at which resolutions and a petition demanding redress were agreed to, after which, on the motion of Counsellor HUBAND, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this meeting do hereby express to DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., their highest sense of the inestimable value of his animated exertions, at all times, in the service of his country, and more particularly their admiration of the splendid example of his patriotic eloquence on the present occasion, not yielding to the best samples of powerful oratory transmitted to us from antiquity."

The resolution was carried with great acclamation, and the meeting separated in a state of high enthusiasm.

This inconstitutional conduct on the part of the HIGH SHERIFF, must have been exceedingly annoying to the LORD LIEUTENANT; for, Lord TALBOT, though a man of Anti-Catholic politics, was most anxious to steer a

middle course, and had no wish, during his administration, that such reckless disregard of right should occur. Indeed, his EXCELLENCY played his card so well, as to extract even from O'CONNELL no measured praise and approbation.

About this time his annual Letter appeared. In it he continued opposed to petitioning Parliament until it was reformed. He considered that the united efforts of the people should be directed to obtain Reform, and that the separate question of Emancipation would but divide the liberal party. This was the view taken by GEORGE ENSOR, who then began to address his countrymen, through the Press, in a strain of strong, nervous, telling sentiment and language, and in a style that evinced a deep knowledge of ancient and modern history and literature. Mr. O'CONNELL carried with him the influence of the Catholic party, that is, of the people, against petitioning. The Catholic aristocracy held the contrary opinion; and, as their mouth-piece, Mr. SHEIL, came forward, in reply, to what he called Mr. O'CONNELL'S annual invocation to the people. Mr. SHIEL'S address was a severe philippic, but on the question at issue —petition or no petition—was a very badly reasoned document, and founded, in our opinion, on mistaken premises.

The following characteristic and concluding passage in this remarkable address—consisting, it will be seen, of nearly a single metaphor elaborated with great ingenuity, skill, and no small degree of elegance, will shew the spirit and feeling with which the address was written, and will cause some surprise to those who only recollect the glorious and combined exertions of both, after 1823, when O'CONNELL and SHIEL became reconciled, and worked harmoniously together.

"Mr. PLUNKETT well knows that Mr. O'CONNELL does not speak the sentiments of the Roman Catholic body; once indeed, by following, he appeared to guide. By a flexible accordance between his sense of public duty and his love of popular praise, he served for some time to indicate the varieties of popular excitement. I should be loath to compare him to a sort of political vane, by which all the veerings of the breeze might be determined; but it were as idle to imagine that the currents of air on which the balloon is borne, are regulated by the painted machine that floats on them, as to suppose that a person swelled out with the very inflammable patriotism of Mr. O'CONNELL, and raised by the very levity of his opinions, should create the vicissitudes of passion on which he ascends. That gentleman was certainly elevated in a very gaudy vehicle, embellished with every diversity of hue. He had risen with the shout of the multitude, and after throwing out all his ballast, and waving his green flag, he very skilfully adapted his course, in this aerial voyage, to all the mutations of impulse which agitated the stormy medium through which he passed, until at last, in attempting to rise into a still more lofty region, he has allowed the thin and combustible materials of his buoyancy to take fire, and comes tumbling down in a volume of fiery vapour, composed of the Veto, the Union, and Parliamentary Reform."

Passing over his invective, Mr. O'CONNELL soon demolished Mr. SHIEL's arguments, and turned into ridicule his sophistry and similes. Indeed it seems plain enough that from an unreformed Parliament, judging by late experience, nothing could be expected by the Irish Catholics. Mr. CANNING, too, had quitted the Government, owing to his aversion to the Pains and Penalties Bill against the QUEEN. In him the Catholics lost a steady

and eloquent friend, and his resignation increased the hopelessness of their cause. However, nothing deterred by these considerations, Mr. PLUNKETT brought forward his vetoistic Emancipation Bill, and after a speech of marvellous power, succeeded in getting a majority of six for its introduction. At this juncture there was no regularly constituted Catholic Board or Association, and therefore, on a measure of such importance, Mr. O'CONNELL addressed his countrymen, as usual by letter, and thus, single-handed, maintained the contest against the proposed "securities." He succeeded in producing in Ireland a determined hostility to PLUNKETT'S Bill. Whenever he had an opportunity, he expressed his sentiments *viva voce;* and in Limerick in particular he delivered, before a large meeting, assembled to hear him, a most able speech, for which he received an unanimous vote of thanks. There were meetings of the Clergy in all directions, and the utmost hostility was evinced to Lord PLUNKETT'S proposal of "securities." Lord DONOUGHMORE, too, declared against it. Perseverance was, consequently, useless; and the Bill shared the fate of previous parliamentary motions;—it was lost.

It was about this time that positive information was received respecting the KING'S intended visit to Ireland. Sanguine hopes were entertained, and the joy was universal. "He would be the first English Monarch that "came in the spirit of conciliation to this country." The announcement caused the greatest excitement among the shopkeepers and trading classes generally. It was received with great satisfaction, and many of the leading members of the Catholic party were disposed to hail it as the harbinger of great political changes. On this account O'CONNELL and many of those who acted with him, were of opinion that local animosities should be for-

gotten on so auspicious an occasion, and that all parties should unite in the KING's reception, as a national body, irrespective of party differences. With that object O'CONNELL joined with the Citizens and Corporation of Dublin, at a general meeting, to make arrangements for His MAJESTY's arrival. On the 3d of July the following requisition was published.—

"TO NICHOLAS PURCELL O'GORMAN, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE CATHOLICS.

"We the undersigned being of opinion that it would be inexpedient, at the present moment, to connect in any manner the general question of Catholic affairs with the object of voting a congratulatory address to His gracious MAJESTY, on the auspicious event of his visiting this country, do hereby request you to convene a meeting of the Catholics of Ireland for the sole pourpose of voting such address."

This requisition was most numerously signed; it included the names of nearly all the Catholics in Dublin, or to whom an opportunity was given of communicating their sentiments. Strange enough, however, we do not find O'CONNELL's name attached to it, although he took an active part in carrying out the policy it recommended. A communication was received from the Lord MAYOR by the meeting, in reply to a request that the Statue of King WILLIAM in College Green should not be decorated as usual with Orange ribbons, on the 12th of July, in which his Lordship promised that no such manifestation should take place; and a motion having been made that a Committee be then formed to co-operate with the Committee of the Corporation in making all requisite preparations for the KING's reception, O'CONNELL declared it was a proposition which should be adopted with gladness, and it was at once agreed to.

A proclamation was then issued by the LORD MAYOR, forbidding the usual manifestations on the 12th of July, and the dressing of the Statue; but the ultra Orange party spirit was too violent and active to allow that even for once the insulting exhibition should be forborne. The Statue was dressed out with more than usual gaudiness, and crowds continued firing pistols and carbines from an early hour in the morning to the afternoon. At a subsequent meeting of the Catholic Committee, at which the Earl of FINGALL presided, Mr. SHIEL complained of the insult and outrage on the feelings of the Catholics, and adverted to the refusal of a Magistrate to disperse the crowds assembled in the face of the proclamation. O'CONNELL, however, was disposed to view the demonstration in no serious light, and was against making it a subject of dispute. He said the firing about the Statue was principally by some of the Volunteers of Ireland, a body of men whom they should remember with pride; and instead of trying back for causes of disunion, he preferred looking forward for reasons for conciliation. He said they owed all their misfortunes to dissension, and that in his opinion there was but one hope for Ireland, and that was in unanimity. Mr. SHIEL thereupon declared that though he did not coincide in Mr. O'CONNELL's reasoning, he would not press his proposition, lest it should disturb the harmonious feeling by which the meeting was inspired. After some discussion he moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. O'CONNELL, and carried unanimously:

"That, notwithstanding the unprovoked insult which has been offered to the public feeling, by the decoration of the Statue in College Green, yet, as a tribute of our respect to His MAJESTY, we shall avoid, by any remonstrance to Government, an interruption of that harmony to which we are anxious to contribute."

Another meeting was held some days after, when the same question was renewed. In the course of the debate O'CONNELL remarked.. "Let us stick to the principle of conciliation. Should his MAJESTY see this country with his own eyes, and not through a false medium—should he be permitted to enquire why a country so rich and strong should be at the same time so weak and so poor, he may be told that her wealth, like a spring upon a mountain side, perpetually flows to enrich a remote and foreign soil. We are told that the KING's intention may be frustrated, if these topics are introduced; let us then do nothing wherewith we could accuse ourselves."

On the 2nd of August, a great meeting was held at the Royal Exchange, at which Sir EDWARD STANLEY proposed; "That, with a view to give a stimulus to Irish Manufacture, the Citizens should wear such on the occasion of the KING's visit, as generally as possible, and should appear at the procession to receive him on his arrival, wearing blue silk scarfs and rosettes." This was warmly supported by O'CONNELL. He said "that for the last twelve years he had worn nothing but Irish Manufacture, and he hoped that he would be buried in Irish Manufacture."

The Catholics seemed altogether impressed with the conviction,that because of his early association with FOX, and MOIRA, and WELLESLEY, his MAJESTY was favourable to Emancipation. What a sad mistake! O'CONNELL thought his arrival afforded a favourable opportunity to try conciliation. He fondly hoped that he himself could bring about a union amongst all parties. It was a sanguine but a sad misconception. The Orange Institution had recently revived in all its pristine virulence. The Statue of King WILLIAM, in College Green, was, as has been said, decorated with more than usual

pains and shewy splendour, to commemorate the fortuitous Victory of the Nassau Prince at the waters of the Boyne. Still, conciliation was attempted. O'Connell was deceived; but he acted for the best. Of an open, candid nature himself, he believed George the Fourth really cherished good intentions when he expressed them towards Ireland; and he heartily and boldly threw himself into the crowd of "loyalists" who were waiting to hail the Sovereign on his arrival. He has been much censured for this—Lord Byron, and Ensor, Cobbett, Brougham, and many other distinguished and notable people in those days, assailed him for the act. But it should be recollected that his object was, National Union. He little thought that all the smiles of royalty were hypocritical, and all the promises empty vapour. The King commenced his visit in Ireland by a piece of humbug. He told the assembled Gentry, who greeted him on his arrival at the Phœnix Park, that he would, in return for their kindness, drink their health in a glass of good Irish whiskey punch! This dull piece of pleasantry was uttered the day the account of his Queen's death reached Dublin. His conduct throughout was characterised by the same system of cajolery. It took for the time with the people. Nothing could exceed their enthusiasm; and O'Connell, the representative of their sentiments—joined in a proposal to build an Irish Palace for his Majesty, by public subscription. The formation of a "Loyal Georgian Club" was suggested by him also, and when his Majesty was leaving Ireland, the future Liberator presented him with a laurel crown, amidst the cheers and acclamations of the people. His public entry was the most magnificent spectacle ever witnessed in Ireland—and his departure was equally imposing. All that Ireland got in return was a letter from Lord Sidmouth, recommending conciliation—pro-

mising nothing, and having all the characteristics of a vague mockery. The Orangemen soon forgot their professions. Sir ABRAHAM BRADLEY KING was as violent as ever, and the bitterness of party spirit became worse from the effort at repression during the KING'S visit. The whole affair ended in deep disappointment. The beautiful and truthful picture drawn of the visit by SHIEL, in 1828, will give the reader a better notion of the prevailing feeling than any description from the pen of an ordinary writer. Speaking of GEORGE the FOURTH, in moving an address to his MAJESTY, from the Catholics of Ireland, he asks—

"Do you remember (you cannot fail to do so) the glorious spectacle which was presented upon his arrival amongst us? I do not believe, that in the annals of romantic loyalty, and in all the records of wild chivalric allegiance, an example could be found of more high and unanimous enthusiasm than was displayed by the universal masses of an ardent and devoted population, which hailed the entrance of King GEORGE the FOURTH, into this great metropolis. If most of you had not witnessed that extraordinary scene, I might attempt to describe it; but the reality is too deeply and indelibly imprinted in your recollections to admit of any successful delineation—and you could not fail to feel that any picture, no matter how richly tinted, must be greatly below the dignity and grandeur of that important national event. I will not therefore attempt to paint what is inlaid in such fresh colours in the memories of every one of you. I will not tell you in what a noble triumph of peace, in what an ovation of concord, the Sovereign of the empire, of which Ireland constitutes so large a department, entered this great city. I will not recall to you the array of myriads who were assembled to greet

him, and who, with uplifted eyes and hands, and with voices into which their hearts were thrown, sent up their invocations for his welfare;—I will not tell you how GEORGE the FOURTH looked and must have felt upon that lofty and almost sublime occasion. If I made such an attempt you would stop and chide me—you would say, that I fell far beneath the glory and magnificence of the scene which I should endeavour to present to you. It is enough, therefore, that I should make a simple mention of this singular exhibition of national enthusiasm, in order to bring it back in all its vividness to your minds. It is stated that the "deepest" impression" was made upon his Majesty—How is it possible that he should behold such demonstrations of affection and of fidelity, without a profound appreciation of the qualities of the people from which these noble feelings derived their origin? How was it possible that he should witness what he beheld on his arrival—but above all, how could he behold what took place on his departure, without a profound and thrilling emotion? He stood upon the shore—he was surrounded by his people—he heard their prayers for his happiness offered up from hearts as honest as ever sent an orison to Heaven—he saw the tears that flowed down many a manly cheek, and he beheld many a brawny arm stretched out to him in an affectionate farewell. He ascended the ship that was to waft him from the island, in which the traces of his footsteps ought to have been left in measures of benevolence behind. The winds filled the sails—the vessel went slowly and majestically through the ocean. He stood upon the deck, and thence looked back towards Ireland, and saw the hills by which he was encompassed, crowded to the tops by hundreds of thousands, who sent their benedictions along with him. Is

it possible that at such a moment his heart should not have melted and dissolved within him? Did not the tears of a generous sensibility rush into his eyes, and, as the shouts of his people came from the receding shores across the waters, did he not exclaim—"I will do something for Ireland." But, I forget myself. I am hurried away by the emotions which the recollection of those striking scenes cannot fail to awaken in the bosom of every one of us. I should resume a more sober and befitting tone of speech and of sentiment—and yet even now, I cannot avoid relapsing for a moment into the feelings which had swept me beyond the limits of temperate discussion, and exclaiming, "what, after all, has he done for Ireland?" But I return. His Majesty proceeds to say that he hopes "that every cause of irritation will be avoided and discountenanced." Alas! what imperfect views his Majesty must have taken of the real sources of the calamities of this country! How little he knew of the real character of the faction, which has so long trampled upon Ireland, when he conceived that his mere behest could have the effect of subduing the spirit of insolent domination, by which that ferocious confederacy, as long as they are sustained by the law, never can cease to be influenced! What took place almost immediately after his Majesty's departure? He left us his advice, and gave us nothing else. How did the Orangemen of Ireland fulfil it? At their civic banquets, the watch-word of Ascendancy was almost instantly proclaimed.—The banners of Ireland's shame were unfurled in a still more ostentatious and offensive publicity. The Sovereign himself was insulted in the person of his Representative, and justice, when called in to avenge the affront, appeared dressed in Orange ribbons. The spirit of faction got possession of the public tribunals of the country; more

vehement hatreds, and more relentless detestations, ensued, than had ever before taken place, and the contending parties wanted but a pretence to rush in a sanguinary conflict upon each other."

O'CONNELL was for years, after the KING's departure, subject to constant and slanderous animadversion, for the part he took during his MAJESTY's sojourn. An anonymous attack made on him in the *Courier* newspaper, under the head "O'CONNELL's Inconsistencies," appears to have given him peculiar annoyance. In this publication, the writer, speaking of the Royal visit, says—"On that occasion, when his MAJESTY's expedition to Ireland was accompanied with very little English popularity, in consequence of the recent trial of Queen CAROLINE, Mr. O'CONNELL's conduct excited something more than surprise, even amongst his warmest admirers. He procured a meeting to be held at the Exchange; proposed a palace should be built for GEORGE the FOURTH; promised that a million should be raised for that purpose; pledged himself to give one thousand pounds a year from his own income towards that object; escorted his MAJESTY to Kingstown; followed him (literally) into the sea, in order to present him with a crown of laurel; knelt in the water; forgot his promises; never dreamed of the palace; and, not long after the Royal departure, inveighed against his MAJESTY in language which we cannot venture to transcribe."

To each statement in this paragraph, O'CONNELL replied separately thus:—

"*He procured a meeting to be held at the Exchange*"—quite untrue. The meeting was held at the nomination of the Lord Mayor. It was *procured* by a requisition, signed by nearly thirty Noblemen and Protestant Bishops. The Duke of LEINSTER, the Earl of ENNISKILLEN, Lord FARNHAM, Dr. TRENCH, the Protestant

Archbishop of TUAM, &c., &c., were the leading requisitionists. My name was, as it ought to be, low, very low, down in the requisition. It is, therefore, as much at variance with the truth as any thing can be, to say that I "procured" that meeting.

"*He proposed a Palace should be built for* GEORGE *the* FOURTH"—quite untrue. The proposal respecting the palace was moved by Lord CARBERY, seconded by Colonel CUFFE. There were three plans for a national testimonial submitted to the meeting. The one was for a column, the second a palace, the third a bridge. I supported the second during the debate; but it is not true that the proposal was mine. It was, as I have said, proposed by Lord CARBERY, with whom I am very slightly acquainted—seconded by Colonel CUFFE, a gentleman, I believe, I never saw before that day or since, and never spoke to in my life. See, then, how false it is to make me the *procurer* of the meeting, and the *proposer* of the palace.

"*He promised that a million should be raised for this purpose*"—again a pure invention. I never made any such promise.

"*He pledged himself to give one thousand pounds a year from his own income for that purpose*"—totally untrue. I did, indeed, make a pledge to give an annual sum out of my income, but it was an annual sum of twenty guineas—£22 15s. of the then Irish currency—and no more! The vile accuser turns 20 guineas a year into only £1000 a year!—that is all.

"*He escorted his Majesty to Kingstown*"—quite untrue. I did not escort his MAJESTY at all that day. He was in the morning in the county Wicklow. I rode with some gentlemen to Kingstown, and there remained until the KING's arrival. I did not see him at all, until his arrival at Kingstown.

"*He followed him* (*literally*) *into the sea, in order to present him with a laurel crown.*" This is so circumstantially false, that it must be called literally a lie. I did not follow the KING at all; nor did I go nearer the water, when presenting the laurel crown, than about twenty paces.

"*He knelt in the water*"—totally untrue. I presented the crown to the KING in a tent, the nearest part of which to the water was at least twenty paces from the water's edge. I presented it at the end of the tent farthest from the water, in as dry a place as ever KING stood upon. I, of course, knelt on one knee in presenting the crown; but so far is it from being true that I was guilty of any unbecoming servility, that I did not even kiss the hand which the KING held out to me for that purpose.

"*He forgot his promises*"—quite untrue. I made no promises, save that of paying twenty guineas a year as my mite towards building a palace; and so far was I from forgetting that promise, that I was one of the *very, very* few who attended the committee *after the King's departure*. There were plenty to attend whilst he was here; but the moment he was gone, there was no getting the subscribers to meet—there was no getting those who put down their names to pay their subscriptions. Nay, I persevered until *after* all hope was extinct; nor did I abandon the plan of a palace until we found it impossible to procure from one of the then Judges the sum of thirty guineas, which he had affixed to his name while the KING was here.

I then, and not till then, gave up the palace in despair, and left the bridge-builders to complete their plan; having first paid in my own subscription. The bridge has since been built. There is, therefore, nothing more untrue than the assertion that I forgot any promise of mine or declined to fulfil it.

"*He, not long after the Royal departure, inveighed against his Majesty in language which we cannot venture to transcribe.*"—This, indeed, would establish me guilty of an inconsistency; but it does no such thing. Why? because it is totally false. On the contrary, the fact is, that I was reproached for years, and years after the KING's departure from Ireland, with being in the habit of speaking too favourably of the KING. I was taunted with my complacency, not only in prose, but even "immortal verse." But the fact is, before Emancipation, abuse of GEORGE the FOURTH would have been such bad policy, that the enemies of religious liberty would gladly avail themselves of any such abuse to render the KING more desperate in his opposition."

He then goes on, in conclusion, to say:—

"The part of my political career which required most tact and judgment was the management of the Catholic body preparatory to and during the visit of GEORGE IV. in Ireland. If I have any merit for the success of the Catholic cause, it is principally to be found in the mode in which I neutralized the most untoward events, and converted the most sinister appearances and circumstances into the utmost extent of practical usefulness to the cause of which I was the manager. It was the most critical moment of my political life, and that in which I had the good fortune to be most successful.

"GEORGE the FOURTH came to Ireland with the most ample prospects of national benefit. He came, he assured us, as the father of *all* his people—to reconcile *all* his people to each other—to establish the liberty and prosperity of *all* the Irish. Nor did his actions, whilst in Ireland, belie his declarations. For the first time for two centuries, were the Catholics received by the Executive

on terms of perfect equality with the Protestants. The Catholic Prelates were received by the KING, in their ecclesiastical costume, with their golden crosses and chains. It was the first official recognition of their spiritual dignity as Prelates. To the Earl of FINGALL, as head of the Catholic laity, the ribbon of the Order of St. Patrick was given at an installation at which the KING himself presided. The rest of the Catholic laity were received and cherished precisely as the Protestants were; and, to crown all, the celebrated SIDMOUTH letter was issued, full of present kindness and gratitude to the Catholics, and of future hope and expectation of perfect conciliation—a conciliation which every body knew could never be effected without legal and perfect equalization of political rights.

"How little can any person removed from the scene appreciate the difficulties I had to encounter, and the management which was necessary to prevent the Catholics from marring, or being accused of marring, these bright prospects! How much of just resentment was it necessary to suppress! How much of ———. But I promised you to be as brief as possible. I will therefore abstain from following up this topic: yet I am entitled to this fact—that no part of my political life obtained—I will say deservedly—so much of the gratitude and confidence of my countrymen, as the mode in which I was enabled to convert the KING'S visit to Ireland from being a source of weakness and discomfiture to the Catholics, into a future claim for practical relief and political equalization."

We cannot concur in O'CONNELL'S policy on the occasion of GEORGE the FOURTH'S visit, and at the same time approve of his determination in 1845, when it was supposed her Majesty, Queen VICTORIA, was about to come

to Ireland, to raise in her ears the national shout for Repeal. The circumstances in which O'CONNELL was placed at both periods were certainly somewhat different; but if the latter tactics were good in 1845, in order to impress on the Sovereign what were the sentiments of the people, they were equally advisable in 1821. The proposed conciliation was a visionary scheme. What chance was there of conciliating men who, a few days before, dressed up the Statue of WILLIAM in party colours, in order to offend the very people, to whom, nevertheless, with mean hypocrisy, professions of friendliness were made by the heads of the party, for a temporary object? What a failure would it have been if the Catholic Body had not then swelled the pageant? What chance would the Lord Mayor, ABRAHAM BRADLEY KING, have had of a Baronetcy if the SOVEREIGN were not put in good humour by the acclamations and the welcome of the great multitude? The Corporate Authorities had an object in affecting conciliation for the time, but the moment the KING quitted Ireland, the mask fell off, and the old offensive features were again revealed. O'CONNELL, on the other hand, was perfectly sincere in making the experiment. In doing so he was not, at first, seconded by the Catholic Body. He was not supported and encompassed by the Catholics at the Great Corn Exchange Meeting, and it was only by the active exercise of his superior tact, that he at last succeeded in inducing his friends to join with him in the Conciliation dinner, given preparatory to the KING'S arrival.

However, after a time, as we have said, the whole affair passed away from the general recollection, leaving nothing behind to mark the event but a magnificent dining room to the rere of the Mansion House, built ex-

pressly to entertain his MAJESTY—and an obelisk at the place of embarkation at Kingstown. The grand procession down Sackville-street, the smiles of the SOVEREIGN, the enthusiasm of the people, the splendour of the equipages, the deputations from all parts of Ireland, the crowds of visitors before and during the period, and the gaieties for which it was distinguished—all are now fast passing from the memory of the present generation; and the visit will only be recorded in history as an illustration of the too easy confidence which the Irish people are willing to bestow, and the too ready forgetfulness of promises for which their rulers are notorious.

Speaking, in 1823, at an Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics, O'CONNELL thus describes the transactions to which we have been referring. He said:—"His MAJESTY was the first Monarch that ever shewed a friendly feeling towards poor Ireland, and when he came among us, his regal court presented Catholics and Protestants, as they should ever be, united; that period is fraught with recollections not easy to forget. I recollect the Catholics met on the 10th of July, 1821, to consider the best means of receiving the KING, and evincing towards his royal person our loyalty and attachment; loyalty—aye loyalty! for Catholics know nothing of exclusive loyalty, as far as they are concerned. We were in consultation, when a Mr. B. WADDEN appeared and informed us, that there was a disposition on the part of the Corporation to unite with us, and shortly afterwards an Alderman arrived to confirm the news. We were surprised—we that had never received anything from the Corporation but contumely; that Corporation whose only delights were annually dressing their stone Statue of the Dutchman, who had some years since gained a victory over our fathers, and trampled upon their rights. What would insulted men have done? Why, spurned their offer. Was such our conduct?—oh, no!

We received the bearer of this news with four cheers, and rejoiced to find that we could at last be united with our Protestant Brethren. Two days after, the Statue was dressed. We remonstrated, and there was something about promises for the future; there were many amongst us who did not believe those promises—I must own that I was one who put no faith in them, though I pretended I did. Well, I got into the den—"DANIEL in the Lion's Den"—aye, into the midst of the Corporation. Some who had more candour than I possessed at that period, did not attend the dinner. Whose name was at the bottom of this resolution? ABRAHAM BRADLEY KING. He was then only an Esquire. This resolution got him his Baronetcy—his surtout was off then. Who could depend upon their credit? What dependence could be placed in them, who turned sweet into sour? The resolution is the charter of Sir A. B. KING's Baronetcy. (Here Mr. O'CONNELL read a letter from Lord SIDMOUTH to Sir A. B. King, congratulating him upon his Baronetcy.) This letter congratulates the Baronet upon his laying the foundation of what has never yet taken place—conciliation; and, since that period, he has proclaimed his apostacy. I defy that base press—the Orange press, that press that never tells falsehood as if by accident, and cannot tell truth, by design. I dare that press to state where the Catholics have violated their promises in speech or action. No, they cannot. We have observed our promises, from the treaties of Limerick to the treaty with the Corporation; the violation has always proceeded from our enemies." How could he have expected any other conduct? Indeed, he often expressed the same sentiments afterwards in private, nearly in the language of the foregoing extract. He merely pretended to believe that the Corporation and the Orange party were sincere. He could clearly see into their designs. The Corporation had an object

to carry, and they thought it wise to affect conciliation. But how could any rational person place reliance on their professions? How could the scene at the Great Protestant Meeting at the Rotunda, in 1819, be so speedily effaced from the memory of a Catholic Leader of 1821? The Lord Mayor, THOMAS M'KENNY, chivalrously and honorably complied with the celebrated requisition signed by over two hundred Protestant noblemen and gentlemen of Dublin, and presided at a public meeting, at the Rotunda, of Protestants to petition in favour of Catholic Emancipation. At that meeting, there were over four thousand persons present. Such, in 1819, was the virulence of party feeling, that a large section of the Corporation, headed by Alderman ARCHER and Master ELLIS, forced their way into the meeting, accompanied by a body of police partisans, and endeavoured to interrupt the proceedings. Had it not been for the determination of the Lord MAYOR, who then stood alone as a liberal Corporator, there might have been loss of life. Seeing the position in which they were likely to be involved by their violent and outrageous conduct, these corporate intruders retired, followed by their bludgeon-men, and the great meeting passed off triumphantly. Was it from a body who had so acted but two years before, that any real conciliation was to be expected? And yet O'CONNELL, that nothing should be wanting on his side, made the experiment. He went to the great conciliation dinner. He continued the experiment from time to time, after the KING left Ireland, and after a trial of over five years, he had to abandon the attempt. Happily, however, the times are now materially altered. Irishmen are already coming together for the common good—for their mutual defence—their common country. The Irish Council now formed in Dublin promises well, and provided it avoids

the rock on which the "Irish Party" lately went to pieces —namely, exclusive attention to Landlord interests—we have some hope that what in 1821 was a vain experiment, will in 1847, prove the forerunner of peace, happiness, and prosperity for Ireland.

The arrival of the Marquess of WELLESLEY, in 1822, as Lord Lieutenant, invigorated the Catholics and cheered them on. By his appointment, as O'CONNELL well expressed it, "SAURIN ceased to be Chief Governor of Ireland." That alone was a blessing. The Marquess of WELLESLEY came to Ireland "to administer the laws, not to alter them;" he came to govern not through a party, but for the whole people. The law officers of the Crown were no longer to be, *de facto*, the Irish Government; and bright hopes were excited, to be, however, afterwards defeated by an underhand and counteracting influence which still maintained itself within the precincts of the Castle. Meetings to address his EXCELLENCY were held throughout the Kingdom. The most confident hopes were entertained by the people. O'CONNELL participated in this feeling, and in his annual Letter called on the Catholics to petition. He thought the time was at length propitious. The KING's late visit, the known liberal sentiments of Lord WELLESLEY—the altered feelings of a large section of Protestants —his fondly cherished hope of continued cordiality—all induced him to think that the chances of success were great. In his anxiety to give the experiment a fair trial, and to secure large concessions for his Countrymen, he went so far as to propose to Lord PLUNKETT, a plan of "securities" of his own formation. This plan gave the Government the power of objecting to any person elected to the episcopal office, on the score of disloyalty. The objection was to be inquired into by two Catholic Bishops—evidence on both sides was to be received, and if

the objection was found valid, the party elected was to be put aside, and a new election entered on. If, on the other hand, the objection was overruled, consecration was to take place, on receiving from Rome the canonical institution. The Clergy were also to be prevented from corresponding with Rome, on politics, or receiving any letters thence, on such subjects, without submitting them on receipt to Government. Thus, however guarded the plan, did O'Connell propose a *veto*, which, nevertheless, Plunkett refused to accept, though well disposed to limit the proposed power of objecting on the part of the Crown. No one afterwards could be more rejoiced at this rejection than O'Connell himself. He felt constrained to offer a compromise; he was heartily glad of the refusal.

Amongst the Catholic party there still existed great jealousy. The personalities in which O'Connell, for a purpose, found it necessary to indulge, and the strength of his language were complained of; the unbounded influence he possessed over the people annoyed those who considered themselves as well entitled to obedience and control. For some years longer he was for these reasons thwarted, and subjected to great personal hostility. We must do him the justice to say, that though he would at all hazards throw off, when the opportunity offered, a joke, or a sarcasm, he nursed no resentment; he forgot injuries, and never intended to wound deeply when his ridicule was most caustic. At an Aggregate Meeting of Catholics, this year, at which Sir Thomas Esmonde presided, an instance of the prevailing jealousy was exhibited towards him. Though speaking in his accustomed strain of eloquence, he was repeatedly interrupted. It was on this occasion that he told the meeting he was twenty-one years at the Bar, and that it was seventeen years since he first took part

in Catholic affairs ; and yet notwithstanding the title so acquired to the respect of those who heard him, he was addressed at the meeting by a Mr. O'CONNOR, the author, we believe, of the " History of the Irish brigade," in a strain of which this sentence is a sample :—" Does Mr. " O'CONNELL mean to occupy the time of the meeting with " such ridiculous nonsense ?" Such were the petty annoyances to which, during the Catholic Agitation, he was constantly subjected. Yet he persevered, for the sake of union; though he could have retaliated with stinging effect, he generally spared his assailants, and seldom expressed, for he harboured no deep, nor, indeed, any lasting resentment. It should be always borne in mind, that the Government of the day used every species of stratagem to sow dissension amongst the Catholic body. We may mention here an authentic anecdote in proof of their system of silent management, to draw off active and intelligent Catholics from effective co-operation with O'CONNELL, or to encourage them in their opposition to his views by making them pensioners of the Crown.

In proof of this we may observe, that among those in the Catholic body, who were accustomed to oppose O'CONNELL and his policy, at the several Boards, Committees and Associations, were some men, who though personally estimable, yet being direct pensioners of the Crown, impeded his progress, and were often perfectly intractable. —Among them were THOMAS M'KENNA, father of Mr. M'KENNA, who at present holds an appointment in Dublin Castle ; Mr. BELLEW, who got an increase of pension according as he assisted in supporting the veto and opposing the Bishops ; Mr. LYNCH, and many others. The three whose names are given, were Barristers of considerable ability, and it must be admitted of honourable and patriotic principles. It however happened that they never got credit for honesty of purpose, no matter what

course they adopted. One day Mr. LYNCH said to O'CONNELL, "Well, 'tis very odd; you know me very "well; you know me to be incapable of an unworthy or "corrupt action; and yet I get no credit for honesty or "sincerity in anything I say or do in respect to those po- "litical matters; I suppose because I have a pension "from the Crown. Now, the fact is, I married it, so "that I could not have earned it." "But," replied "O'CONNELL, "'twas not as large when you married it "as it has grown since." "That's quite true," "said LYNCH; "I'll tell you, how that happened. I met "SACKVILLE HAMILTON, a Privy Counsellor, one day, "and he said to me—'I find your wife's name is on the "*concordatum* list, and you have the advantage of the "emolument; would you wish to have it increased? I "naturally said I would; so it was increased very consi- "derably. That is the way I hold my pension."— "Well," said O'CONNELL, "I will never again have the "same opinion of SACK. HAMILTON while I live; for "although we were the antipodes of each other in poli- "tics, we have been on very friendly terms with each "other; we often walked together and chatted very fami- "liarly, and even passing the Castle gate, which would "afford a man an opportunity for a good natured sugges- "tion such as you received, it never struck him to say to "me, 'O'CONNELL would you like to have your name on "the *concordatum* list?'"

The general question of Emancipation was not brought forward this year. PLUNKETT was opposed to a move- ment of the kind. The time, in his opinion, was unfavor- able. The Whiteboy system prevailed to an alarming extent—particularly in the Counties of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick. In England, too, matters were by no means encouraging—Orangeism was advancing in Ireland with

rapid strides. Every thing tended to confirm him in the opinion, that he should remain quiet on the Catholic question. Mr. CANNING, however, brought in the bill to admit Catholic Peers to sit in Parliament. He made a most masterly speech, on a deeply interesting historical subject, which afforded his genius and eloquence free scope, and his intellectual flight was extended, elevated, and sustained. He carried the first reading by a majority of FIVE, and the second by a majority of TWELVE. Such, even on so limited a measure as CANNING'S, was the falling off from his glorious majority of 129, in the year 1812—In the Lords, the Bill was thrown out by a majority of FORTY TWO. After this division in the Lords, O'CONNELL at last succeeded in bringing the Clergy into the agitation.

During the early stages of Catholic agitation few, if any, Catholic Clergymen, took an active part in politics. Indeed, from the disinclination of the Hierarchy in those days to clerical interference in such pursuits, it may be said that the Clergy kept systematically and constantly aloof. The period, however, had arrived, when that potent power was called into action. When the news of the defeat in the House of Lords arrived in Dublin, it gave rise to the utmost vexation and disappointment, and a special meeting of the Catholic Committee was summoned, to take the subject into consideration. Up to that defeat there were only two Priests in Dublin who interfered in any way in political matters, namely, the Rev. Mr. O'MULLANE (already mentioned in connxtion with the D'ESTERRE affair) and the Rev. Mr. L'ESTRANGE, of Clarendon-street Chapel. In the Provinces there were few, if any, to originate or take an active share in political transactions. After a long and warm discussion in the Committee, respecting various plans of action, and an

opposition of a vexatious kind to O'Connell's views, he rose, and said, in an impassioned tone, "Gentlemen, we "have a power that has never yet been called into the "field, one that must coerce them to do us justice, and "that is, the Priesthood of Ireland. In combining them "with us, we bring to our aid learning, virtue, and "influence, not belonging to any other class.— "Without them we cannot succeed. To succeed we "MUST have them with us, and from this day forward." As was very frequently the case on similar occasions, this proposition of O'Connell's was strongly combatted in the Committee—the majority were against it; they strenuously opposed the project of introducing the Clergy; they insisted that it was a thing not for a moment to be conceived. O'Connell, however, was immoveable; he insisted on the policy as well as the propriety of his proposition as regarded the body itself; he contended that there was no reason why they should not be considered Citizens, and allowed to exercise their rights of Citizenship; he asserted that they were the natural protectors of the people, and the ONLY persons who could make the people really and thoroughly sensible of the state of political serfdom in which they were immersed. Eventually, though not without much difficulty and perseverance, he succeeded. The Clergy were brought into the agitation, with what result it would be superfluous to say. Thus, through O'Connell's instrumentality, was first effected an union of the Irish Catholic Clergy with the people in political agitation—an union that probably would never have been so thoroughly consummated but for England's perversity in withholding Catholic Emancipation; and thus has she raised against her an enduring combination, in which every element of national sentiment and national organization is permanently centered.

It was this year that SAURIN's celebrated letter to Lord NORBURY came to light. It was picked up on the Quay near the Four Courts, and handed to Mr. PURCELL O'GORMAN. The letter was addressed to his Lordship while on circuit. Mr. SAURIN sent him an extract from a letter he received from Lord ROSSE, suggesting that Lord NORBURY, while on circuit, should in his chamber endeavour to influence the country gentlemen, who may visit him, to enter into a hostile agitation against the Catholic claims. The letter praised JEBB, afterwards a Judge, as a man of the "right sort," a phrase that obtained general currency, and is still quoted to signify a peculiar class of politicians. The whole style of the document demonstrated the nefarious agency at work within the Castle walls, and on the Bench of Justice. It was a God-send to the leaders, advocates, and the friends of Catholics at the time, and O'CONNELL was not the man to neglect using it.

The dressing of the Statue of King WILLIAM was prevented this year. O'CONNELL addressed a public letter to Lord WELLESLEY, on the day previous to the usual anniversary, and announced that his Excellency's popularity and fame as Chief Governor of Ireland, depended on the steps which, in reference to the insulting custom, he would adopt. Whether the letter suggested the order to prevent the annual exhibition of party virulence, it is not easy to decide. It is sufficient to know that the order was issued. But what was the consequence? A vindictive display of the bitter hostility felt by the low Orangemen of Dublin. They attempted to be revenged. They met his Excellency at the Theatre—received him with every species of insult, during the performance, and from the gallery a bottle was hurled at his head. This malevolent act produced a great sensation, and a prose-

cution was instituted. The Orangemen pretended to turn the matter into a joke. The Grand Jury threw out the bills, and forced the Attorney-General, PLUNKETT, to file *ex-officio* informations—an unwise proceeding, and, after the decision of a Grand Jury, an unconstitutional one. The whole affair ultimately came to nothing. It became a bottle of smoke. It was a mistake on the part both of Lord WELLESLEY and of PLUNKETT to institute those proceedings. But the insult had the effect of warmly eliciting the feeling of the people in favor of the Viceroy; for meetings to address him were held throughout Ireland during the early part of 1823. Lord WELLESLEY was then popular. He had the reputation, from his enlightened and able administration in India, of being the wisest Statesman of the day, besides being a man of the very highest acquirements. Unfortunately, however, he was not in reality the Governor of Ireland. The CHIEF SECRETARY, the LAW OFFICERS, and the CHANCELLOR were the real rulers of the country. These again in their turn were guided by officials imbued with the deepest prejudices against the people. When the names are mentioned of GOULBURN, as Chief Secretary, of GREGORY, as Under Secretary, and of Lord MANNERS, as Chancellor, some idea is conveyed of the difficulty of conducting the Government of Ireland with ordinary impartiality. The first step was taken, however, in 1823, towards the settlement of the Tithe system. GOULBURN'S Composition Act was then passed, and though it was a defective measure—the Tithe compositions not being compulsory—still, for 1823, it was a great step in advance, and established grounds for future legislation. It had the advantage, moreover, of encouraging agriculture, wherever the Act came into operation. for the Tithes being compounded, there was

no longer an object in keeping land in pasture for the purpose of escaping the impost. It had, in this respect, a beneficial influence. The measure was undoubtedly suggested by the disturbances in Munster in 1822. However, Lord WELLESLEY and GOULBURN merited and received the full credit of the enactment. The system of State prosecutions and proclamations against the popular party had not yet developed itself, and therefore the beginning of 1823, when his EXCELLENCY received so many addresses from all parts of Ireland, was the period of his greatest popularity, during his first government.

The year 1823 will be memorable in history, as the era when the NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION was founded. It was by that body Catholic Emancipation was achieved; and the history of its proceedings up to 1829, will form a deeply interesting portion of this MEMOIR, intimately entwined as they are with O'CONNELL'S career. On the tenth of May, at an Aggregate Meeting, it was finally proposed and carried, that a NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION should be formed. At a previous meeting of Catholic *gentlemen*, at DEMPSEY'S, in Sackville-street, Sir EDWARD BELLEW, in the Chair, the proposition was first propounded by O'CONNELL. As this was the most important movement yet undertaken, we give a portion of his speech, in moving his resolution, the more particularly, as it describes graphically the apathetic state of the Catholic body at the time. He said—

"He had two resolutions to submit to the consideration of the meeting. It was the purpose of one, to propose the formation of a society, which should undertake the management of Catholic affairs. The other was intended to define the line of conduct to be pursued by the persons composing the Association. The formation of a

society, that would take under their combined direction the affairs of the Catholics, was, he thought, at this time, absolutely necessary, in order to save the very *agitation* of the question from expiring. For the acts of this society, the Catholics at large would not be accountable.—The society, on their parts, would be accountable only for their own actions. They would neither have, or assume, any delegated authority whatever. To enter into any reasoning to demonstrate the utility of this society was, he hoped, superfluous. If the Catholics could ever be charged with intemperance, it was when the Board existed—and yet, in the most licentious days of that body, (if the phrase licentious could be properly applied) the people obtained a large majority in the House of Commons, and were repulsed by a minority of only one in the House of Lords. How different the case stood now. They were, through their own neglect, exposed to the multiplied attacks of calumny and persecution. Newspaper after newspaper was established, for the purpose of reiterating slanders—naked, unqualified falsehoods. A new Orange Journal had absolutely out-Heroded Herod in its vocation. It were to say nothing, to say that it continually asserted the most gross and abandoned lies; but even in no one single instance had it by any accident been betrayed into the assertion of truth. One gentleman, who had gained some honour among the faction for his ingenuity in the distortion of facts, had, while in London, circulated a report, that the procession at the chairing of Colonel WHITE, was preceded by a car full of priests bearing a crucifix! This appeared in the London Journals; a statement that could be contradicted by 150,000 persons. All this was met on the part of the Catholics, by, he would call, a sinful apathy and silence. There was one thing, however, to be guarded against in

forming the proposed Association. This was, doing anything that would lay it open to the power of the Attorney General, little as it was to be feared that Mr. PLUNKETT would in this instance follow the example of his predecessor in office; but it was the duty of the Catholics to avoid giving their enemies, as well as those of Mr. PLUNKETT, room for charging him with a dereliction of duty. Formed with a wise and discreet observance of these precautions, the society would be enabled to hold up their vilifiers to the just reprobation of all rational and good men, and to give weight and stability to whatever steps the Catholics at large might think it prudent to pursue for the recovery of their rights."

Mr. SHIEL seconded these resolutions. He and O'CONNELL had been reconciled some time previously. They met, it was said, at the house of a mutual friend, in the county of Wicklow, and there arranged the plan of renewed agitation. In conformity with these arrangements, Mr. SHIEL, at the meeting at DEMPSEY'S, co-operated earnestly with O'CONNELL. He said that from the contrast drawn between their situation, when the Catholic Board was acting, and now, when they had no regular system of management, he thought all might concur in anticipating great benefits, as the result of the establishment of the proposed Association. It would, if not entirely, at least in a great measure, serve to pilot the body from that fatal rock on which their affairs had been nearly wrecked—he meant want of unanimity. If the question were viewed in all points, this must be the conclusion of every unprejudiced person.—The body had latterly tried the experiment of silence; the result had been almost oblivion to their cause; their affairs now called for extra exertions, or they could not be resucitated; they must be brought continually before the public; the

people of England must continually hear the voice of six-sevenths of the population of the country calling for their just rights and privileges. Accordingly, at an aggregate meeting at Townsend-street Chapel, the following resolutions were adopted—

"Moved by Mr. HUGH O'CONNOR, seconded by Mr. GALWAY:—

"Resolved—That it be earnestly recommended to such individuals as feel an interest in the success of the Catholic cause, forthwith to form an Association in Dublin, under such regulations as they may deem necessary, and to consider and prepare such measures as may be most useful, to obviate the calumnies of our enemies, and assist the efforts of our friends.

"That such persons shall not take or assume any representation, or delegated authority whatsoever.

"Moved by NICHOLAS MAHON, Esq., seconded by Mr. SHIEL:—

"Resolved—That a Meeting be held on Monday next, at Half-past Three in the afternoon, to form the above-mentioned Association, at Dempsey's in Sackville-Street."

In pusuance of this resolution, a meeting of the Catholic *gentlemen* was held on the 12th of May, at Dempsey's, City of Dublin Tavern, Sackville-street, for the purpose of forming an Association of Catholic gentlemen, for the regulation and management of Catholic affairs.

"At four o'Clock, Lord KILLEEN was called to the chair.

"His Lordship, having taken the Chair, said, that before entering into the business for which they had met, he could not avoid expressing his surprise, that the draft of the address to his Majesty, which was to be submitted to the Committee for revision, had been published in one of

the Newspapers; it was his decided opinion that it should not have appeared in print.

"Mr. O'GORMAN stated, that he did not give a copy of it to any person; that the address was not correct, and that even if it had been, it would not be etiquette to publish it, until after presentation.

"After some further discussion on this subject, in which several gentlemen participated, it was moved and carried, that an Association of Catholic gentlemen should be formed, and that an annual subscription of one guinea should constitute a member.

"It was then resolved, that the Association should be named "The Catholic Association."

"It was moved and carried, that Mr. NICHOLAS MAHON should be requested to act as Treasurer.

"Mr. O'CONNELL stated that Mr. COYNE, of Capel Street, could accommodate the Association with apartments to hold their Meetings in.

"It was the understanding of the meeting, that those apartments should be taken at a rent of £30 or £40 per annum.

"Mr. O'CONNELL moved that an adjourned meeting should be held at Mr. Coyne's, No. 4, Capel Street."

The names of the gentlemen who wished to become Subscribers to, and Members of the Association, were then taken down by Mr. O'CONNELL, who acted as Treasurer for the time being.—The names amounted to forty-seven.

Thus was formed the *nucleus* of the great political body that was afterwards destined, by the aid of the CATHOLIC RENT, to organize so formidable an agitation as to shake the Empire to its centre, and to extort Justice from the most powerful and active opponents. At first, but few attended the meetings. Seldom enough to form the

quorum of ten, assembled; and various stories are told of O'CONNELL'S expedients to get in the required number. He enlisted every person he met; and on one occasion, when he wished to proceed at once to business, when only six individuals were present, he went looking for the requisite number, and actually forced some young students of Maynooth, whom he found in COYNE'S, the bookseller's, to enter the political arena, at least as listeners—while he spoke to them of

"Happy homes and altars free."

The meetings were held weekly, except when Assizes were in progress—for of what value could a public assemblage be without O'CONNELL? SHIEL continued to join in the proceedings. He was present at the third meeting of the NEW CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION, determined no longer to oppose, but to co-operate with, his illustrious countryman. There was also a CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION formed in England,—so that every thing tended to cheer and stimulate the unemancipated people. O'CONNELL was still, high as the position was which he had already attained, advancing in professional eminence. In 1823, he was employed on circuit in every case. In his own circuit he stood without a rival.

The people were everywhere most anxious to testify their affection for him; and in Galway—in Tralee—and other provincial towns, we find him receiving public entertainments and other testimonials of national gratitude and regard. It was this year, that the following amusing incident, which we transcribe from the *Repeal Catechism*, was said to have occurred.

Mr. GOULBURN, while Secretary for Ireland, visited Killarney, when Mr. O'CONNELL (then on circuit) happened to be there. Both stopped at FINN'S Hotel, and chanced to get bed-rooms opening off the

same corridor. Mr. O'CONNELL's early habits made him be up at cock-crow. Finding the hall door locked, and so being hindered from walking outside, he commenced walking up and down the corridor. To pass the time, he repeated aloud some of MOORE's poetry, and had just uttered the lines—

> "We tread the land that bore us,
> The green flag flutters o'er us,
> The friends we've tried are by our side"—

At this moment GOULBURN popped his night-capped head out, to see what was the matter. Mr. O'CONNELL instantly pointed his finger at him, and finished the verse—

> "And the foe we hate before us!"

In went GOULBURN's head again in the greatest hurry.

The year 1824, appears to us the most remarkable year in the history of Ireland; not so much from the stirring events by which it was distinguished—for in that respect there are other years of our painful story no less remarkable—as from the consequences which a new and effective engine of agitation, then for the first time created, ultimately produced in Ireland. It was in 1824, the "CATHOLIC RENT" was set on foot, and to it we may well attribute the subsequent triumph of Civil and Religious liberty. It was well said, we think, by Mr. O'CONNELL, about this period—"That the Catholic "cause received permanent injury from the silence and "neglect of the Catholics themselves." They were never united; the whole history of their proceedings, of late years, was but a catalogue of bickerings and divisions. The Aristocracy—their "natural leaders"—deserted them; their Parliamentary friends were lukewarm, and a listless apathy had succeeded their own personal squabbles. The VETO battle was followed by forgetfulness of the cause itself; and you wade through volumes

of the public journals of the time, without meeting with a single incident which would indicate any reviving energy amongst those victims of religious despotism—the Irish Catholics. How can we otherwise account for the state in which the Catholic Question was suffered to remain? To all appearance, it was a hopeless pursuit. And yet justice, and right, and argument, the law of GOD, the dictates of conscience, the maxims of our common Christianity, nay, even the national interests of England, were all for Catholic Emancipation. The question had very influential friends in both Houses of Parliament; and, occasionally, a majority in the House of Commons. The enlightened throughout the world were for it. Why was it thrown aside? Why was GEORGE THE THIRD, or GEORGE THE FOURTH able to impede its progress? Why was a Ministry, equally divided on the subject, suffered to exist? Why was a kind of Cameleon Government—sometimes green, sometimes orange—allowed to administer the affairs of Ireland? Why was an Orange CHIEF SECRETARY permitted to dictate his will to a liberal LORD LIEUTENANT? Why? Because the Catholics were divided, were apathetic; nay, many of them, paradoxical as it may appear, were anti-Catholic, and hugged the chains that bound them. O'CONNELL changed all this, as if by the wand of an enchanter. The moment he organised the CATHOLIC RENT—the moment he made every shilling, received by the Association, represent a man—the moment the voice of millions spoke through the weekly contributions to its Treasury—the moment the public opinion of Ireland became concentrated in the Association, the days of religious intolerance, and Protestant Ascendency were numbered, and the triumph of conscience secured. This was done in 1824, and, therefore, we look upon that year as the one of O'CONNELL's crowning glory.

There had been on former occasions attempts made to collect subscriptions, but they failed, from various causes; and even the debts incurred were not liquidated with satisfaction by the public. There was, however, much this year to stimulate the exertions of the Catholics. It was peculiarly a year of religious bigotry. Mr. NORTH, a Barrister, who acquired considerable fame in his profession, went into Parliament, and his maiden speech there was a gross attack on the Catholic Clergy, for their "neglect of the education of the people." This caused deep indignation; and a great portion of the year was occupied in successfully rebutting the calumnious allegation. It was also an anti-Tithe year, and a year of Orange virulence, and of fanatical exhibitions. All this stimulated and aroused the clergy and people to exertion. O'CONNELL was as wise with reference to the period when he originated the Catholic Rent, as he was in its organization. On the details of this most interesting subject we must dwell a little longer. A Committee of the Association was appointed to draw up a report as to the best means of raising an annual fund, to carry on vigorously and effectually the agitation for a redress of grievances. That report, which was of considerable length, was, at a subsequent meeting, brought up for adoption. It was an elaborate and eloquent document, embracing a variety of topics connected with the agitation. After dwelling in detail upon them, it then unfolded the financial plan. The plan was, simply, to set at work an organised system of collection throughout Ireland, by means of which the whole Catholic population, amounting to Seven Millions, might be enabled by a small annual sum to testify their confidence in the central Association. The sum recommended was, one farthing a week; that is, a penny a month, a shilling a year. Sup-

posing one quarter of the population, consisting of the adult male portion, paid this small subscription, it would amount to £87,500 a year. It was, therefore, not unreasonable to calculate that by a well arranged organization, fifty thousand pounds a year would be collected. The successful operation of this plan is due to O'Connell, and the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland; but it is only justice, to give the credit of the first and earliest suggestion of a similar plan, to the father of the present Lord Kenmare, who, in a letter to the Right Rev. Dr. Moylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, and immediate predecessor of the late estimable Diocesan, the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, laid down a plan of a corresponding character. We are indebted to the late respected Pastor of Passage, the Rev. Mr. England, for, in his life of the celebrated Arthur O'Leary, introducing to the public this document, that especially suggested the great scheme to O'Connell's mind. Any one in the slightest degree instrumental in giving existence to what ultimately obtained Emancipation, deserves the gratitude of his country.

But to proceed. The Report, after some differences and discussion, was adopted. The collection of the "Catholic Rent" was organised; and before the close of 1824, it reached from £600 to £900 per week. The alarm which this created amongst the Ascendency faction, cannot be sufficiently described. A storm of invective was raised against O'Connell, and against his "Popish Parliament"—the Catholic Association. "Revolution," "Rebellion," "Anarchy," were words in every bigot's mouth. The strong arm of the law must be raised to smite so dangerous an organization. It was utterly hopeless to calculate much longer on the continuance of a prescriptive Ascendency, while

such unreasonable projects were permitted to mature,—Orangeland was in violent commotion. The ranks of Orangeism increased with the excitement. Its oaths of hostility—virulent hostility, to the Catholics, were taken by men of large property, magistrates, and military men. The rancour and bitterness that prevailed were unprecedented. The Nation was divided into two strong parties, each pitted against the other—each ready to engage in mortal combat. The Protestants of England of course participated in this alarm, or pretended alarm; and as far as the Legislature was concerned, the Catholic question appeared farther off than ever from the goal. But the Catholics had only to rely on themselves, and their great Leader. Under him they became united as one man, and to him and them, and not to their parliamentary patrons, is due the success that crowned the cause. The Catholic Association became forthwith the Representative of the People. It was rooted in their affections, and soon spread its influence over the land. O'Connell became more than ever "the best abused man in Europe." It was not "the mere spray of mitigated billingsgate" with which he was then assailed. Every viper in the land was now hissing at his name; but in proportion as they attacked him, was he cheered on, and encouraged by a grateful and a warm-hearted people. The struggle had now set in. Ireland became "constitutionally insurgent," as its political condition was aptly termed. Bad laws and an evil system of Government were arraigned without fear or mercy; and the attack was boldly and nobly justified before a Committee of Parliament, by Dr. Doyle, the illustrious J. K. L.—John, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Justice was preferable, he said, to law; and though individuals were not justified in acting in opposition to law, according to their

notions of Justice, still, where the obnoxious law was a plain and manifest despotism or wrong, then it was allowable by every moral principle to encourage a people to agitate for its repeal; nay, to offer it "passive resistance." Without this rule of conduct, the British Constitution would have been long since swamped. Every act of the STUARTS which was successfully resisted, was sustained by an existing law—whether statute or Judge-made; and no system of passive obedience enforced by those misguided rulers, was more detestable than that resisted in Ireland; namely, that however unjust the infliction, however unendurable the tyranny, it was to be tamely submitted to, because it was law! This doctrine Dr. DOYLE fearlessly repudiated in the face of Parliament. It was the Tithe agitation then growing into a violent storm, that produced the angry and hostile examination of Dr. DOYLE. It was then that great man proclaimed "THAT IN IRELAND THE HATRED OF TITHES "SHOULD BE AS LASTING AS THE LOVE OF JUSTICE." The collective wisdom of the day did not understand how a Popish Prelate could presume to propagate and encourage a doctrine so contrary to law and precedent. But he did maintain it with the eloquence, dignity, firmness and force of argument by which his writings were distinguished and adorned.

The Catholic Association no longer confined itself merely to petitioning for Emancipation. In the prevailing temper of society, this by itself, would have been an useless pursuit. Its objects were numerous; its views comprehensive; the multiform grievances by which the Country was afflicted, came under its cognizance. Every positive abuse was subject to its scrutiny. Orange domination was resisted; the Evangelical mania was exposed; the Tithe system denounced; the insolence of re-

ligious Ascendency, the evils of Land-Jobbing held up to reprobation. Such were some of the objects of this mighty confederation. It was charged with "usurping the functions of Government;" its members were told that, as there should be but one repository of power in the Commonwealth, they should be put down. One side looked mortified, sour and surly; the other was triumphant and in good humour. Such was the general aspect of affairs in 1824. O'CONNELL's star was in the ascendant. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, his name was in every man's mouth; and amongst the Catholic millions, blessings were invoked on him, in unceasing prayer. He now felt his power almost supreme, based as it was on the affections of the people. This gave an elasticity and force to his eloquence, which added much to its other attractions. His words were things. He could afford to play with his opponents, and the important and singular triumphs he achieved by a stroke of humour, or a *piquant* anecdote, were numerous and marked. His aptitude of illustration by anecdote, drawn up from his memory at the moment, was unequalled. This was constantly exemplified. We are reminded of it here by a discussion in the Association, between him and PURCELL O'GORMAN, on some trivial matter of detail, connected with the publication of the Report for the establishment of the Catholic rent, against which O'GORMAN objected. Mr. O'CONNELL said that the objection brought to his recollection a Society in London called "Odd Fellows"—amongst whom a discussion arose as to the appointment of a Treasurer. One of the members observed on the folly of naming a Treasurer until they had treasure. This suggestion betrayed so much common sense, that the Society considered the man disentitled to the rank of an Odd Fellow. They gave him a sound

drubbing for showing any sense. It was to such a Society Mr. O'Gorman should belong; he would be at home among them. This little sally produced the effect a laboured argument might have failed to accomplish, and there was an end of Mr. O'Gorman's objection. Another remark, which the perusal of Mr. O'Connell's speeches, this year, suggests, and which has often before occurred to us, when listening to his thrilling language, and most musical intonations, is the calm, consecutive, smoothly-flowing manner in which he followed up to its completion, however lengthened, a metaphor or simile. It was one of the most remarkable characteristics of his eloquence, and many beautiful and striking examples of it occur in his addresses in 1824.

In that year there was a considerable amount of agrarian outrage in the Southern and Western Counties of Ireland, particularly in Limerick. Land-jobbing and Land-exactions, together with Tithes, were the main cause. These outrages Mr. O'Connell denounced in a forcible manner, at a great Catholic meeting in the City of Limerick. He spoke then, as he was always accustomed to do, on that painful subject, with the utmost abhorrence against the murderous crimes committed, and with thrilling denunciation of the criminals, whose acts then as at all times retarded the cause of Ireland. However much he has been maligned and libelled during a long career of political strife, no one could presume to deny, that his utmost efforts were not exerted to make peace, and order, and morality, the foundation of every struggle for redress. He had an irrepressible horror of secret associations. The basis of his agitation was publicity. His every act was patent. This was the instrument and secret of his primary success; for where justice is alone looked for, public opinion is the wisest and most effective advocate.

The Citizens of Cork were always attached to O'Connell. They had early taken their stand with vigour and determination against the Veto, and they were grateful to him for his powerful resistance to that dangerous restriction. Self-interest, as a Barrister, and his position in society, were seductive temptations to join the ranks of the Catholic Aristocracy, who were desirous of making terms with the Government to obtain political power. But he was steadfast to his religion and his country. The Cork people were with him in his opposition to any compromise, and this was the foundation of their subsequent and unceasing attachment. In 1824, they gave him their first public entertainment. His reception then, and on a previous occasion, when the Catholics met in the month of April, showed in an unmistakeable manner how much he had won their confidence and affections. The dinner was in a style of great splendour, creditable to his entertainers, and honourable to him. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of his reception on that occasion.

Independently of his past services, and of his late exertions in the Catholic Association, there were other peculiarly exciting causes this year to light up the popular enthusiasm. As we have said already, party feeling never before ran so high. The growing wealth, influence and power of the Catholics, acting on the jealous, domineering spirit of Orangeism, produced this exacerbation on the side of the Ascendency party. O'Connell was engaged in extracting its fangs, and its resistance caused the most violent contentions. The Kildare Street Society, too, was using every effort to corrupt the religious principles of the poor. Proselytism became so much in vogue, that the Catholic Clergy were left no alternative but to resist by every means the

insidious attempts of the society. For this they were charged with endeavouring, for their own purpose, to keep the people in a state of ignorance. The statement produced a controversy that added much to the politico-religious excitement then existing. Again, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. MAGEE, had countenaced and justified the prohibition of the Catholic burial service in the Church-yards of Dublin. This produced deep exasperation in the minds of the people. The Archbishop asserted that the law gave no option to his Clergy; because it enacted that no Ritual but the Protestant could be read over the dead in these burial grounds. The subject being brought under the notice of Parliament by Sir JOHN NEWPORT, the Government introduced a bill allowing the Catholic service to be celebrated, on obtaining from the Protestant Incumbent previous permission. The exasperation was only aggravated by the bill. Mr. O'CONNELL gave it as his opinion, that the law sanctioned an injustice and an insult which, could not before be legally inflicted. As he stated it, in a long and elaborate exposition—the common law clearly never prohibited the reading of the Catholic Ritual in Churchyards; for it was in Catholic times these unwritten laws obtained existence; and he asserted, as a lawyer, that no prohibition was enacted by any statute law. The new act, therefore, under pretence of remedying an evil, only added insult to injury. It was, we believe, arising out of this controversy, that the Rev. Mr. MATHEW, the present great Apostle of Temperance, took the Botanic Gardens, near Cork, for a Roman Catholic Cemetery, which has since become the place of interment for citizens of every rank and station.

This and controversies of a similar nature, adding to the spirit of party which was then abroad, spread in-

creased enthusiasm among the people, with regard to O'CONNELL, by whom so prominent a part was taken in the conflict. Another circumstance, which in the course of the year occurred in Cork, gave peculiar energy to the attachment felt towards their Leader by the citizens and people. The HIBERNIAN SOCIETY, established originally for the simple purpose of promoting education—became, after a while, deeply imbued with a passion for proselytism. The fact being ascertained, it was at once determined to expose and curb its designs. There were then travelling through Ireland, deputed by the Evangelicals of England, to convert the "benighted Irish," two personages of rather remarkable characteristics. One was a fashionable young aristocrat—an enthusiastic scion of nobility, the Honourable Mr. NOEL, who afterwards became sick of the adventure. His *confrere* was a Navy Captain, a Scotchman—Mr. GORDON, afterwards Lord RODEN's nominee for the Borough of Dundalk. In their perambulations they visited Cork, in September, 1824. The HIBERNIAN SOCIETY received them, and determined to hold a meeting to hear these eloquent lay-propagators of the word. The Catholics were equally anxious to attend. The meeting took place, and there were two adjournments; so intense was the curiosity and interest excited by the discussion. The speakers were, NOEL, GORDON, and the celebrated Mr. POPE, on one side; BRIC, SHIEL, O'CONNELL and the Rev. Mr. FALVEY, P.P., of Glanmire on the other. These names alone are quite sufficient to convey to the reader an idea of the interesting nature of a discussion, conducted and maintained by men of so much celebrity. When O'CONNELL entered the assembly the first day, Capt. GORDON was addressing the meeting. He was in the act of communicating, in his peculiar Scotch dialect, the marvellous in-

formation, "that the object of the HIBERNIAN SOCIETY "by distributing the *Beeble*, was to make the *female* "peesantry" of Ireland moral *men*. O'CONNELL, while pushing his way to a seat, shouted out with a triumphant laugh, "*Female* peasantry! moral *men*! Oh! that would never happen but in Ireland!" Of course a roar of laughter followed; and the Captain was, for a time at least, thrown off his centre. O'CONNELL, undertook to reply specially to Mr. POPE, who was deeply read in the Fathers, and professed to prove the truth of his religious opinions from those ancient doctors of the Christian Faith. He was a strenuous advocate for the circulation of the Bible, without note or comment. He seemed on that occasion to be an admirer of the great AUGUSTINE. Probably, because the JANSENIST schism, in PASCAL's time, was founded upon some distorted passages in his writings. Mr. O'CONNELL astonished every one by his familiar knowledge and ready use of Scriptural passages, and his acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers. It was surmised, and said, that he was well briefed by his Clerical friends, before he went to the meeting. This, in some measure, was probably quite true; but, undoubtedly, neither MILNER's "End of Controversy," nor a volume of texts would have enabled him to meet, with such telling effect, the arguments of so well prepared a controversialist as the Rev. Mr. POPE.—O'CONNELL's own previous reading, and a well-stored and ready memory, enabled him to encounter triumphantly his clerical antagonist. In one branch of his subject, nothing could be more powerful than his reply. He turned his own favorite Father, AUGUSTINE, against Mr. POPE's argument in support of internal evidence, in the Bible, of divine revelation. "I would not," says St. AUGUSTINE, "believe the Bible itself, without the authority of the

Church." This short quotation had an electric effect on the meeting, and assisted him greatly in overthrowing all Mr. POPE'S arguments against Catholic doctrine.

We look in vain through SHIEL'S speech, for the brilliancy and point which characterized his party and political orations. The controversy was an appropriate field for eloquence; but he was not at home there. It was not suited to his genius, nor was his knowledge of the subject matter under discussion sufficiently profound to enable him to mould the subject to his own genius, as he would a political topic. His bright sabre and his fiery spirit always won for him triumphs in a party *melee*; but he wanted the heavy artillery, which deep reading furnishes, to be as distinguished as, from his talents, he deserved, in the war of polemics. It may be that his fine and pointed sentences—his antitheses—his epigrams—his keen hits were not taken by the reporter; it may be that he did not report his own speech. If so, we can account for our disappointment with his speech on this occasion—for no reporter in those days—nay, even at the present, could take correctly the finished, elaborated sentences of this accomplished rhetorician. Mr. BRIC'S was a better, as it was a far longer, speech, though he was much below SHIEL as an orator. BRIC was a fluent, common-sense, and very popular speaker. Though a young man whose career terminated prematurely, his memory is to this moment revered by the Irish people. O'CONNELL was affectionately attached to him. On this occasion he made himself up for the discussion, and was eminently successful. The most brilliant of the speeches was, however, that of the Rev. Mr. FALVEY, at present the gifted and much respected Pastor of Glanmire Parish, near Cork. The meeting at the time created universal attention. But no conclusion was arrived at, and it was in due course forgotten.

These are the circumstances peculiar to 1824, and to the city of Cork, which account for the enthusiastic manner in which O'Connell was received. Mr. Shiel, too, had become a favorite. His errors on the Veto were forgiven. Nothing but his striking eloquence was now dwelt on. About this period, he, too, was entertained by the Citizens of Cork—in consideration of his recent co-operation with O'Connell. In fact, the whole community was in a ferment, and every thing and person ministering to the excitement, was received with ardour and gratification.

Mr. O'Connell was also entertained in Dublin, Waterford, and Kilkenny. In the latter town he experienced the same reception to which he was subsequently accustomed in all the great towns of Ireland. The Trades, with flags and banners, went out to meet him; and, like the Roman Conquerers of old, a gorgeous procession was formed to do him honor. In short, day after day, he was accumulating that veneration and loyalty which afterwards entitled him to the appellation of the Uncrowned Monarch of Ireland. It is worthy of notice that, throughout the whole of this struggle for Religious Liberty, he always stated that to Parliamentary Reform, in the first instance, and then to the Repeal of the Union, he was entirely devoted; because the one would produce Emancipation, and the other National Regeneration.—This was in substance the language he used at the Cork dinner in 1824; and proves, beyond question, that statement false which asserted the existence of an understanding, that all agitation should cease after Emancipation was granted. Indeed, he never ceased to proclaim that the only measure for achieving Ireland's regeneration, was the Repeal of the Legislative Union.

Mr. O'Connell was, from a very early period of his career, subject to the grossest and most calumnious at-

tacks. Calumny seemed almost the atmosphere in which he lived. He was himself vehement, and at times unmeasured in his language. In fact he had a total disregard of persons, when a public question was at issue, or when they came publicly into collision with himself. One with such a temperament, and so determined as a public man to hew his way thro' every impediment, could not escape retaliation. Accordingly, early in his political life, he became "the best abused man in Europe." In 1824, two attempts were made, one to affect his popularity, the other his integrity. The Orange party was this year very virulent. The extraordinary agitation he had set on foot, through the agency of the Catholic Association, and by means of the Catholic Rent, exposed him more than ever to the attacks of the Orange Press. The *Dublin Correspondent*, which was conducted by TOM TOWNSEND, a Barrister, who was some years previously Editor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, was one of his bitterest antagonists. This Paper came out, in the year 1824, with a statement which it was supposed would crush O'CONNELL for ever, by depriving him altogether of his popularity. O'CONNELL, in 1815, made a speech at an aggregate meeting in Tralee. In the course of his observations he spoke of NAPOLEON'S fame, as erected more securely and permanently on his civil code, than on his victories in the field. He, while describing the administration of the laws in France, previous to the enactment of this code, drew a picture of the state of justice in Ireland. By inuendo, every time he mentioned France, he adverted to Ireland. He compared Judge DAY, crouching beneath Castle influence, to a goose trying to get under a gate-way. Mr. O'CONNELL sent to the office of the *Mercantile Chronicle*, a copy of his speech. At that time Mr. HALY was no longer the registered proprietor. He had fallen into embarrassed circumstances, and Mr. ENGLAND, after-

wards Bishop of Charleston, became the proprietor, for the benefit of HALY's widow and family. But his name was not registered as proprietor, and when the ATTORNEY-GENERAL determined to prosecute, the only person in his power was the registered printer, Mr. HARDING TRACY, who, though a foreman printer of the *Mercantile Chronicle*, was of strong Tory connexions. The very day after the speech was published, it was spoken of as likely to attract the attention of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL, Mr. SAURIN, and directions were given by Mr. ENGLAND to destroy the manuscript. Every sheet was carefully destroyed but one. One of the printers in the establishment had been employed in printing cards for some person, and when he completed the order, he took one of the sheets of the manuscript to fold the cards in, and sent the parcel to the person for whom the cards were prepared. This sheet, the printer, who is at present a most respectable tradesman in Cork, Mr. HIGGINS, afterwards got back, but it was torn and illegible. It was therefore not possible that any evidence could be given against Mr. O'CONNELL.—HARDING TRACY was prosecuted, convicted, and sentenced to two years imprisonment. Part of this sentence was afterwards remitted; he remained in Gaol from May to December, 1816. Mr. O'CONNELL paid the costs of the trial, and during his imprisonment, TRACY was paid his wages at the *Mercantile Chronicle* office, by direction of Mr. O'CONNELL. His son, who was an apprentice there, had his wages raised. Mr. ENEAS M'DONNELL was then confined in Newgate, for the libel published in the *Dublin Chronicle*, against the Tipperary Special Commission. Mr. O'CONNELL did not wish SAURIN should know that he was doing any thing for TRACY, otherwise the full imprisonment might have been inflicted. There were hopes also that he would be afterwards employed on the *Correspondent*, if the impres-

sion existed that he was badly treated by O'CONNELL. For HARDING TRACY'S own sake, O'CONNELL concealed what he did for him. He sent him a bed, and he arranged with Mr. M'DONNELL that he should dine with him in prison. Mr. M'DONNELL got some cases of type into the jail, and TRACY was employed by him as compositor for the *Dublin Chronicle*. On the whole, during his imprisonment, he received over four pounds a week. Yet, will it be believed, that in 1824, after TRACY'S death, seven years after his imprisonment, and after having frequently received sums of money from O'CONNELL, the virulence of faction induced the *Correspondent*—on which paper TRACY was employed after his imprisonment, as was also his son, GEORGE TRACY—to come out with a charge against Mr. O'CONNELL, of having allowed the poor man to pine in jail, and to lie on straw—of letting his family starve—and of refusing him, when he came out of prison, all assistance; though TRACY had it in his power, it was confidently asserted, by the possession of some sheets of the manuscript, to have implicated O'CONNELL and cleared himself. GEORGE TRACY, the son, stimulated by the party, endeavoured to establish this case against O'CONNELL, but without effect. It was an utter failure; and, as respects the manuscript, we have Mr. HIGGINS'S authority to say it was all destroyed. Still the charge was reiterated with the utmost bitterness. Such was the rancour with which O'CONNELL was pursued—such the foundation for the malevolent attacks to which he was systematically subjected. HARDING TRACY, on his return to Cork afterwards, when catechised by his brother Printers on the subject, admitted that he had nothing to complain of at the hands of Mr. O'CONNELL. This he expressed at Mr. HALY'S own dinner table.

At the death of Dr. ENGLAND, there was published in New York, a brief biography of that celebrated Prelate. The following is the version which the writer of that sketch gives of the transaction of which we have furnished the correct version.

"At another time, the mighty "Agitator," who, in these latter days, has been permitted to combat like Joshua, successfully in the plain, while his consecrated ally could only lift his hands in prayer, as he looked on from the sacred mount to which God had called him, went into the office, during the absence of the editor, and wrote a scorching article. A judicial inquiry was instantly commenced. The only person in the office who could identify O'CONNELL's hand-writing was a Protestant journeyman who had set up the piece, but who was "true as steel" to the secrets of the establishment.—The law rendered the editor liable, in default of proof of the actual author; but, by a most providential circumstance, the official certificate of editorship, which was a necessary link in the chain of proof against him, had been cancelled that very day, by the officer of the crown, for some supposed defect; and, while another was being prepared, the paper was uncertified, through the act of the government itself, and Mr. ENGLAND escaped. But the poor journeyman fared not so well. He was committed to prison, and for many months his family were supported by the liberals, till at last some unsuspected lounger about the courts, happening to overhear that the man was only detained for the purpose of annoying the Catholics, and wasting their scanty means, they ventured to "stop the supplies," and their faithful agent was forthwith set at liberty."

The next instance was a charge, that he held in his hands, unaccounted for, a sum of over six hundred

pounds sterling, belonging to the old Association, while there were pecuniary claims pressing on Mr. HAY, the late Secretary of the Catholic Body, which were not discharged, and debts due of other parties—to Mr. HUGH FITZPATRICK, for instance, the father of that estimable Irishman, O'CONNELL's bosom friend, P. V. FITZPATRICK. His answer to this charge shows how accurately the accounts were kept. The balance stated by Mr. HAY, as in his hands, was paid off by checks on FRENCH & Co's. Bank, and every payment carefully vouched. This was always O'CONNELL's practice; and it enabled him successfully to repel all the base attacks made on his honor and integrity. In truth, it was idle to endeavour, by such attacks, to wound his fame. He never was a money-worshipper. Fast as it flowed into him, it went from him just as rapidly, not for his own wants and luxuries, but to assist and serve others. Every one who knows the history of his private life, has heard of his entanglement in the affairs of a respectable shopkeeper in a neighbouring county. He became involved in them to the amount of several thousand pounds, some years before the period of which we now write, and all solely to oblige a friend for whom he felt a special partiality. So blind and unlimited was his confidence in this friend, that to assist him in business, he used leave with him blank acceptances. These were filled at his discretion, and a number of them, embracing several thousand pounds, found their way into the possession of a gentleman belonging to the Society of Friends, who resided in Dublin. This gentleman behaved in a noble manner to O'CONNELL. It appears that exclusive of the amount of his acceptances, held by the party spoken of, others had been passed for goods to English manufacturers. When the goods came over to Dublin, this

gentleman laid a detainer on them, for Mr. O'Connell, and thus enabled him to get out of his engagements with the English houses, without heavy loss. The Dublin House did more. They held over his acceptances in their hands, consented to receive £6,000, and to take the remainder by instalments. Mr. O'Connell was then entirely dependent on his professional income. It is said that the Dublin Corporation offered these gentlemen, to whom he was thus indebted, £24,000 for their claim. This, we should think, is an idle and unfounded story, based on the known hatred of that body for our Illustrious Countryman. We mention these circumstances, to show that money never was an object of consideration with him; and his subsequent history, even to his death, proves that however ample his income, the numerous public claims on him, ever kept his purse light indeed. It deserves to be told that, during the whole period, he had to struggle against the pecuniary difficulties in which this too generous confidence involved him, his equanimity was unruffled. His professional avocations, and his political agitation were not for a moment suspended or neglected; and to this day, with the exception of a few friends, and the residents near the scene of this transaction, none know that such a visitation troubled him during his career.

It may be opportune here to state, that O'Connell was remarkable at the bar for his knowledge of accounts—and of book-keeping—a knowledge in which the profession are generally deficient. He could unravel the most complicated accounts, and many a witness who attempted to mystify mercantile dealings, has been detected and exposed by the acuteness and perfect mastery of the matter possessed by O'Connell.

In the meantime, the Catholic Association advanced in public estimation. Meetings were held throughout the

Country to organise the Catholic Rent. Collectors were appointed in every parish, who enthusiastically devoted themselves to the sacred cause. The money began to be funded, and there was every appearance of a formidable resistance to injustice. The Association was charged with organizing a system of disaffection throughout Ireland. Mr. BROWNLOW, afterwards, in 1825, so famed for his political conversion, brought the subject before the House of Commons, and denounced the Association as a formidable instrument of revolution and insurrection. On the other hand, the Association was not idle. It petitioned for the disarming of the Northern Orangemen, who were using the weapons the laws allowed them, for murderous purposes—for shooting unoffending Catholics. The distinction, in this respect, between the treatment of the Catholic people, and the Orangemen, exemplified the celebrated saying of Lord REDESDALE, that "there was in Ireland one law for the rich and another "for the poor." Insurrection and Whiteboy and Curfew laws were the curatives for their complaints; while the turbulent worshippers of the "glorious and immortal" WILLIAM, were allowed to go at large at all times, and when fully armed and burning with vengeance against their Catholic neighbours. Thus was Ireland governed. It was then that the fastidious PEEL declared, "that in "truth he began to nauseate at Irish affairs." But the Catholics persevered. Their petition was entrusted to the great Reformer, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. COBBETT, too, lent at this time his powerful pen in sustentation of their cause. The Marquis of WELLESLEY, throwing off the shackles, in which Orange GOULBURN, his Chief Secretary, would confine him, determined as far as the law allowed him, to give office to the Catholics. The present Insolvent Commissioner, Mr.

Farrell, was the first Catholic Assistant Barrister appointed in Ireland. Thus, as far as the Lord Lieutenant was concerned, a liberal spirit reigned in Dublin Castle. But, unhappily for Ireland, there was a power behind the vice-throne greater than the Viceroy. Goulburn was Lord of the ascendant. It was at his instance, that O'Connell, towards the close of the year, was arrested by Alderman Darley. But we shall dwell more at length on that subject when we enter on 1825. We have simply to remark here, that Mr. O'Connell, notwithstanding the excitement which his arrest created, would not permit the Association to make the slightest remark on the subject—so anxious was he to show his deference, in his own person, to the laws of his country.

The reader has, doubtless, often heard of Mr. O'Connell's Uncle, Maurice O'Connell. From him he inherited, in 1825, Darrynane Abbey, and an income of at least £4,000 a-year; the tenure of a part of which, Hartop's property, has terminated with his life. This gentleman was known in Kerry by the name of "Hunting Cap," on account of his always appearing with that part of the sportsman's costume. He was an exceedingly clever man, and from the period of his coming of age, to within a few years of his death, was always invited on the Grand Jury of his County. But age and total blindness obliged him to give up public occupations. He was never married, and, as a matter of course, became peculiar in some of his habits. He was most kind and hospitable to the humbler classes. No matter from what quarter the wayfarer, be he farmer, dealer, or labourer, approached the mansion at Darrynane, he met a hearty Irish welcome, and was permitted to prolong his sojourn to a period limited only by his own sense of propriety. No question was permitted to be put to him by any of the domestics, as to the

time of his arrival, or the probable day of his departure. The epithet of "Hunting Cap," had its origin in the reluctance evinced by the wearer to pay a tax imposed, at one period of our history, on beaver hats; to avoid which he betook himself to the VELVET CAP, which is thus indissolubly connected with his name and memory. We introduce his name now to our readers, because of a very remarkable letter which, at the close of 1824, he wrote, or rather dictated, to the Catholic Association. He was then in his ninety-sixth year, and quite blind. But the strong intellect and wisdom, exhibited in that letter, were very striking. He sent in his subscription as a member, and called on the body to persevere steadily, fearlessly, but with moderation; and he pledged his word —it was a prophecy—that they must succeed.

We shall introduce here a letter, written by the LIBERATOR, in which he makes reference to the one emanating from his Uncle. It embodies some personal characteristics that, described by him, must be considered truthful and interesting.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE SOUTHERN REPORTER.

"Darrynane Abbey, November 19, 1839.

"SIR,—You have taken from a Kerry Newspaper, and published a letter of Mr. HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT, respecting a statement made by me at the late meeting in Killarney. That letter does, on the face of it, contain, I do think, about as much presumptuous absurdity as could well be stuffed together in so small a space.

"To make this plain, I will just state the facts.

"At the meeting in question, I was tracing the atrocities of the Irish Orange faction in former days. I specified amongst others, the law which had been passed, in violation of the Treaty of Limerick, and by which, if a Catholic purchased an estate, paying the price, any Pro-

testant could, by law, take away the estate from the Catholic, and leave him at the total loss of both the estate and of his purchase money.

"Mr. HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT does not venture to deny, that this was the state of the Law when I was born, and for some years after; although he had a deep interest in denying it, if he could, as he belongs to the political *party* who would re-enact that law, if they had the power; although *he*, individually, might oppose its re-enactment.

"To illustrate the mischief of that law, I stated what I had repeatedly heard from my uncle, the late Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL, of Darrynane. It was precisely this —that when the estate of "Tomies on the Lake," was offered for sale, he agreed to purchase it, and had the purchase money ready; and that thereupon the ancestor of the present Mr. HERBERT, sent him a communication to this effect,—that if he (my uncle), became the purchaser, he, Mr. HERBERT, would immediately file a bill of discovery (that was the technical name of the mode of legal plunder) against my uncle, and deprive him of the estate. So that my uncle would have in that case lost his money and his land. On this communication, my uncle, of course, withdrew from the purchase. Mr. HERBERT afterwards became the buyer of the estate, at a sum considerably less than my uncle was to have given for it.

"Such was the statement which my uncle frequently made. It was with him a common illustration of the working of the iniquitous Penal Laws. Such was the statement I made at Killarney upon his authority. If born at the time of the transaction, I was quite too young to have known any of the facts of my own knowledge. I therefore took them and told them on his authority. That authority no man who knew my revered uncle would or could doubt.

"He died in his 96th year, in 1825. He carried with him to the age of close upon a century, all the clearness of a powerful intellect; and what is still more rare—all the tenderness of a most affectionate heart. In the year before he died he wrote a splendid letter to the Catholic Association, in which he distinctly alluded to this very transaction.

"He was a man of the most singular accuracy of intellect, and of the highest order of integrity. In Kerry, every body knows that he was a Magistrate and Deputy-Governor of the County, so soon as Catholics could hold the Commission—that he was a Grand Juror from the same period until, in his eighty-sixth year, he ceased to attend the Assizes—that he was a man esteemed by every one who knew him. Why should such a man invent what in that case would have been a gross calumny? He had no object to gain by it. He entertained no resentment to the individual—he only blamed the law.—On the contrary, he said that Mr. Herbert had behaved fairly to him, in cautioning him *before hand*. Others would have allowed him to purchase, and then have taken the property without any price, as the law would have then enabled them to do. He entertained no hostility, whatsoever, to Mr. HERBERT or his family. On the contrary, this young gentleman's grandfather stood several contests for the representation of Kerry; my uncle supported him in every one of these contests, and was always on the most friendly terms with the HERBERT family.

Mr. O'CONNELL then proceeds to comment on the matter in dispute between him and Mr. HERBERT, and concludes:—

"I have the honor to be,

"Your faithful servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

Towards the close of 1824, a warm discussion arose among the Catholics, upon the measures to be adopted for obtaining Emancipation. At a meeting of the Association it was contended that "a sense of justice would soon work it out in England." "Let it be recollected," said O'Connell in this discussion, "that nations have no "sense of justice;" and the English, if possible, less than any. We have an example of that, which defies all comparison. The English Catholics have been powerless for centuries, tho' loyal even to slavishness. They have nothing of a mob character about them. As far as their numbers go, they represent as much wealth, station, and intellectual cultivation as England can boast of. They are interwoven, by reason of their station, with the highest non-Catholic families of the country; and yet, with all these advantages, they are so incapable of exacting justice for themselves, that the highest among them, the Duke of Norfolk, Premier Duke of England, cannot be a Magistrate. The Irish Catholics are, on the contrary, luckily for themselves, millions; and thus rendered too formidable to be trifled with. A sop is occasionally thrown to them for the purpose of mitigating their hostility, and notwithstanding the allegation, and possibly the belief, that we are not only tumultuary but disloyal, the adverse party has felt itself compelled to grant us many of those privileges that are withheld from our brethren of England, whose condition otherwise stands in such contrast with ours." Thus, on the maxim laid down by Saurin, that agitation was the necessary price paid for liberty, did O'Connell always act in the conduct of Catholic affairs; for he felt that policy was necessary to wrest justice from a reluctant Parliament.

We mentioned that the year 1824 must be held ever memorable, because of the results that flowed from the

proceedings of that year. The organization of the Catholic Rent won Emancipation, and may ultimately prove to have been the precursor of Legislative Independence. But of this hereafter. The year 1825, with the events of which we have now to deal, offers incidents of even more thrilling and absorbing interest. The preceding year closed with the arrest of Mr. O'CONNELL, in his own house, for language said to have been uttered by him in one of his speeches—one which he denied to have delivered, as it appeared in the newspaper, on the evidence of whose Reporter the prosecution was instituted. Instead of an intimation from the Magistrates that such informations were tendered, and a request that he would attend in the Police Court, to face his accuser, the informations were taken in his absence. He was refused a copy of them; the sanctuary of his home was violated, and he was put under arrest in the midst of his family. This occurred in 1824. The next year opened with the proceedings before the Grand Jury. He was prosecuted for a "hypothesis;—for saying that "IF Ireland were driven mad by persecution, she would find, like South America, another BOLIVAR." Even this hypothesis was not correctly put; and no accurate evidence of the words he used could be adduced. The Reporters of the different newspapers, with the exception of one who, reported for *Saunders' News Letter*, and on whose report the prosecution was founded, acted nobly.—They refused to give any information whatever. They said they were not sent to these meetings to become informers; and no threats, no legal terrors, nor other appliances, would induce them to deviate from the path of honor. In those days, the witnesses were sworn in open court, and some amusing incidents occurred on this occasion. One anecdote we cannot omit. Mr.

O'Connell, full of professional business, came into Court. The anxious public, by whom it was crowded to inconvenience, naturally supposed that he was there about his own case. During the swearing of one of the witnesses against him, and who to the amusement of the Court was about to tender his evidence on the table, instead of before the Grand Jury. Mr. O'Connell rose; a buzz of interest went through the crowd; then all was, in a moment, silent. The "Counsellor" simply made an unimportant motion for some obscure client, which was readily granted; and the learned gentleman sat down, to the mingled disappointment and wonder of the excited crowd. However, they were, after a long suspense, relieved from all anxiety. In sending the bills to the Grand Jury, the Judge told them "That before they found them, they should be "satisfied the words were uttered, and if uttered, by "whom, and with what intent." A witness was sent before the Grand Jury to sustain the indictment, but his evidence was a miserable failure; the recollection of which, brings to mind proceedings of a similar character, mixed up with state prosecutions against O'Connell in latter times, and with the same convenient instruments. The witness was a Reporter on *Saunders' News Letter*. On being called into the Grand Jury Room, to prove the expressions—having been closely questioned, he was driven to admit that he was "*asleep*" when the alleged seditious passage was uttered by O'Connell; and on being awakened by a blow given on the table, he asked the person near him, "what caused the noise," and from what that person told him, he made his report accordingly for *Saunders'*, as if he had heard it himself. Upon this admission, the Foreman sent him out of the room, not considering him entitled to credit. Such was the foundation for the first Govern-

ment prosecution against O'CONNELL—the first official assault on the Catholic agitation. The Grand Jury, on a division of eight to fifteen, threw out the Bills ; and Mr. O'CONNELL returned to his home, amidst the enthusiastic shouting of the people.

The conduct of PLUNKETT, on this occasion, deserves to be reprobated. He had no justification for taking this step. O'CONNELL's language, even if correctly reported, afforded no just grounds for prosecution, on the part of a Constitutional Attorney-General. Who doubts that if a people are oppressed, and the laws of the land tyrannically abrogated, that they may resist the oppressors. The existence of this right is the bulwark of the Constitution. Its exercise drove the STUARTS from the throne of England, and gave the reigning family the sceptre of this empire. Yet O'CONNELL's hypothesis did not go so far as this—neither was it one half so spicy and energetic as that used by PLUNKETT himself during the discussions on the Union. "IF," he said, "there were "English connexion on the one hand, and Irish freedom "on the other, I would fling the connexion to the "winds, and hug the independence of my country."— Yet this was the man, the eloquent and powerful advocate of Catholic rights, who ventured on the dangerous experiment of prosecuting O'CONNELL on a HYPOTHESIS. Why did he do this ? Some of the English papers hinted that the object was to prevent O'CONNELL going over with a Catholic deputation, to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons, in favour of Catholic Emancipation. That is not a probable conjecture. For as subsequent events will prove, PLUNKETT could have had no such feeling. No, the abortive prosecution originated in the unhappy policy that was then beginning to guide a divided Cabinet, and even to this day spoils the best

intentions of the Government in Ireland—the policy of "giving a triumph to neither party." That policy was a change for the better, but it was puerile and weak. The Orangemen were prosecuted, and they became deadly foes of the Irish Government. Some of the leading men in Parliament joined their ranks and took their secret oaths. It was necessary to try, with them, conciliation; to assail friends, in order to pacify enemies; and to show extra impartiality, by discountenancing the Catholic Association, and prosecuting its Leader. Thus we must construe the policy of PLUNKETT. It was, as it deserved to be, an utter and entire failure. Equally ridiculous as the Bottle Prosecution, it was far more injurious to his fame. To show the interest which this proceeding at the time excited, we extract from some of the London Journals of the day, their remarks upon these unprecedented proceedings against O'CONNELL.

"A very silly measure says *the Morning Chronicle*, has been resorted to in Dublin—the arrest of Mr. O'CONNELL, for an expression in a speech at a meeting of the Catholic Association. Mr. O'CONNELL is too skilful a Lawyer to hazard any expressions that would bring him in contact with the law. The following passage, in a report of his speech in *Saunders' News Letter*, is said to be the foundation of this proceeding:—'Nations have,' he remarked, "been driven mad by oppression—he hoped that Ireland would never be driven to resort to the system pursued by the Greeks and South Americans to obtain their rights; he trusted in God they would never be so driven. He hoped Ireland would be restored to her rights; but, if that day should arrive—if she were driven mad by persecution, he wished that a new BOLIVAR may be found—may arise—that the spirit of the Greeks, and of the South Americans, may animate the people of Ireland.'

"That in a country ruled over by a King, who owes his title to a Dutchman, who invaded it with a powerful army, which enabled an oppressed people to expel their reigning Monarch, it should be deemed seditious to declare, that, if oppression ever justified a recurrence to force, he hoped a suitable leader might not be wanting, is what we are utterly unable to apprehend. Why good God, what is the burden of Mr. LOCKE's famous book on Government, which was long the manual of the HANOVER family, but that nations may rise against their rulers whenever they are oppressed? We all know what this means; that those who rise, but do not succeed, are beheaded, hanged, and shot; while those who do succeed have an indisputable title. Mr. O'CONNELL, in expressing this conditional wish, only followed the example of every popular orator in the country, since the days when the passive obedience and non-resistance doctrines were first condemned by authority.

"It is curious enough that a passage of this nature should have been selected for prosecution, while no notice whatever has been taken of the downright provocation to an act of rebellion by Sir HARCOURT LEES. In a passage from a letter of the Baronet, inserted in the *Chronicle* of yesterday, it is said — 'In the event of the Irish Government not being permitted by the infatuated and ignorant Cabal of his Majesty's Cabinet (who have degraded the British Empire, and nearly lost Ireland by their temporising policy) to adopt such immediate measures for the preservation of this country as the exigency of the times requires, I will, at every risk, take the responsibility on myself of protecting this Island for my venerated Sovereign; and I will instantly recommend to the Protestants of Ulster to form a great military Confederation, should this despica-

ble Cabinet system be persevered in two months longer, I will consider it to be my duty, as your acknowledged Protector, to pass in review the entire Protestant force of Ulster early in March; by which period I shall arrange such a military organization for the Province, as shall render it a matter of perfect indifference to me, whether Mr. GEO. CANNING and the Popish GRENVILLES choose to protect us or to join the Priests.'

"This is the most audacious threat ever held out to any Government. Who, before, in this or any other country, ever dared to tell the Government, if you do not change your course I will organize a military force to do what you refuse to do? Yet this is all taken in good part, while a sentiment of Mr. O'CONNELL, against which no valid objection can be urged, is selected for prosecution! —" The Government have been hard pushed when they resorted to such a pitiful measure, which will produce a very different effect from that which its contrivers calculated on. The Catholics know better than to afford any handle for the violent steps on which the souls of the Orangemen are bent. If blood is to be shed, they will remain passive; because open resistance on their part would at this time be unavailing. Never was there less of violence than at this time in Ireland, and all the efforts of the Orange Faction to involve them have completely failed."

"We have given," observes the London *Globe and Traveller*, "from the Dublin Papers, received this morning, further accounts of the proceedings taken against Mr. O'CONNELL. *Saunders' News Letter* has collected the different versions, given by the Dublin Papers, of the words on which it is understood that the proceedings against Mr. O'CONNELL are founded. We say *understood*; for though Mr. O'CONNELL has been held to bail, he has not

been favoured with a copy of the informations. There seems the greater reason for this backwardness, as the ATTORNEY-GENERAL has held him to bail first, and set the Magistrates to collect evidence afterwards.

"According to any of the versions in the Dublin Papers, the *corpus delicti* that can be established against Mr. O'CONNELL is very trifling. His wish for a BOLIVAR was certainly hypothetical. Sir HARCOURT LEES might as well be prosecuted for his letter. If your throats are cut any night, (says Sir HARCOURT LEES to his Orange friends) make the best of your way to the nearest military station. If we are driven mad by oppression, says Mr. O'CONNELL, I hope we shall act as becomes reasonable men.

"The *Courier* very properly calls this "a daring insinuation." We should therefore recommend a prosecution for insinuation. The Jurors of our Lord the KING. on their oaths, might present that DANIEL O'CONNELL, being an insinuating person, and wishing to insinuate himself into the good graces of a certain meeting, &c., had spoken certain insinuating words—to wit, &c.—There would be more sense in this, than in a prosecution for sedition.

"It is curious, however, to think that the person who prosecutes is Mr. PLUNKETT, than whom no one is more open to recrimination on the score of hypothetical violence. Our readers, and Mr. PLUNKETT himself, perhaps, as his memory may not be stronger than his discretion, will be surprised when they see the following passage from the Irish Attorney-General's speeches. Mr. PLUNKETT, in the House of Commons, on the 23d of January, 1799, speaking of the project of the Union—a measure which we all know afterwards passed—used the following words :—"For my own part, I shall resist it

" to the last gasp of my existence, and *with the last drop* " *of my blood*; and when I feel the hour of my dissolution " approaching, I will, like the father of HANNIBAL, take " my children to the altar, and swear them to eternal " hostility against the invaders of their country's free- " dom." Again, on the 15th of May, 1791, he says— " I warn the Ministers of this country against persever- " ing in their present system; let them not proceed to " offer further violence to the settled principles, or to " shake the settled loyalty of the country. Let them not " persist in the wicked and desperate doctrine, which " places British connexion in contradiction to Irish pru- " dence. I revere them both. For myself I have no " hesitation in saying, that IF the wanton ambition of a " Minister should assault the freedom of Ireland, and " compel me to the alternative between it and British " connexion, *I would fling that connexion to the winds*, " and I would clasp the independence of my country to " my heart."

" So much for this prosecution of IFS, and insinuations.

" There is something to be said of the form of the proceeding. Mr. O'CONNELL is to be prosecuted by Mr. PLUNKETT before the Dublin Commission. Has not Mr. PLUNKETT himself declared, that at that Commission justice is not to be obtained in any case in which the feelings of the Orange party are concerned?"

" It will be perceived by our extracts from the Dublin papers," says the *Morning Herald*, "that Mr. O'CONNELL has been held to bail for seditious words, alleged to have been spoken by him at the Catholic Association on last Thursday week. There is something singular in the representation given of this affair. The Irish Government is represented as instituting proceedings upon a newspaper report of his speech. Now, even supposing the

Reporter was examined, and pledged himself to the substantial fidelity of the report, yet it would be unsafe to found an indictment upon it. In the first place, the newspaper was evidently hostile and disingenuous; in the next place, the obnoxious passage is a piece of the merest rhodomontade; in the third place, the obnoxious version is solitary in this paper.

"Mr. O'CONNELL is an able as well as practised lawyer, and he knows what stuff Irish juries are made of. Is it possible he could have spoken any thing like this? The only strong *prima facie* circumstance against him is the personal and public character of the Irish Attorney-General. Would Mr. PLUNKETT commit himself and the Government upon idle and insufficient grounds? It is well known, however, that Mr. PLUNKETT is, and has been for some time, harrassed and teased by men of weak heads and heated brains, who think imbecile and uncalled-for violence is vigour. If he has yielded to such, he has committed a fatal error. A suggestion has been thrown out, that Mr. O'CONNELL will be prevented from coming upon his intended mission to the Catholic Associations of England, by the necessity of attending to be tried early in January, at the Dublin Sessions. But this is a petty manœuvre, which Mr. PLUNKETT would reject with disdain."

"It was with some surprise," observes the *British Press*, "that we found the Irish Journals announce the prosecution of Mr. O'CONNELL, upon a charge of uttering seditious words in a late speech at the Catholic Association. Whether true policy required this measure of hostility on the part of the Attorney-General, we must be permitted to doubt. It appears to us, no crisis ever less invited the making any experiment upon the temper of a nation, than does that of Ireland at the present moment."

"The hatchings of the Cabinet," says *The Times*, "on the affairs of Ireland, which we hinted at not many days ago, have thus early burst into life. O'CONNELL has been arrested, and held to bail, for "seditious words!" as the Dublin newspapers of Tuesday and Wednesday last inform us. And what are the seditious words?—that "IF the Irish should ever, which he trust-"ed would not happen; but IF the Irish should ever be "driven mad by persecution—why then he hoped some "new BOLIVAR might be found, and that the spirit of the "Greeks and of the South Americans might animate "the people of Ireland."—And this is sedition! And for this hypothetical effusion, an extempore speaker in a public assembly, under what is called a free constitution, is to be attacked by the King's Attorney General, and prosecuted as if his design was to overthrow the State! We have read the imputed words thrice over; we see nothing in their fair meaning which an honest man may not adopt to the letter. If O'CONNELL be seditious for expressing his hope that, *should* Ireland be driven *mad by persecution*, she may find a patriot to deliver her, then we are his fellows in sedition; for we have the same specific hope for Ireland, IF she be persecuted—for England, IF she be oppressed—for all mankind, in every region of the world, and in every age of the remotest posterity. It is the native prayer of all Englishmen, that oppression, where it does exist, may be opposed and punished. So far as politics went, it was the religion of our forefathers.—What is BOLIVAR but the WASHINGTON of the nineteenth century? What was WILLIAM III., in principle, but the BOLIVAR of the seventeeth century? Resistance to lawless power was the characteristic glory of them all. Do the law officers of the Crown in Ireland dream of getting any but an Orange jury to

convict a British subject for words like those ascribed to Mr. O'Connell? Mr. Plunkett, indeed, knows of what materials such juries are composed, and so far his confidence may not have been rashly placed in them. But, good Heaven! will he descend so low as to make the authors of his own wrongs, his instrument of vengeance against others? The words reported are, as we have said, what no virtuous and intelligent jury can convict upon; they are such as no man who has read the history of the British Constitution, or who is animated by its spirit and principles, need disavow; the measure, therefore, is at once harsh, imbecile, and only not odious, because ridiculous. If this be the commencement of a system of energy—a specimen of the spirit which presided over the late Ministerial incubations; if this be the first chick that breaks the egg-shell, what, in the name of wonder, will be the rest of the brood?"

We cannot better convey to the reader an idea of the excitement which this prosecution created, than by giving at length an eloquent speech of Shiel's at the Association, on the 8th of January, 1825. It is the more deserving of introduction, because it happens to be, though short, one of the most brilliant speeches delivered during the year by that accomplished orator. He rose to move a series of resolutions, in reference to the prosecution. The first resolution was to this effect:—"That the prosecution of Mr. O'Connell had excited the amazement of the whole English public, and was calculated to awaken a stronger feeling than one of mere astonishment in the minds of the people of Ireland."

In moving the resolution he thus expressed himself:—"I congratulate Mr. O'Connell upon his victory, and Mr. Plunkett on his defeat. His success would have been disastrous to the country, and to himself. The

blood of every honest man would have boiled at it. As it is, however, regret is intermingled with the sentiment of displeasure. We lament that Mr. PLUNKETT should have put his enemies to elect, whether they would make a martyr of Mr. O'CONNELL, or a victim of himself. We do not forget the bonds of political cordiality which united Mr. PLUNKETT to the Roman Catholic body. We feel as if we had snatched a poinard from the grasp of an antagonist; and beholding in his face the lineaments of an early friend, instead of turning back the dagger upon his bosom, exclaim, in the accents of mingled reproach and sorrow, "is it thus that you requite us?" God forbid that we should indulge in the language of contumelious triumph, at the failure of a measure which carried its retribution with itself. The weapon which was pointed at us with so deadly a level, has burst in Mr. PLUNKETT'S hands. I hope it has not shattered them. But it is fitting that we should abstain from every ungenerous vaunt. We are not drunk with an absurd and delirious joy. In these political Saturnalia, we do not by any means forget the ignominy of our condition. We are still the underlings of Orange domination. We do not raise our arms in the attitude of triumph, for our fetters are still upon us. They would weigh us down and draw us to the earth. But we owe it at the same time, to the abstract dignity of truth, to record our condemnation more of the measure than of the man. Good God! what motive could have suggested this extravagant proceeding? When Mr. PLUNKETT read the words attributed to Mr O'CONNELL, did he ask himself "What is the provocation given to this man?—Who is he, and what am I? Who is his Majesty's Attorney-General, the Right Honorable WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKETT?" I know not whe-

ther he administered that personal interrogatory to himself; but if he did, this should have been the answer. "I raised myself from a comparatively humble state, by the force of my own talents, to the first eminence in the State. In my profession, I am without an equal. In Parliament, I once had no superior. When out of office, I kindled the popular passions—I was fierce and virulent, and vituperative—at last I have won the object of my life. I am Attorney-General for Ireland. I possess great wealth, great powers, great dignity, and great patronage. If I had been a Roman Catholic, instead of being an enfranchised Presbyterian, what should I have been?" I can tell him. He would have carried "up and down a discontented and repining spirit;" he would have felt like a man with large limbs, who could not stand erect—his vast faculties would have been "cribbed and cabined in;" and how would he have borne his political humiliation? Look at him, and say, how would that lofty forehead have borne the brand of Popery? How would that high demeanour have worn the stoop of the slave?—Would he have been tame and abject, and servile and sycophantic? No! he would have been the chief demagogue; the most angry, tumultuous and virulent tribune of the people—he would have superadded the honest gall of his own nature to the bitterness of political resentment—he would have given utterance to ardent feelings in burning words, and in all the form of passion, he would have gnawed the chain from which he could not break; and is this the man who prosecutes for words? If, (to use a vulgar phrase), the tables were turned; if Mr. O'Connell were Attorney-General, and Mr Plunkett were the great leader of the people; if Anthony were Brutus, and Brutus Anthony, how would the public mind have

been inflamed; what exciting matter would have been flung amongst the people? What lava would have been poured out! "The very stones would rise in mutiny." Would to Heaven, that not only Mr. PLUNKETT, but every other Protestant who deplores our imprudence, in the spirit of a fastidious patronage, would adopt the simple test of nature, and make our case his own; and he would confess, that if similarly situated, he would give vent to his emotions in phrases as exasperated, and participate in the feelings which agitate the great and disfranchised community, to which it would be his misfortune to belong. There is no man of ordinary candour who will not rather intimate his wonder at the moderation than his surprise at the imputed violence of Mr. O'CONNELL. With fortune, rank, and abilities of the first class, enjoying pre-eminence in his profession, and the confidence of his country, he is shut out from honours accessible to persons whom nature intended to place infinitely behind, and whom their religion has advanced before him. If he were to adopt, or if his country, at his suggestion, were to assume the tone which is prescribed to us, the people of England would not believe that we laboured under any substantial grievances. —"I do not believe you," said a celebrated advocate of antiquity to a Citizen who stated to him a case of enormous wrong—"I do not believe you." "Not believe me!" "No!" "What! not believe me. I tell you that my antagonist met me in the public way, seized me by the throat, flung me to the earth, and———" "Hold," exclaimed Demosthenes, "your eye is on fire —your lips begin to quiver—your cheek is flushed with passion—your hand is clenched—I believe you now.— When you first addressed me, you were too calm, too cold, too measured; but now you speak, you look like one

who had sustained a wrong." And are we to speak and act like men who had sustained no wrong? We, six millions of—what shall I say?—Citizens. No! but men who have been flagitiously spoliated of the rights and privileges of British subjects; who are thrown into the mire, cast into utter degradation, and covered with disgrace and shame; upon whom scorn is vented and contumely disgorged; we, who are the victims of legislative plunder; who have been robbed, with worse than Punic perfidy, of privileges which our ancestors had purchased with their blood; which were secured by the faith of treaties and consecrated with all the solemnities of a great national compact? Shall we speak like men who had sustained no wrongs? We are upon our knees; but even in kneeling, an attitude of dignity should be maintained. Shall we ask for the rights of freemen in the language of slaves? May common sense, common feeling, common honour—may every generous principle implanted in our nature; may that God—I do not take his name in vain—may that Power who endowed us with high aspirations, and filled the heart of man with honorable emotion, who made the love of freedom an instinctive wish and unconquerable appetite, may the great author of our being, the creator of the human heart—may God forbid it."

Mr. O'Connell, in speaking after the resolutions were adopted, was exceedingly moderate and conciliatory in his tone. There was no denunciation of the Government. There was rather a simple expression of regret, that they took so unwise a step as prosecuting him for language which was alleged to be "unconstitutional," though not "illegal." Indeed, the whole of this speech is remarkable for its conciliatory tendency. It shows, first, how readily he could place in the back ground his

feelings of personal wrong—though no one ever felt that wrong more keenly—for the sake of his country; and it shows, secondly, he had some reasons to anticipate, during the approaching session of Parliament, that the Catholic cause would triumph; and that, probably, this very prosecution was intended to win over the moderate anti-Catholic party, by exhibiting the determination of the Irish Government, though favorable to Emancipation, to discountenance all attempts of carrying it by any other means than the calm deliberations of Parliament. This is mere conjecture; but, unquestionably, O'Connell's speech, on this occasion, affords ample justification for giving it expression. Or, probably, this conciliatory tone might have arisen from his gratification with the decision a Protestant Grand Jury had come to in his case, indicating so strong a contrast between the bigotry of 1812, and the growing enlightenment of 1825—as far as regarded the general mass of the Protestant community, not of course including the Orange faction. On this part of the subject, he thus remarks in his speech on the prosecution—

"Oh! that Government would have the wisdom to avail themselves of this opportunity of effecting conciliation between all parties, of establishing a permanent and indissoluble union between Catholic and Protestant!—Oh! that they would say to the Catholics of Ireland, "see, your Protestant countrymen have done justice to an active member of your body; we will do you justice. Let Catholics and Protestants embrace in unity and mutual forbearance. Let us commence what would, indeed, be a new era for Ireland. Let everything before the 20th of December be forgotten, and let the act of justice of your Protestant countrymen be the first date in your remembrance."

This Government prosecution leads us to a matter of a somewhat similar nature, which occurred about the same time. We allude to the contemplated prosecution, recommended by O'CONNELL, of the *Courier* Newspaper. It was for a series of gross libels on Maynooth College, and the prosecution was to be carried on at the expense of the Association. It is impossible to condemn too strongly the gross and scandalous—the profligate diatribes of that Journal against the much abused establishment of Maynooth. Yet, it must be confessed that, looking at the transaction at this distance of time, and when a more enlightened feeling regarding the Press prevails, people will, doubtless, altogether disapprove of the step then recommended by O'CONNELL. Prosecution never effected any good, when even levelled against that drawback of free institutions—a LICENTIOUS PRESS. Mr. O'CONNELL soon learned how injudicious were his steps in this particular; and when it became the fashion, post after post, to publish the most scandalous calumnies against himself, he passed them by as the "idle wind," and they were soon forgotten. Contempt is the most effectual remedy against such publications. Forbear noticing them, and they die; prosecute them, and they live, flourish, and circulate.

There was, in 1825, the greater reason for despising such attacks, from the circumstance that nine-tenths of the Press of England were then in favour of the Catholic cause, and that, throughout the country, a far more enlightened spirit was growing up with respect to Ireland. Witness the petition adopted even in Bristol, the ancient hot-bed of intolerance, in favour of Catholic Emancipation; witness the improved state of the public mind, amongst at least the middle classes in England; witness the numerous conversions from the

ranks of political enemies in Parliament. In such a position of our affairs, it were unworthy of us to stoop to a collision with a single newspaper, however virulent and foul the calumnies it disseminated.

The Catholic Association was then in a most commanding position. It had ten thousand pounds invested in the funds. Its receipts had swelled to a thousand a week; nay, to twelve hundred. It took cognizance of every grievance, political and social, which afflicted the country. Every man who was offered injury, received from it protection. The utmost interest was taken in its proceedings. It was emphatically the representative of Ireland; it almost resembled a native Parliament. Lords CLANRICARDE, FITZWILLIAM, FINGALL, CLONCURRY, GORMANSTOWN, and a host of other Peers became members of it. Notwithstanding the existence of the Insurrection Act, which was ever an incentive to disturbance, the Association kept the country tranquil, and secured to the laws the obedience of the People. Of this assembly, so powerful, so much feared, and so soon destined to be put down by statute law, in order that another and more formidable organization should be established in its stead, Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SHIEL were the twin leaders. When we use the word "twin," we do not mean thereby to imply an equality in the power and genius of both. SHIEL was, unquestionably, for the practical purposes of the country, the inferior man. He possessed a more brilliant genius; but he had not so correct an understanding, nor a heart so thoroughly patriotic. We cannot so readily forget his advocacy of the VETO. It was a selfish advocacy; for he proclaimed that his object, in seeking Emancipation, was more the attainment of power, station, and official place, than the triumph of a great and enduring principle. But, putting

that aside, after his re-union with O'CONNELL, in 1823, when, at the house of a mutual friend in the County of Wicklow, it was by them determined to raise again the standard of agitation—after that re-union, he fought steadily, honestly, and gloriously, the great fight for liberty, side by side with his great compeer. For the purposes of the times, we don't think it possible, that any speeches could be delivered, capable of producing such effects as his. The Irish, even the uneducated classes, are fond of brilliant imagery, and sparkling antithetical declamation. In both, SHIEL has no equal, and never had. GRATTAN had his terseness and point, without his electric brilliancy; CURRAN was more figurative, and more diffuse; CANNING more graceful and classical; SHERIDAN more fervid and elaborate; and BROUGHAM more scorching and sarcastic; but for impassioned oratory, neither of them came near him. True it is, SHIEL used to prepare his speeches—we mean, write them out, and commit them to memory. He made no secret of this practice; and felt no hesitation in giving his written orations to the Newspaper Reporters, before they were pronounced. It is said of him, that in committing them to memory, he invariably worked up his feelings to the same pitch of excitement that he subsequently exhibited, when delivering them in public. He is a truly impassioned speaker. At first, before he warms to the subject, his sharp voice is piercing, amounting almost to a shriek, and sounds gratingly on the ear; but as he advances, you no longer heed the shrill intonation; you cannot wait to observe his awkward delivery;—you are carried away, *nolens volens*, and you are soon entranced by a magical vehemence that, however critical you may wish to be, paralyses altogether your disposition to analyze. O'CONNELL, on the other hand, could never prepare, and never dreamt

of delivering, an elaborate speech. He always thought aloud; he was full of his subject, and armed at all points. SHIEL could make one great display, on one subject, due notice being afforded. O'CONNELL would make a dozen of them, without a moment's previous ii - mation. Hence, as a practical Agitator, he had no equal. He was far beyond SHIEL in the essential qualities. His good sense, his honesty, and the confidence the people reposed in him, placed him beyond all competition.— Besides, in real natural eloquence, he had few equals. His noble person, contrasted with SHIEL's diminutive form, was greatly in his favor. His delivery was dignified and winning: his voice was, perhaps, the most musical and flexible, in its intonations, that ever proceeded from the lips of an orator. It was astonishing with what ease he made himself heard in the most crowded assemblies. Even in the open air, so distinct and musical was his utterance, so clear his intonations, that his accents and his words reached the remotest portion of multitudinous assemblages. The writer of this MEMOIR recollects well, during the Monster Meetings of 1843, when the minor orators were in vain straining their lungs, in hopes of being heard by the eager multitudes who were pressing forward to catch even a stray word of the sentiments they uttered, O'CONNELL was enabled, without any exertion whatever, to send his voice to the most distant outlyers in the vast crowd around him. Hence, in a degree, his unrivalled mastery over the multitudes attracted by his presence. But it was his readiness at a moment; his rich and racy humour; his wit and facility of extempore expression, that placed him at the head of all popular orators of his or any other age. An extempore speech has always ten times more effect on an audience than a written and prepared oration. Hence, not-

withstanding SHEIL's incomparable brilliancy, he never could make on his hearers the same *enduring* impression his co-agitator invariably imprinted on their hearts. O'CONNELL often said, that he never attempted to speak with preparation, that he did not fail. The writer once witnessed an illustration of the fact. O'CONNELL, latterly, was losing his memory; and he had to take down on paper the heads of his subject. This was in some degree a preparation; it was an arrangement of the subject necessary and advisable for ordinary orators, or for set discourses. But O'CONNELL was always in the habit of thinking aloud, and this formal arrangement chained down his thoughts. The writer sat next, or near him, at the great Limerick Provincial Dinner of 1844. On that occasion he used notes; and his speech was a failure compared to those he had previously delivered.

Such were the two men who now determined to grapple with the power of the Anti-Catholic faction in England and Ireland, and wrest Emancipation from their tenacious grasp. In their different ways, they worked the agitation well and triumphantly.

In this state of Catholic affairs—with hope on one side, and alarm and no-Popery feeling on the other, the Catholic Deputation proceeded to London. Their object was two-fold; to be heard by their own Counsel against the suppression of the Association—that is, by O'CONNELL and SHIEL, at the bar of the House of Commons; and to elicit sympathy with the cause, and gain the friendship of as many of the English Aristocracy and popular Leaders as they could propitiate. As the results of the Deputation are the most important event of 1825, we shall dwell upon the subject at some length. The Deputation were to consist of Archbishops, Bishops, Clergymen, Barristers, Merchants, Bankers, Traders of all kinds—in fine,

every profession was admitted except "Literary men," and every idle Catholic Irishman in London, if coming within these descriptions, was permitted to enrol himself as one of the Deputation. In this respect, there was no order, no exclusiveness. "Literary men" were excluded. Why, cannot well be ascertained; but the fact is worthy of note, as it will be found in the sequel, that this unaccountable exclusion led to grave and unpleasant disputes, seriously damaging to the Catholic cause. Before we accompany the movements of this important deputation in London, and express our own sentiments on what occurred after its arrival, we cannot avoid, though it is a narrative of some length, giving *in extenso*, a most graphic description of the journey and *personnel* of the Deputation, from a number of the *New Monthly Magazine* of that year. It will be read with no small interest. We are unable to curtail a line of it. It was written either by SHIEL or CURRAN, and commences thus:

"The Roman Catholic Association having resolved to petition the House of Commons against the Bill which was in progress for their suppression, requested Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SHEIL to attend the bar of the House, and prayed that those gentlemen should be heard as Counsel on behalf of the body in whose proceedings they had taken so active a participation. They appeared to undertake the office with reluctance. It involved a great personal sacrifice upon the part of Mr. O'CONNELL; and independently of any immediate loss in his profession, Mr. SHIEL could not fail to perceive that it must prejudice him in some degree as a barrister, to turn aside from the beaten track of his profession, in the pursuit of a brilliant but somewhat illusory object. It was, however, next to impossible to disobey the injunction of a whole people—they accepted of this honorable trust. At the same

time, that counsel were appointed, it was determined that other gentlemen should attend the debates of the House of Commons, in the character of deputies, and should constitute a sort of embassy to the English people. The plan of its constitution was a little fantastic. Any person who deemed it either pleasurable or expedient to attach himself to this delegation, was declared to be a member, and, in consequence, a number of individuals enrolled themselves as volunteers in the national service.

"I united myself to these political missionaries, not from any hope that I should succeed in detaching Lord ELDON from the Church, or banishing the fear of Oxford from the eyes of Mr. PEEL; but from a natural curiosity to observe the scenes of interest and novelty, into which, from my representative character, I thought it not improbable that I should be introduced. I set out in quest of political adventure, and determined to commit to a sort of journal, whatever should strike me to be deserving of note. Upon my return to Ireland, I sent to certain of my friends some extracts from the diary which I had kept, in conformity with this resolution. They told me that I had heard and seen much of what was not destitute of interest, and, at their suggestion, I have wrought the observations, which were loosely thrown together, into a more regular shape, although they will, I fear, carry with them an evidence of the haste and heedlessness with which they were originally set down.

"The party of deputies, to which I had annexed myself, travelled in a barouche, belonging to Mr. O'CONNELL, of which he was kind enough to offer us the use. I fancy that we made rather a singular appearance, for the eyes of every passenger were fixed upon us as we passed; and at Coventry, a spot sacred to curiosity, the mistress of the inn where we stopped to change horses,

asked me with a mixture of inquisitiveness and wonder, and after many apologies for the liberty she took in putting the interrogatory, "who the gentlemen were?" to which I neither made specific reply, nor accorded full explanation. Mr. O'Connell, as usual, attracted the larger portion of the public gaze. He was seated on the box of the barouche, with a large cloak folded about him, which seemed to be a revival of the famous Irish mantle; though, far be it from me to insinuate, that it was ever dedicated to some of the purposes to which, it is suggested by Spencer, that the national garment was devoted. His tall and ample figure, enveloped in the trappings that fell widely round him, and his open and manly physiognomy, rendered him a very conspicuous object, from the elevated station he occupied. Wherever we stopped, he called with an earnest and sonorous tone for a newspaper, being naturally solicitous to learn whether he should be heard at the bar of the House; and in invoking "mine host," for the Parliamentary debates, he employed a cadence and gesture which carried along with them the unequivocal intimations of his country.—Nothing deserving of mention occurred, until we had reached Wolverhampton. We arrived at that town about eight o'clock in the morning, with keener appetites than befitted the season of abstinence, during which we were condemned to travel. The table was strewed with a tantalizing profusion of the choicest fare. Every eye was fixed upon an unhallowed round of beef, which seemed to have been deposited in the centre of the breakfast-room, with a view to "lead us into temptation." But Mr. O'Connell exclaimed, "recollect that you are within sacred precincts. The conqueror of Sturges, and the terror of the Vetoists," meaning Dr. Milner, "has made Wolverhampton holy."

"This admonition saved us on the verge of the precipice; we thought we beheld the pastoral staff of the famous Doctor raised up between us and the forbidden feast, and turned slowly and rĕluctantly from its unavailing contemplation, to the lenten mediocrity of dry toast and creamless tea. We had finished our repast, when it was suggested that we ought to pay Dr. MILNER a visit before we proceeded on our journey. This proposition was adopted with alacrity, and we went forth in a body in quest of the energetic divine. We experienced some little difficulty in discovering his abode, and received most evangelical looks and ambiguous answers to our inquiries. A damsel of thirty, with a physiognomy which was at once comely and demure, replied to us at first with a mixture of affected ignorance and ostentatious disdain—until Sir THOMAS ESMONDE, who is "a marvellous proper" man in every sense of the word, whether it be taken in its physical or moral meaning, addressed the fair votary of WESLEY with a sort of chuck-under-the-chin manner (as LEIGH HUNT would call it); and bringing a more benign and feminine smile upon a face which had been over-spiritualised by some potent teacher of the word, induced the mitigated Methodist to reply, "If you had asked me for the Popish Priest, instead of the Catholic Bishop, I should have told you that he lived yonder," pointing to a large but desolate-looking mansion before us. We proceeded according to her directions, to Doctor MILNER's residence. It had an ample, but dreary front. The windows were dingy, and covered with cobwebs, and the grass before the door seemed to illustrate the Irish imprecation. It is separated from the street by a high railing of rusty metal, at which we rang several times without receiving any response. It was suggested to us, that if we tried the kitchen door, we should pro-

bably get in. We accordingly turned into a lane leading to the postern gate, which was opened by an old and feeble, but very venerable gentleman, in whom I slowly recognised the active and vigorous Prelate, whom I had seen some years ago, in the hottest onset of the VETO warfare in Ireland. His figure had nothing of the BECKET port which formerly belonged to it. A gentle languor sat upon a face which I had seen full of fire and expression—his eye was almost hid under the relaxed and dropping eyelid, and his voice was querulous, undecided, and weak. He did not recollect Mr. O'CONNELL, and appeared at a loss to conjecture our purpose. 'We have come to pay you a visit, my Lord,' said Mr. O'CONNELL. The interpellation was pregnant with our religion.—"my Lord," uttered with a vernacular richness of intonation, gave him an assurance that we were come from "the Island of Saints," and on the right road to Heaven. He asked us, with easy urbanity, to walk in. We found that he had been sitting at the kitchen-fire, with a small cup of chocolate, and a little bread, which made up his simple and apostolic breakfast. There was an English neatness and brightness in every thing about us, which was not out of keeping with the cold but polished civility of our reception. The Doctor was, for a little while, somewhat hallucinated, and still seemed to wonder at our coming. There was an awkward pause.—At length Mr. O'CONNELL put him "*au fait*." He told him who he was, and that he and his colleagues were going to London to plead the cause of their holy religion.—The name of the "Counsellor" did not give the Doctor as electric a shock as I had expected—he merely said, that we did him very great honor, and wished us every success. He requested us to walk up stairs, and welcomed us with much courtesy, but little warmth. Time had

been busy with him. His faculties were not much impaired, but his emotions were gone. His ideas ran clearly enough, but his blood had ceased to flow. We sat down in his library. The conversation hung fire. The inflammable material of which his mind was originally composed, were damped by age. O'CONNELL primed him two or three times, and yet he did not for a long time fairly go off. I resolved to try an expedient, by way of experiment upon episcopal nature, and being well aware of his feuds with Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, the great Lawyer and profound theologian of Lincoln's Inn, asked him, with much innocence of manner, though I confess with some malice of intent, "whether he had lately heard from his old friend, CHARLES BUTLER?" The name was talismanic—the resurrection of the Doctor's passions was instantaneous and complete. His face became bright, his form quickened and alert, and his eye was lighted up with true scholastic ecstasy. He seemed ready to enter once more into the rugged field of controversy, in which he had won so many laurels, and to be at once prepared to "fight his battles o'er again." To do him justice, he said nothing of his ancient antagonist in polemics, which a Bishop and a Divine ought not to say; he, on the contrary, mentioned that a reconciliation had taken place. I could, however, perceive that the junction of their minds was not perfectly smooth,—and saw the marks of the cement which had "soldered up the rift." The *odium theologicum* had been neutralized by an infusion of Christianity, but some traces of its original acidity could not fail to remain. He spoke of Mr. BUTLER as a man of great learning and talents; and I ought to mention parenthetically, that I afterwards heard the latter express himself of Doctor MILNER, as a person of vast erudition, and who reflected honor, by the purity of his life and the

extent of his endowments, upon the body to which he belonged. The impulse given to his mind by the mention of his achievements in controversy, extended itself to other topics. COBBETT had done, Doctor MILNER said, service to Ireland, and to its religion, by addressing himself to the common sense of the English people, and trying to purge them of their misconceptions respecting the belief of the great majority of the Christian world. The Doctor spoke with a great deal of energy of the contests which had been carried on between the clergy and itinerant missionaries of the Bible Society in Ireland, and congratulated Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. SHIEL on their exertions in Cork; from which the systematic counteraction of the new apostles had originated. Mr. O'CONNELL expressed his obligations on this occasion to Dr. MILNER's celebrated, and let me add, admirable work which has been so felicitously entitled "The End of Religious Controversy." "Oh!" said the Doctor, "I am growing old, or I should write a supplement to that book." After some desultory conversation, we took our leave. Dr. MILNER, who had been roused into his former energy, thanked us with simple and unaffected cordiality for our visit. He conducted us to the gate before his mansion, in which, I should observe, neither luxury nor want appears, with his white head uncovered, and with the venerable grace of age and piety, bade us farewell.

"We proceeded on our journey. No incident occurred deserving of mention, unless a change in our feelings deserves the name. The moment we entered England, I perceived that the sense of our own national importance had sustained some diminution; and that, however slowly or reluctantly we acknowledged it ourselves, the contemplation of the opulence which surrounded us, and in which we saw the

results and evidences of British power and greatness, impressed upon every one of us the consciousness of our provincial inferiority, and the conviction that it is only from an intimate alliance with Great Britain, or rather a complete amalgamation with her immense dominions, that any permanent prosperity can be reasonably expected to be derived. In the sudden transition from the scenes of misery and sorrow, to which we are habituated in Ireland, to the splendid spectacles of English wealth and civilization, the humiliating contrast between the two islands presses itself upon every ordinary observer. It is at all times remarkable. Compared to her proud and pampered sister, clothed, as she is, in purple and in gold, Ireland with all her natural endowments, at best appears but a squalid and emaciated beauty. I have never failed to be struck and pained by this unfortunate disparity; but upon the present occasion, the objects of our mission and the peculiarly national capacity in which we were placed, in relation to England, naturally drew our meditation to the surpassing glory of the people, of whom we had come to solicit redress. An occasional visit to England has a very salutary effect. It operates as a complete sedative to the ardour of the political passions. It should be prescribed as a part of the antiphlogistic regimen. The persons who take an active part in the impassioned deliberations of the Irish people, are apt to be carried away by the strength of the popular feeling, which they contribute to create—Having heated the public into an ardent mass of emotion, they are themselves under the influence of its intensity. This result is natural and just; but among the consequences (most of which are beneficial) which have increased the habitual excitation, and to which the Catholics have reasonably attributed much of their inchoate success, they have forgotten the effect

upon themselves, and have omitted to observe in their own minds a disposition to exaggerate the magnitude of the means by which their ends are to be accomplished. In declaiming upon the immense population of Ireland, they insensibly put out of account the power of that nation from whom relief is demanded, and who are grown old in the habit of dominion, which of all habits it is most difficult to resign.

"A man like Mr. O'Connell, who, by the force of his natural eloquence, produces a great emotion in the midst of an enthusiastic assembly of ardent and high-blooded men; who is hailed by the community, of which he is a leading member, as their chief and champion; who is greeted with popular benedictions as he passes, whose name resounds in every alley, and "stands rubric" on every wall, can with difficulty resist the intoxicating influence of so many exciting causes, and becomes a sort of political opium-eater, who must be torn from these seductive indulgences, in order to reduce him to perfect soundness and soberness of thought. His Deputation to England produced an almost immediate effect upon him. As we advanced, the din of popular assemblies became more faint; the voice of the multitude was scarcely heard in the distance, and at last it died away. He seemed half English at Shrewsbury, and was nearly Saxonized when we entered the murky magnificence of Warwickshire. As we surveyed the volcanic region of manufactures, and saw a thousand Etnas vomiting their internal fires, the recollections of Etna passed away from his mind, and the smoky glories of Skipton and Wolverhampton took possession of his soul. The feeling which attended our progress through England was not a little increased by our approach to its huge metropolis. The waste of wealth around us, the procession of ponderous

vehicles that choked the public roads, the rapid and continuous sweep of carriages, the succession of luxurious and brilliant towns, the crowd of splendid villas, which COWPER had assimilated to the beads upon the neck of an Asiatic Queen, and the vast and bituminous vapor which crowns the vast city with an everlasting cloud, intimated our approach to the modern Babylon. Upon an ordinary occasion I should not, I believe, have experienced any strong sensation on entering London. What is commonly called "coming up to town," is not a very sublime or moving incident. I honestly confess that I have upon a fine morning stood upon Westminster Bridge, upon my return from the brilliant inanities of Vauxhall, and looked upon London with a very drowsy sympathy in the immediate enthusiasm which breathes through WORDSWORTH'S admirable sonnet. But upon the occasion which I am describing, it needed little of the spirit of political romance to receive a deep and stirring impulse, as we advanced to the great metropolis of the British empire, and heard the rolling of the great tide—the murmurs, if I may say, of the vast sea of wealth before us. The power of England was at this time presented to us in a more distinct and definite shape, and we were more immediately led, as we entered London, to compare the two countries.—This, we exclained, is London; and the recollection of our own Eblana was manifest in the sigh with which the truism was spoken; yet the reflection upon our inferiority was not unaccompanied by the consolatory anticipation that the time was not far distant, when we should participate in all the advantages of a real consumated junction of the two countries, when the impediments to our nation's prosperity should be removed, and Ireland should receive the ample overflowings of that deep current of opulence, which we saw almost bursting

through its golden channels in the streets of the great metropolis.

"Immediately after our arrival, we were informed by the agent of the Roman Catholic Association in London, Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, who, in the discharge of the duties confided to him, has evinced great talents, judgment, and discretion, that Sir F. Burdett was desirous to see us as soon as possible. We accordingly proceeded to his house in St. James's Place, where we found the member for Westminster living in all the blaze of aristocracy. I had often heard Sir Francis Burdett in popular assemblies, and had been greatly struck with his simple, easy, and unsophisticated eloquence:—I was extremely anxious to gain a nearer access to a person of so much celebrity, and to have an opportunity of observing the character and intellectual habits of a man who had given so much of its movements to the public mind. He was sitting in his study when we were introduced by Mr. M'Donnell. He received us without any of that *hauteur* which I have heard attributed to him, and for which his constitutional quiescence of manner is sometimes mistaken. We, who have the hot Celtic blood in our veins, and deal in hyperbole upon occasions which are not calculated to call up much emotion, are naturally surprised at what we conceive to be a want of ardour upon themes and incidents in which our feelings are deeply and fervently engaged. During my short residence in London, I constantly felt among the persons of high political influence, whom we approached, a calmness, which I should have taken for the stateliness of authority in individuals, but that I found it was much more national than personal, and was, in a great degree, an universal property of the political world. There was a great deal of simple dignity, which was entirely free from affectation, in the address

of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. Having requested us to sit, which we did in a large circle—his first remark indeed was, that we were more numerous than he had expected; he came with an instantaneous directness to the point, and after a few words of course upon the honour conferred upon him by being entrusted with the Catholic question, entreated us with some strenuousness to substitute Mr. PLUNKETT in his place; he protested his readiness to take any part in the debate which should be assigned him; but stated, that there was no man so capable, and certainly none more anxious than the ATTORNEY-GENERAL for the promotion of our cause. But for the plain and honest manner in which this exhortation was given, I should have suspected that he was merely performing a part—but I have no doubt of the sincerity with which the recommendation was given.

"He dwelt at length upon the great qualifications of Mr. PLUNKETT as a Parliamentary speaker, and pressed us to waive all sort of form with respect to himself, and put him at once aside for an abler advocate. We told him that it was out of our power to rescind the decision of an Aggregate Meeting. This he seemed to feel, and said that he should endeavour to discharge the trust as efficiently as he was able. His heart, he said, was in the question—he knew that there could not be peace in Ireland until it was adjusted; and for the country he professed great attachment. He loved the people of Ireland, and it was truly melancholy to see so noble a race deprived of the power of turning their great natural endowments to any useful account. These observations, which an Irishman would have delivered with great emphasis, were made by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT almost without a change of tone or look. He made no effort at strong expression. Every thing was said with great

gentleness, perspicuity, and candour. I thought, however, that he strangely hesitated for common words.—His language was as plain as his dress, which was extremely simple, and indicated the favourite pursuit of a man who is "mad at a fox-chase, wise at a debate." I watched his face while he spoke. His eyes are small and bright, but have no flash or splendour —They are illuminated by a serene and tranquil spirit; his forehead is high and finely arched, but narrow and contracted; and although his face is lengthy, its features are minutely and delicately chiselled off. His mouth is extremely small, and carries much suavity about it. I should have guessed him at once to be a man of rank, but should never have guessed his spirit to be a transmigration of Caius Gracchus. I should never have guessed that he was the man whose breath hath raised so many waves upon the public mind, and aroused the storm which made the vessel creak. I saw no shadow of "the tower of Julius" in his pure and ruddy colour, and should never have conjectured that he had inhaled the evaporations of its stagnant moat.—At the same time, I should observe, that if there were no evidences of a daring or adventurous spirit about this champion of the people, there are in his demeanour and bearing many indications of calm resolve and imperturbable determination. I was a good deal more occupied in watching this celebrated person than in observing my companions. Yet I at once perceived that we were too numerous and gregarious a body for a council of state, and was glad to perceive Mr. O'Connell take a decided, and what was considered by some, a dictatorial tone among us. I saw that unless some one individual assumed the authority of speaking and acting for the rest, we should, in all likelihood, be involved in those petty squabbles and miserable contentions of which Buonaparte speaks, as characteristic of the Irish De-

puties, who were sent to Paris to negociate a revolution. I was much pleased to find that Mr. O'CONNELL gave, even in this early communication, strong proofs of that wise, temperate, and conciliatory spirit, by which his conduct in London was distinguished; and by the manifestation of which he conferred incalculable service on his country.

"After this interview with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, the chief object of which, upon his part, was to sound our disposition to confide the conduct of our cause to the Irish Attorney General, we proceeded to the House of Commons for the purpose of attending the debate upon the petition to be heard by counsel at the bar. We had already been informed by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, that it was very unlikely the House would accede to the petition, and that Ministers had collected their force to oppose it. For the result we were, therefore, prepared; but we were extremely anxious to hear a discussion in which Mr. BROUGHAM was expected to display his great powers, and in which the general demerits of the Catholic Association would, in all probability, be brought by Ministers under review. The Speaker had the goodness to direct that the Catholic Deputies should be allowed to sit under the gallery during the discussions which appertained immediately to the object of their mission; and we were, in consequence, accommodated with places upon this 'vantage ground; from which I had an opportunity of observing the orators of the night. We formed a considerable array in the house, and attracted universal observation. In the front of our body was Mr. O'CONNELL, upon whom every eye was fixed. He affected a perfect carelessness of manner; but it was easy to perceive that he was full of restlessness and inquietude under an icy surface. I saw the current eddying beneath. Next him was Mr. O'GORMAN, who carried a most official look, as

Secretary to the Catholics of all Ireland, and seemed to realize the *beau ideal* of Irish self-possession. I should observe, by the way, that Mr. O'Gorman was of great use in London, in subduing that spirit of disputation among the deputies, to which Irishmen are habitually prone; and which it required the perfect good humour and excellent disposition of the learned functionary to assuage. The house began to fill about eight o'clock. The aspect of the members was not in general very imposing. Few were in full dress, and there was little in the general demeanour of the representatives of the people, which was calculated to raise them in my reverence. This absense, or rather studious neglect, of ceremony is, perhaps, befitting an assembly of the "citizens and burgesses in Parliament assembled." I remarked that some of the Members were distinguished for their spirit of locomotion. The description of "the Falmouth—the heavy Falmouth coach," given by a jocular Secretary of State, had prepared me to expect in a Noble Lord a more sedentary habit of body; but he displayed a perfect incapacity to staying still, and he was perpetually traversing the House, as if he wished by the levity of his trip, and the jauntiness of his movements, to furnish a practical refutation of Ministerial merriment. After some matters of form had been disposed of, Mr. Brougham rose to move on behalf of the Association, that counsel should be heard at the bar of the House. I had seen Mr. Brougham several years before, and immediately observed a great improvement in his accomplishments as a public speaker. Nature has not, perhaps, been very favourable to this very eminent man, in his merely physical configuration. His person is tall, but not compact or well put together. There is a looseness of limb about him, which takes away from that stability of attitude which indicates

fixedness of mind. His chest is narrow—he wants that breadth which gives PLUNKETT an Atlantean massiveness of form, mentioned by MILTON as the property of a great statesman. The countenance of Mr. BROUGHAM wants symmetry and refinement. His features are strong but rather wide. He has a Caledonian prominence of bone. His complexion indicates his intellectual habits, and is "sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought." It seems smoked by the midnight lamp. His eyes are deeply sunk, but full at once of intensity and meditation. His voice is good—it is clear, articulate, and has sufficient melody and depth. He has the power of raising it to a very high key, without harshness or discord; and when he becomes impassioned, he is neither hoarse nor shrill. Such is the outward man; and if he has defects, they are not so numerous or so glaring as those over which the greatest orator of antiquity obtained a victory. In his ideal picture of a public speaker, Homer represents the most accomplished artificer of words as a person with few if any personal attractions. The characteristics of BROUGHAM's oratory are vigour and passion. He alternates with great felicity. He possesses in a high degree the art of easy transition from impetuosity to demonstration. His blood does not become so over-heated, as to render it a matter of difficulty for him to return to the tone and language of familiar discourse—the prevalent tone and language of the House of Commons. A man who cannot rise beyond it, will never make a great figure; but whoever cannot habitually employ it will be accounted a declaimer, and will fall out of Parliamentary favour. Mr. BROUGHAM's gesture is at once senatorial and forensic. He uses his arms like an orator, and his hands like a lawyer. He employs great sweep of action, and describes segments of circles

in his impassioned movements; here he forgets his forensic habitudes; but when he is either sneering or sophisticating, he closes his hands together with a somewhat pragmatical air, or uniting the points of his fore fingers, and lifting them to a level with his chair, embodies in his attitude the minute spirit of Nisi Prius. If he did this and nothing else, he would hold no higher place than the eternal Mr. WETHERALL in the house. But what, taken apart, may appear an imperfection, brings out the nobler attributes of his mind, and by the contrast which it presents, raises his better faculties into relief. Of the variety, nay vastness of his acquirements, it is unnecessary to say anything; he is a kind of ambulatory Encyclopædia, and brings his learning to bear upon every topic on which he speaks. His diction is highly enriched; or, if I may so say, embossed with figures executed after the pure classic model; yet there are not perhaps any isolated passages which are calculated to keep a permanent residence in the recollection of his hearers. He does not venture, like PLUNKETT, into the loftiest regions of eloquence; he does not wing his flight among those towering elevations which are, perhaps, as barren as they are high; but he holds on with steady continuity, in a very exalted course, and never goes out of sight. His bursts of honest vehemence, and indignant moral reprobation, are very fine. He furnished, upon the night I heard him, an admirable exemplification of this commanding power. I allude to his reply to Mr. PEEL, upon the charges made against HAMILTON ROWAN.

"The Secretary for the Home Department is said to have delivered upon this occasion one of the best speeches which he ever pronounced in Parliament. I own that he greatly surpassed my expectations. I was prepared, from the perusal of his speeches, and the character which

I heard of him, for a display of frigid ingenuity, delivered with a dapper neatness and an ironical conceit. I heard the late Mr. CURRAN say, "that PEEL was a mere official Jack-an-apes," and had built my conceptions of him upon a phrase which, valueless as it may appear, remained in my memory. But I was disabused of this erroneous impression, by his phillippic against the Association. I do not mean to say that Mr. PEEL has not a good deal of elaborate self-sufficiency. He is perpetually indulging in encomiums upon his own manliness and candour—and certainly there is much frankness in his voice and bearing —but any man who observes the expedients with which he endeavours to effect his escape from the grasp of some powerful opponent, will be convinced that there is a good deal of lubricity about him. He constantly advances arguments, of the fallacy of which he cannot fail to be conscious, and which would be a burlesque, if they were not uttered from the Treasury Bench. As a speaker, he should not be placed near Mr. BROUGHAM, or Mr. CANNING, or PLUNKETT; although he rises far beyond that mediocrity to which in Ireland we are in the habit of condemning him. His language is not powerful—but it is perfectly clear, and uniformly correct. I observed, indeed, that his sentences were much more compact and unbroken, and their several parts better linked together, than those of Mr. BROUGHAM; but the one evolves his thoughts in a lengthened and winding chain; while the other, having a due fear of the parenthetical before his eyes, presents an obvious idea in a brief and simple form, and never ventures to frame any massive or extended series of phrase. His gesture is, generally speaking, exceedingly appropriate; and if I found any fault with it, I should censure it for its minute adherence to grace. His hands are remarkably white and

well formed, and are exhibited with an ostentatious care. He stands erect, and, to use a technical expression, employed by French dancers, "*aplomb*." This firmness of attitude gives him that appearance of determination which is wanting perhaps in Mr. BROUGHAM. I do not like his physiognomy as an orator. He has a handsome face, but it is suffused with a smile of sleek self-complacency, which it is impossible to witness without distaste. He has also a trick of closing his eyes, which may arise from their weakness, but which has something mental in its expression; and, however innocent he may be of all offensive purpose, is indicative of superciliousness and contempt. I doubt not he found it of use in Ireland among the menials of authority, and acquired this habit at the Castle. In one, the best passage in his speech, and I believe the best he ever uttered, he divested himself of those defects. Upon the moral propriety of his attack upon HAMILTON ROWAN, it is unnecessary to say anything. The misfortunes of that excellent gentleman ought not to have been pressed into the service. After every political convulsion, a Lethe should be permitted to flow upon the public mind; and a sin of 30 years standing, ought not only to be pardoned but forgotten. Mr. PEEL, however, could not resist the temptation of dragging upon the stage a man, whose white hair should hide every imperfection upon his head. Laying aside all consideration of the generosity evinced by Mr. PEEL in the selection of the topic, it must be acknowledged that he pronounced his invective with great and very successful force. He became heated with victory, and, cheered as he was repeatedly by his multitudinous partisans, he turned suddenly towards the part of the house where the Deputies were seated, and, looking triumphantly at Mr. O'CONNELL, with whom he forgot for a moment that he had been once

involved in a personal quarrel, shook his hand with scornful exultation, and asked whether the House required any better evidence than the address of the Association to "an attainted traitor." The phrase was well uttered, and the effect, as a piece of oratory, was great and powerful. But for the want of moral dignity, I should say that it was very finely executed. We hung down our heads for a moment, and quailed, under the consciousness of defeat. But it was only temporary. Mr. BROUGHAM was supplied with various facts of great importance, on the instant, and inflicted upon Mr. PEEL a terrible retribution. His reply to the Minister was, I understand, as effective as his celebrated retort upon the QUEEN'S letter. He showed that the Government had extended to Mr. ROWAN conspicuous marks of favor, and reproached Mr. PEEL with his want of nobleness, in opening a wound which had been so long closed, and in turning the disasters of an honourable man into a rhetorical resource. He got hold of the good feeling of the House. The virtuous emotions, and those high instincts which even the spirit of party cannot entirely suppress, were at once marshalled upon his side. Conscious of his advantage, he rushed upon his antagonist, and hurled him to the ground. He displayed upon this occasion the noblest qualities of his eloquence—fierce sarcasm, indignant remonstrance, exalted sentiment, and glowing elocution. He brought his erudition to his aid, and illustrated his defence by a quotation from Cicero, in which the Roman extenuates the faults of those who were engaged on Pompey's side. The passage was exceedingly apposite, but was delivered perhaps with too dolorous and lacrymatory a note. A man should scarcely weep over a quotation. But altogether the reply was magnificent, and made the Minister bite the dust. With this comfortable reflection we left the House.

"It is not, of course, my intention to detail every circumstance of an interesting kind which occurred in the course of this political excursion. From a crowd of materials, I select what is most deserving of mention. I should not omit the mention of a dinner given to the deputies by Mr. Brougham. He invited us to his house upon the Saturday after our arrival, and gave the Irish embassy a very splendid entertainment. Some of the first men in England were of the party. There were four Dukes at table. I had never witnessed an assemblage of so much rank, and surveyed with intense curiosity the distinguished host and his illustrious guests. It is unnecessary to observe, that Mr. Brougham went through the routine of convivial form with dignified facility and grace. It was to his mind that I directed my chief attention, with a view to compare him in his hours of relaxation, with the men of eminence with whom I had conversed in my own country. The first circumstance that struck me, was the entire absence of effort, and the indifference about display. I perceived that he stretched his faculties out, after the exhaustation of professional and parliamentary labour, in a careless listlessness; and, if I may so say, threw his mind upon a couch. Curran, Grattan, and Bushe, were the best talkers I had ever witnessed. The first, and I heard a person make the same remark in London, was certainly the most eloquent man whose conversation I ever had an opportunity of enjoying. But his serious reflection bore the character of harangue; and his wit, with all its brilliancy, verged a little upon farce. He was so fond indeed of introducing dialogue into his stories, that at times his conversation assumed the aspect of dramatic exhibition. There was, perhaps, too much tension of the intellect in those masterpieces of mirth and pathos, in which he appeared to be under the alternate influence of Momus and of Apollo.

"The conversation of Mr. GRATTAN was not of an after-dinner cast. You should have walked with him among the woods of Tinnahinch, and listened to his recollections of a better day, by the sound of the lulling and romantic waters of those enchanting groves, in which, it is said, he studied the art of elocution in his youth, and through which he delighted to wander in the illuminated sunset of his glorious age. It was necessary that his faculties should be thrown into a swing, before they could come into full play. He poured out fine sentiments in glittering epigrams. His mind became antithetical from continued habit; but it was necessary that it should be thrown into excitement to bring it into action. It was in sketches of character that he excelled; but you should give him time and leisure for the completion of his miniature. BUSHE —— But I am deviating from my theme. To return to Mr. BROUGHAM; he is, perhaps, more negligent and heedless of what he says, than any of those eminent persons to whom I have alluded, and flings his opinions into phrase, without caring into what shape they may be moulded. I remember to have read an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, upon CURRAN'S life, that eminent men in England never make any effort to shine in conversation; and I saw an illustration of the remarks at Mr. BROUGHAM'S table. He did not tell a story—except indeed, that he mentioned a practical joke which had been played upon JOSEPH HUME, who takes things "*au pic de la lettre*," by passing some strange uncouth person upon him as Mr. O'CONNELL. The latter sat between the Dukes of DEVONSHIRE and LEINSTER. It was the place of honor, and the learned gentleman filled it without airs or affectation. In all his intercourse with the great in London, I remarked that he comported himself in a manner perfectly becoming his character and

station in his own country. I was glad that, unlike Sir PERTINAX, "he could stand straight in the presence of a great man."—The attention of the company was very much fixed upon him. But he spoke little. I remember Mr. MOORE telling me an anecdote of Mrs. SIDDONS, which is not unillustrative of the scene. A large party were invited to meet her.—She remained silent, as is her wont, and disappointed the expectations of the whole company, who watched for every syllable that should escape her lips. At length, however, being asked if she would take some Burton ale, she replied with sepulchral intonation, that "she liked ale vastly." To this interesting remark, the display of her intellectual powers was confined. I do not think that Mr. O'CONNELL upon this occasion gave utterance to any more profound or sagacious observation. Nearly opposite to him sat Sir F. BURDETT and Mr. LAMBTON. The latter seemed to me to watch Mr. O'CONNELL with a very unremitting vigilance.—He hardly spoke himself.—His air is foreign—he is full of intelligence, and looks like a picture by MURILLO, of a young Spanish Jesuit who has just completed his noviciate. At the other end of the table sat the celebrated Mr. SCARLET, who is, at English Nisi Prius, *facile princeps*. I thought I could perceive the wile of a lawyer in his watchful and searching eye—

> "He is a great observer, and he looks
> Quite through the thoughts of men."

—His smile, too, was perhaps a little like that of Cassius. He said little—altogether there was not as much alertness in the dialogue as in the champaigne. The Duke of SUSSEX seemed to me the only person who exhibited much hilarity of spirit. There is a good deal of buoyancy in the temperament of his Royal Highness. He speaks with great correctness and fluency; is perfectly

kind and affable, and laughs with all his heart at his friend's jokes as well as at his own. If the Duke of SUSSEX were our Lord Lieutenant, as I hope he yet may be, he would put us into good humour with each other in a month. I would substitute Oberon's whistle for Alecto's horn. I should like to hear the honest and cordial laugh of the Duke of SUSSEX at an aggregate levee of Catholics and Protestants at the Castle. I should like to hear the echoes of St. Patrick's-hall, taking up the royal mirth in a long and loud reverberation. What might, peradventure, be an excess of vivacity in a gentleman, would be condescending pleasantry in a Prince.

"I understood at Mr. BROUGHAM'S that it was intended to give a public dinner to the Catholic deputies, at which the leading advocates of Emancipation were to be present. Much preparation was made for this festival of liberality; but it was afterwards conceived that it would be more judicious upon the part of the friends of religious liberty, not to provoke their antagonists into a re-action, which it was thought likely might be produced. The idea was abandoned; but, in order to give the deputies an opportunity of expressing their sentiments in public, the British Catholics held a general meeting at the Freemason's-Hall. The Duke of NORFOLK was in the Chair.—The assembly was not as numerous as I had expected—it was in a great measure composed of Irish. Many persons were deterred from attending by the title of the meeting, which seemed to confine it to Roman Catholics. In consequence of the impression that Protestants were not entitled to assist in these proceedings, few of the Parliamentary supporters of Emancipation attended. Mr. COKE, of Norfolk, who sat next to the Chairman, was almost the only English Protestant of distinction whom I observed at the meeting. I believe, however, that an

anxiety to hear Mr. O'Connell, induced a great number of the literary men attached to the periodical and daily press to attend. Mr. O'Connell appeared to me extremely solicitous about the impression which he should produce, and prepared and arranged his topics with unusual care. In public meetings in Ireland, he is so confident in his powers, that he gives himself little trouble in the selection of his materials, and generally trusts to his emotions for his harangues. He is on that account occasionally desultory and irregular. But there is no man more capable of lucid exposition, when he previously deliberates upon the order in which he should array the topics upon which he intends to dwell. He undertook on this occasion, the very laborious task of tracing the progress of the penal code, and epitomised in some measure the history of his country. For the first hour he was, perhaps, a little encumbered with small details; but when he advanced into the general consideration of the grievances under which the great body of the people are doomed to labour—when he painted the insolence of the dominant faction—when he showed the effect of the penal code brought to his own door—he seized with an absolute dominion upon the sympathies of his acclaiming auditors, and poured the full tide of his own emotions into their hearts. I did not greatly heed the results of Mr. O'Connell's oratory upon the great bulk of his audience. Many a big drop compounded of heat and patriotism—of tears and of perspiration; stood upon the rude and honest faces that were cast in true Hibernian mould, and were raised towards the glory of Ireland, with a mixed expression of wonder and love. I was far more anxious to detect the feeling produced upon the literary and English portion of the audience. It was most favorable. Mr. Charles Butler, near whom I

happened to sit, and whom I should be disposed to account a severe but excellent critic, was greatly struck.—He several times expressed his admiration of the powers of the speaker. The applause of such a man is worth a "whole theatre of others."—Mr. COKE, also, whose judgment is, I understand, held in very great estimation, and who has witnessed the noblest displays of parliamentary eloquence, intimated an equally high opinion. Immediately under Mr. O'CONNELL there was an array, and a very formidable one, of the delegates from the press. They appeared to me to survey Mr. O'CONNELL with a good deal of supercilious distaste at the opening of his speech; and although some amongst them persevered to the last in their intimations of national disrelish, and shrugged their shoulders at "Irish eloquence," the majority surrendered their prejudices to their good feeling, and ultimately concurred in the loud plaudits with which Mr. O'CONNELL concluded his oration. It occupied nearly three hours and a half. Mr. O'HANLON succeeded Mr. O'CONNELL. He spoke well, but the auditory were exhausted and began to break up. Less attention was paid to Mr. O'HANLON than he would have received at a more opportune moment. The excitation produced by Mr. O'CONNELL, the lateness of the hour, and the recollections of dinner, were potent impediments to rhetorical effect. Mr. SHIEL rose under similar disadvantages. He cast that sort of look about him, which I have witnessed in an actor, when he surveys an empty house. The echo produced by the diminution of the crowd drowned his voice; which being naturally of a harsh quality, requires great management, and in order to produce an oratorical impression, must be kept under the control of art. Mr. SHIEL became disheartened, and lost his command over

his throat. He grew loud and indistinct. He also fell into the mistake of laying aside his habitual cast of expression and of thought, and in place of endeavouring to excite the feelings of his auditory, wearied them with a laborious detail of uninteresting facts. He failed to produce any considerable impression, excepting at the close of his speech, in which, after dwelling upon the great actions which were achieved by the Catholic ancestors of some of the eminent men around him, he introduced Joan of Arc prophesying to TALBOT the obliteration of his illustrious name, and the exclusion of his posterity from the councils of his country.

"I should not omit to mention the speech delivered by Lord STOURTON at this meeting. It was easy to collect from his manner that he was not in the habit of addressing a large assembly, but the sentiments to which he gave utterance, were high and manly, and becoming a British Nobleman who had been spoliated of his rights. His language was not only elegant and refined, but adorned with imagery of an original cast, derived from those sciences with which his Lordship is said to be familiar.

"Some of the deputies dined with him after the meeting. They were sumptuously entertained. I had now become more habituated to the display of patrician magnificence in England, and saw the exhibition of its splendour without surprise. Yet I confess that at Norfolk-house, where the Duke did Mr. O'CONNELL, Lord KILLEEN, and others of our deputation, the honor to invite them, and in compliment to our cause, brought together an assemblage of men of the highest rank and genius in England, I was dazzled with the splendour and gorgeousness of an entertainment to which I had seen no parallel. Norfolk-house is one of the finest in London.—The interior, which is in the style prevalent about eighty

years ago in England, realises the notions which one forms of a palace. It was indeed occupied at one time by some members of the Royal family; the Duke of NORFOLK told us that the late KING was born in the room in which we dined. We passed through a series of magnificent apartments, rich with crimson and fretted with gold. There was no glare of excessive light in this vast and seemingly endless mansion; and the massive lamps which were suspended from the embossed and gilded ceilings, diffused a shadowed illumination, and left the distance in the dusk. The transition to the great chamber where the company was assembled, and which was glowing with light, presented a brilliant and imposing contrast. Here we found the Duke of NORFOLK surrounded by persons of high distinction.—Amongst the company were the Dukes of SUSSEX and DEVONSHIRE, and LEINSTER, Lord GREY, Lord FITZWILLIAM, Lord SHREWSBURY, Lord DONOUGHMORE, Lord STOURTON, Lord CLIFFORD, Lord NUGENT, Lord ARUNDEL, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, Mr. BUTLER, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. DENMAN and other persons of eminence and fame.—The Duke of NORFOLK came forward to meet us, and gave us a cordial and cheerful welcome.—This amiable Nobleman is distinguished by the kindness of his manners, which bespeak an excellent and unassuming spirit; and through all the political intercourse we had with him upon the great question in which he feels so deep an interest, manifested a shrewd sound sense, and a high and intense anxiety for the success of the great cause of religious liberty, from which very beneficial effects have already ensued. He has been very instrumental in effecting a junction between the English and Irish Roman Catholics—and has thus conferred a great service upon both. We were received by him with the most gracious and unaffected urbanity. I was

struck with the perfect freedom from authoritativeness which characterised most of the eminent men who were placed about me. There is among the petty aristocracy of Ireland, infinitely more arrogance of port and look, than I observed amongst the first men of the British Empire. Certain of our Colonial aristocracy are far more bloated and full blown with a notion of their own importance. The reason is obvious. The former rest in security upon their unquestionable right to respect. Their dignity fits them like an accustomed garment. But men who are raised but to a small elevation, on which they hold a dubious footing, feel it necessary to impress their consequence upon others, by an assumption of authority which is always offensive, and generally absurd. Lord FITZWILLIAM was the person with whom I was disposed to be most pleased. This venerable Nobleman carries with a grey head a young and fresh heart. He may be called the Old Adam of the political world, and England might well exclaim to her faithful servant, in the language of Orlando,

> "Oh, good old man, how well in thee appears,
> The constant services of the antique world!
> Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
> When none will sweat but for promotion."

It is impossible to look upon this amiable and dignified patrician of the olden stamp, without a feeling of affectionate admiration for his pure and distinguished patriotism and the warm love of his country, which lives (if I may so say), under the ashes of age, and requires but to be stirred, to emit the flashes of its former fire. The natural apathy incidental to his time of life, appears habitual to prevail over him; but speak to him of the great interests of the empire—speak to him of that measure which at an earlier period he was delegated by his Sovereign to complete—speak to him of Ireland—and through

the dimness that loads his eye, a sudden illumination will break forth. For Ireland he entertains a kind of paternal tenderness. He reverted with a Nestorian pride to the period of his own government; and mentioned that he had preserved the address which he had received from the Roman Catholic body, as amongst the best memorials of his political life. That he might live to see the Emancipation of the Irish people, seemed to be the wish nearest to his heart. It does one good—it is useful in a moral point of view, to approach such a person as Lord FITZWILLIAM, and to feel that there is in public men such a thing as a pure and disinterested anxiety for the benefit of mankind, and that the vows of all politicians are not, whatever we may be disposed to think, "as false as dicers' oaths." In describing the impression produced upon me by Lord FITZWILLIAM, I have mentioned the result of my observation at Mr. PONSONBY'S, where the deputies afterwards met him, as well as at Norfolk house. Lord GREY also dined at Mr. PONSONBY'S, where I had a better opportunity of noting him. He is somewhat silent and reserved. It is the fashion among Tories to account him contemptuous and haughty; but I cannot coincide with them. He has, indeed, a lofty bearing, but it is not at all artificial. It is the aristocracy of virtue as well as rank. There is something uncompromising, and even perhaps stern as well as inflexible in his aspect.—Tall, erect, and collected in himself, he carries the evidences of moral and intellectual ascendancy impressed upon him, and looks as if he knew himself to be, in the proudest sense which the poet has attached to the character, not only a great but an honest man. And why should he not look exactly what he is? Why should he not wrap himself in the consciousness of his political integrity, and seem to say, "*mea virtute involvo*," while so many others, who were once the companions of his jour-

ney, and who turned aside into a more luxuriant road, in taking a retrospect, as the close of life is drawing near, of the mazy course which they have trod, behold it winding through a rich and champaigne country, and occasionally deviating into low but not unproductive declivities? This eminent man, in looking back from the point of moral elevation on which he stands, will trace his path in one direct and unbroken line—through a lofty region which has been barren of all but fame, and from which no allurement of ease, or of promotion, could ever induce him to depart. Lord GREY has a touch of sadness upon him, which would look dissatisfaction to a placeman's eye; but there is nothing really morose or atrabilious in his expression. He has found that sorrow can unbar the palaces of the great, as well as unlatch the cottages of the lowly. His dear friend and near ally is gone—his party is almost broken. He has survived the death, and, let me add, the virtue of many illustrious men, and looks like the lonely column of the fabric which he sustained so nobly, and which has fallen at last around him. It is not wonderful that he should seem to stand in solitary loftiness, and that melancholy should have given a solemn tinge to his mind."

To the matters touched on in this lively and interesting sketch, it is not in our power to add anything. Indeed, addition were perfectly superfluous.

It was on the 4th February, Mr. LAWLESS moved the Catholic Association, that O'CONNELL and SHIEL should both proceed to London, as Counsel to be heard on behalf of their countrymen, at the bar of the House of Commons. The resolution was carried, and thus originated the subsequent deputation. In London, as the reader has been told, the deputation were feted by the Catholic Nobility, and by the great Whig party. All were vieing to do them honor. In the circle in which

they moved, the feeling in their regard almost amounted to enthusiasm. O'CONNELL made a most favorable impression on all with whom he came in contact. His bland address—his retiring manners in society—his unaffected eloquence—his conversational powers—and his fame, all combined to make him the observed of all observers. He soon came into communication with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, in reference to the object of his mission. It was speedily ascertained that he could not be heard at the bar of the House of Commons. It was also found that the slightest resistance could not be offered with effect, to the bill GOULBURN introduced at the very commencement of the Session, to suppress the Association. It was doomed, inevitably, by a *united* Cabinet, and opposition was of no avail. GOULBURN'S bill went rapidly through both houses, and soon became law. But it gave rise to one of the most animated and luminous debates ever heard within the walls of Parliament. The great political leaders of both sides spoke on the occasion. CANNING, PLUNKETT, PEEL, at one side;—TIERNEY, MACKINTOSH, BURDETT, and BROUGHAM, on the other, put forth their great powers. But discussion was idle. The Association was obnoxious, and it was put down. We shall by and by refer to the provisions of this Algerine Act. The Association issued the following address to the people of Ireland—vindicating its own course, and offering them counsel and consolation. It is inserted here, principally because it vividly and truthfully pourtrays the services the Association rendered the country, during its brief existence:—

"CATHOLIC COUNTRYMEN—Your Association deem it a duty they owe to the Catholic Cause, to the Country, and to the Empire, to address a valedictory Appeal to

you on the eve of their dissolution ; to you, because you have constituted the elements of their influence and strength—to the Country, inasmuch as they have, during the term of their existence, strenuously laboured for its tranquillity and freedom—and to the Empire, for the purpose of demonstrating their claims to equal rights and equal justice.

" At no period since its establishment, has the Catholic Association employed the language of defiance, or adopted the ordinary topics of faction. Constituted for the one purpose, of endeavouring, by petition, to seek redress, through the constitutional channels, of the various grievances of which the Country has had such just cause to complain, they confined themselves to a discussion of those grievances, and to a consideration of the means by which practical redress could be obtained.—That such topics are calculated to excite indignation, they do not deny ; and they would not be men, or Irishmen—they would not have represented your opinions or your feelings, if the tongue did not speak the language of the heart, and if they did not occasionally express themselves with a warmth commensurate to the grievous injuries they have had to endure. But at no time, they repeat, did they transgress the legitimate boundary of free discussion ; at no time did they deviate into subjects unconnected with their wrongs and their claims ; and at no time, during the entire period of their existence, have they endeavoured to weaken your reliance upon the higher authorities of the State, or your just confidence in the Conservative and restoring powers of the Constitution.

" They will not, in this, their last Address, depart from those principles of prudence and discretion, which your confidence and support embolden them in asserting,

have, up to this moment, governed their proceedings; but they owe it as a deed of justice to themselves—they owe it in candour to the People of England—they owe it to that Parliament from whom they seek redress—and, above all, to that gracious and beloved Sovereign, to whose royal assent they look for final disenthralment, to place before you a brief, but, they trust, an ample vindication of their character and conduct.

"In obedience to those principles by which their proceedings have been regulated from the commencement, they refrain from reminding you, even by a hasty outline of the state of the country, when their labours began.—They need only say, that a rustic insurrection raged in the South of Ireland—that the North groaned under the no less terrible infliction of a blind and misguided confederacy—that the metropolis was the scene of faction and sedition—that the King's Lieutenant was grossly insulted, and the King's Admonitory Letter treated with the most insolent contumely. These topics they do not employ to awaken your resentments. They are historical facts, stated merely with a view to justify the Catholics in associating. But, even *then*, they did not form an Association, until the House of Commons rejected, under very memorable circumstances the prayer of their Petition.

"Under these difficulties and discouragement, your Association began its labours. They had, on the one hand, to contend with a dominant and powerful Faction—in possession, many of them, of influence and station—leagued in defiance of the Constitution, and almost at open war with the Constitutional Authorities; and, on the other hand, they had to use their influence with their more humble Countrymen, in the hope of dissuading them from the lawless and criminal courses in which they

had embarked. Nor was this all. It was indispensably necessary for the Cause, and for the Country, to collect and to array the conflicting, and often discordant opinions of the Catholic Body round the Association. Experience had taught them how often their cause had been postponed—how often their hopes had been blasted by a disunion among themselves. It was also their duty to attach the Catholic Hierarchy and Priesthood to the Political Cause of our common country.

"It is superfluous to affirm that all these objects have been achieved—all the Catholic Prelates, Peers, Clergy, and Gentry are Members—nay, active and efficient Members of your Association. The most influential of the middle ranks of society belong to this Body. The members of the liberal professions, who are Catholic, are also enrolled among them; and it is our boast and our pride that we numbered amongst us, the honest artizan, and the humble peasant.

"If there were no record of the means by which this singular union was effected, the future Historian would pause when it became his duty to narrate the fact.—Fellow-countrymen, you know with what facility this great object was achieved. The Association appealed to the good sense and the natural feeling of the Country; they exhibited the grievances which we all endured—they stated the persecutions to which the poor were subjected from the factions—they required means from you to make their grievances known—money to educate the poor, to protect the innocent, and to punish the wrong-doer. They established the principle of voluntary contributions—they called on you for Catholic Rent.

"You have answered that call promptly, nobly, abundantly. You have given the Association the means of extending the blessings of a Religious and Catholic

Education. You have enabled the Association to protect the Poor—to expose and punish the petty Tyrant—to force tardy justice even from the Corporations—and to display to the Empire, to Europe, and to America, the true state of your hitherto unhappy Country.

"Fellow-Countrymen! mark the consequences. For the first time in our annals, the Catholics of Ireland appear to the rest of the world an United Nation—and for the first time in our annals, not only the Legislature, but the People of England, appear disposed to concede to you the principle of UNQUALIFIED EMANCIPATION.

"It is not, surely, assuming too much to the Association to assert, that they have mainly contributed to bring your question to this auspicious result. Year after year, we have Petitioned; and year after year, have been dismissed from the Bar of the Legislature. But the Catholics were never before animated by one spirit, nor swayed, as it were, by a single impulse. For this rare and almost miraculous phenomenon, the Association may surely take credit to itself.

"It now becomes our duty to revert to a more painful topic—a topic which, we confess, it would be difficult for us to treat with the temperance so necessary in all public documents, and so indispensable in this, our Farewell Address—and one, you would not be disposed, we are satisfied, under any other circumstances than the present, to endure with becoming patience and resignation—we need not add, that we speak of our approaching suppression.

"When it was intimated, that the measure which has now become a Law of the Land, was in contemplation, your Association adopted the most prompt and energetic course, with a view to avert the calamity. Petitions were framed, and forwarded to both branches of the Le-

gislature, and several of the most distinguished Members of our Body, became a voluntary deputation to promote the object. You instantly answered yourselves the call which was made upon you, and the tables of both Houses were crowded with your Petitions. The discussions which ensued in Parliament must be fresh in your recollection. We need not express our gratitude to the opposers of the Bill in this Address to you. You will yourselves perform this act of duty in your Aggregate Assemblies. It is enough for us to say, that their arguments remain to this moment unanswered, because they were unanswerable. Even the great supporter of the Bill himself acknowledged willingly, that the Association, which the measure sought to suppress, "was peaceable and loyal, not only in conduct, but in intention." We do not desire a more lofty panegyric, and coming from one hostile to your claims, you will yourselves place a suitable value on the encomium.

"Though justly irritated, this is not a time to indulge in irritable expressions. This Penal Bill has now become the law of the land, and it is our duty and yours to yield, if not a cheerful, a ready and unqualified obedience to its provisions.

"We are now assembled for the last time—for the last time the Catholic Association addresses their countrymen. It would be affectation to pretend that our honest pride is not wounded by the necessity which imposes this task upon us. You will receive our parting admonition with that manly regret, which the truly generous know so well how to estimate, and with that confiding affection which we have so often experienced from you. You will do more, fellow-countrymen. You have, hitherto, in our manifold struggles, supported us—you have received those suggestions which you authorise us to make,

with docility. You will follow the last advice, which we trust it will be not necessary for us as Catholics, as a distinctive denomination of Irishmen, to offer.

"The sorrow which we should experience on an occasion like the present, is much alleviated, if not altogether removed, by those circumstances with which you are all acquainted. Your Petition has been received with grace and favour by the House of Commons. It has not only been supported by those Senators who were friendly to the Association, and in whose masterly eloquence we can find the best defence, but by those also, many of them Members of his Majesty's Government, who were opposed to the Association, and who were the authors of the Penal Enactment against it. It is not for us, Fellow-countrymen, nor with deference, we assert it, for you, to question the sincerity of the latter. Nor will you be disposed to canvass, with too curious a criticism, the conduct or the motives of individuals. It is sufficient for us to know that the House of Commons has recognised the principle of Emancipation—that they have given leave to bring in a Bill—that not only Members of the Opposition, but several of his Majesty's Ministers, are appointed to prepare this Bill—that the most distinguished and beloved Member of the Association, Mr. O'Connell, has been allowed to draw up the rough draft of the measure, and that there are decided manifestations, now that the mind of the people of England is with us, that the House of Lords will at length consent to restore freedom to Ireland, to render its connexion secure, and the Empire invincible.

"This, then, is the position, Catholic Countrymen, in which we stand. It is only necessary to appeal to your good sense and your good feeling, and to the course which you should adopt in the present crisis. In any

event you would be patient; and though justly discontented, none should with justice impeach your loyalty. At the present moment there is hope, such as never dawned upon our cause before. Let us not, by any impatience, by any indulgence of temper, cloud the prospect, or impede the course which the Legislature is likely to adopt. Of the details of the Bill we cannot speak with any certainty; nor, if we could, are we called upon to do so. Let its principle be once recognised by the Commons, and you may then express your opinions as to its provisions. But we implore you, as you value the liberty of your country, not to dissipate your moral influence by premature difference. You are indebted to your union for the strength which your cause has obtained. Do not give a victory to your enemies by dissension now. But upon this point it is not necessary, we trust, to say more.

"It is not, we are sure, incumbent on us again to warn our humble Countrymen against any confederacy or Association whatever; because we are persuaded that the address which we made you at the beginning of the present year, has produced the effect we intended. The Country is now in a firm, and we trust, in a lasting state of tranquillity. The success of our cause will depend, in a great degree, on the continuance of this state of things. You will listen to the admonitions of your beloved Clergy—you will follow their sage and pious advice—you will submit to their spiritual care—to their temporal authority, with which their virtues and devotion have invested them, we cheerfully and confidently trust, for the continuance of that peace and order, without which, on your parts, your Association could not have effected so much. It is, however, necessary to tell you that, though dissolved by Law, the spirit of the Association still exists. In every parish in the kingdom there are indivi-

duals who belonged to the Association. Those individuals will still be true to the principles upon which their union was founded. They will stand as sentinels over the interests of the poor man—they will defend him, if they can, from injury; and, if they cannot, they will bring to punishment the aggressor, or expose to public odium the petty Tyrant. Be secure, therefore, Fellow-Countrymen—be satisfied that the vigilant guardianship is kept over your rights and your interests.

"Your condition will, beyond a doubt, be meliorated. The country is becoming prosperous—employment is becoming more general—English Capital is about to be invested in our soil, our mines, and with a view to the promotion of our manufactures. It shall be our business, for you have enabled us to do so—and the law which has just passed does not prevent it—to afford your youth the means of Catholic Education. To the prosecution of this great object many of our Body have devoted themselves, and you may rest satisfied that the system will be carried into complete effect, when we shall be enabled to conclude our previous arrangements.

"Fellow-Countrymen—Let this be our motto, oblivion of injuries, attachment to the British Constitution, and unqualified loyalty to the King.—Farewell."

In the mean time, O'Connell was in constant communication with Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Plunkett. In his anxiety to obtain religious freedom for Ireland, he forgot the late prosecution instituted by the Attorney-General; and, to do Plunkett justice, he reciprocated the amicable feeling; for in the debate on the Association Suppression Bill, he spoke in the highest terms of O'Connell, of his private virtues, and great professional talents, in which he had no superior at the bar. In fact, considering that the eulogy came from the Irish Attor-

NEY-GENERAL of Lord LIVERPOOL, ample justice was rendered the Great Agitator. O'CONNELL did not rest satisfied with a single effort at personal reconciliation. He did more; he sent his friend, R. N. BENNETT to Colonel BROWNE, to state that he felt he was in the wrong in the affair with Mr. PEEL in 1815, in offering the first provocation, and that he wished to express his regret for it. This communication was made in writing. It is said Mr. PEEL returned a noble and generous reply; such as, knowing him as we now do, we should expect from him.

In his anxiety to conciliate, we, however, fear O'CONNELL allowed himself to be cajoled through PLUNKETT, who, we are convinced, was himself deceived. A Committee was appointed by the House of Commons to frame a Catholic Relief Bill. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Mr. PLUNKETT, who were on the Committee, requested Mr. O'CONNELL to frame the Bill. This flattered him, and lulled his suspicions. He was then told that it was useless to strive to pass any measure, without giving some security to the State against Catholic ascendency and disloyalty! As the VETO was an abandoned project, they proposed that the Forty-shilling Freeholders should be done away with, and the Catholic Clergy paid —and that these two measures should be introduced as "WINGS" to the Catholic Emancipation Bill. O'CONNELL entertained a very decided opinion that the Forty-shilling Leasehold Franchise was but an instrument in the hands of the Landlords, for preserving their political power; and that these Freeholders, of whom there were one hundred thousand in Ireland, were ever slaves of the Landlords—that they were driven to the Hustings like so many sheep—and that absolute submission to the will of their masters, was a condition of their

tenures. He thought also that a Ten Pound Leasehold Franchise would introduce another and more independent and numerous class of voters. He had not then the experience of the general election of 1826, nor of the Waterford and Louth Elections, where the Forty Shilling Freeholders behaved so well; nor of the Carlow elections, after Emancipation and Reform; when the Ten Pound voters were so cruelly oppressed, because of their scanty numbers. He forgot, also, that the land these humble men received as Freeholders, was a great boon in its way; and that it would be a severe injury to deprive the people of it in future, by withdrawing the inducement to give it. On the subject of the Forty Shilling Freeholders, it is right to give his own explanation of the reasons by which he was influenced, as we find them in his speech. At the great Dublin Banquet, given to the City and County Members, in January, 1838, Mr. O'CONNELL thus defends himself from the charges made against him regarding this transaction.

"I know there is a calumny against me, that I abandoned the 40s. freeholders, on condition of obtaining Emancipation. Nothing can be more abominably false. No one calumny of the many that are spread concerning me, is more unfounded than that. In the year 1825, when the question of Catholic Emancipation was before the parliament, and when, if it had been granted, we would have felt some gratitude in return, and not have considered it, as we did in 1829, a measure which they could not possibly refuse to grant, and which was wrung from them by an aroused and agitated people, deeply sensible of their wrongs; at that time I did consent to the abolition of the 40s. freeholders who held their lands at a rack-rent, or who were tenants in common; but I never consented to the abolition of those who were similarly situated to the 40s. freeholders of England. No, I never

did—I never would consent to such an injustice to my country. On the contrary, in the year 1829, when the Emancipation bill passed, previous to its passing, at a meeting in the Thatched-house tavern, I drew up a petition which was unanimously adopted, calling upon the government to leave us the 40s. freeholders, and to withhold Emancipation—for I did think that, at such a price, it would be too dear to purchase. We have it upon record, that SPRING RICE, who took no active part in support of it, presented that petition to the House of Commons. It is there on record, a clear confutation of the foul falsehood that I abandoned the 40s. freeholders."

With respect to the other "Wing"—Mr. O'CONNELL, thought, if the Clergy were carefully protected from all State interference, that a provision for their maintenance would be wise; because it would secure the ordination of a greater number of Clergymen. Now, it is manifest that in a poor country such as Ireland, the voluntary system cannot provide ministers of religion in sufficient number, to teach the Christian doctrines and Christian religion to eight millions of people. The labourer is worthy of his hire—those who preach the gospel must live by the gospel—are Scriptural maxims. How are a people of whom above 2,300,000 are in a state of destitution, of whom 4,000,000 were accustomed to live on the potato root—how are they to provide *adequate* religious instruction for their children and themselves? The State does not provide it through the National Schools—the miserable religious jealousy existing in these kingdoms, the desire not to give a triumph to either party, has established a system of State education, which at least partially excludes religious instruction. How then are the people to be morally and religiously educated? How is the prime—the only object of existence to be attended

to, if there be not a sufficiency of Clergymen? The voluntary system will not suffice. It must be by some other arrangement, *so defined that no possible interference with our religion can be the result.* These were precisely Mr. O'CONNELL's views in 1825, and at many subsequent periods—and in defiance of much popular obloquy, he acted on them. There was, however, this difference between O'CONNELL's opinions in 1825, as regards the payment of the Clergy, and those he subsequently promulgated. He would have given the State a *control over the temporalities* of the Catholic Church; whereas, he always afterwards, as we shall repeatedly see in this MEMOIR—simply advocated the establishment of glebes, under the control of the Catholic Hierarchy, free and independent of the State—and not sufficiently productive to leave the clergyman entirely independent of his flock, but sufficiently ample to secure a larger number of clergymen for the religious instruction of the people. In this latter view, we have ever concurred with him. Something must be done to give an impoverished people a sufficient number of pastors for their religious consolation.

The voluntary system, in its purest form, does well for the Protestant Dissenters, who are few in numbers and enormously wealthy. The Wesleyans, for instance, had no difficulty, a few years ago, in raising ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, by voluntary subscription, for their religious purposes. But where the mass of the people, amounting to millions, in a state of destitution, and of course in proportion as they are destitute, in greater need of religious aid and comfort, the voluntary system, without any other resources, does not and cannot furnish a competent number of clergymen to meet the requirements of the multitude. If we believe sincerely that our salvation is the "one thing necessary," some

other mode should be devised to meet the exigency, provided it can be accomplished without any state control or state interference of any kind or character whatever, remote or contingent.

O'CONNELL, in 1837, had a severe and angry controversy with SMITH O'BRIEN. On the nature of that controversy, we will express an impartial opinion when we come to treat of it. But we may here observe, that one of the matters in dispute was the payment of the Clergy; a policy of which Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN was always an advocate. He on that occasion charged Mr. O'CONNELL with changing his mind about the State pension for the clergy. In reply, Mr. O'CONNELL thus writes, explanatory of his views in 1825, and of the causes that led to his change of opinion.

"*First*—In the year 1825, I was strongly impressed with a conviction, and the entire of my evidence shows it; that Emancipation would terminate in Ireland, religious feuds and sectarian animosities. I thought the ascendency party would, when legal superiority was taken away, abandon all pretence to practical masterhood. I believed that in political equality would be found the sources of christian charity and mutual benevolence, and that it would *then* be safe to leave a Protestant government dominion over the temporalities of a Catholic priesthood. These were then my conscientious opinions. But *the* subsequent *facts* proved directly the reverse. The facts showed that the bitter spirit of religious bigotry had so envenomed the mind of the Protestant ascendancy party, that the present generation could not be humanised by any change of law or right. The Catholics did their part nobly, as men and as Christians. There was not the least insolence of triumph—not one word of insult accompanied or followed our success. I spent five years endeavour-

ing to conciliate the Orangemen. They only became the more ferocious. We have since seen HADDINGTON and HARDING at the Castle—SHAW and LEFROY made Privy Councillors!—What sincere Catholic—aye, or honest friend to the Catholics—could endure to see any influence over the Catholic Priesthood vested in such men? No. The subsequent facts in Ireland destroyed the very groundwork of my opinion in 1825. I, a sincere Catholic, abandoned that opinion. Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN, an honest—oh! how honest—friend of the Catholics, maintains it in despite of all experience.

"*Secondly*—Since 1825, this experiment was tried in Prussia; the great increase of Roman Catholic subjects acquired by Prussia, by means of the Holy Alliance, has placed the experiment on a great scale—and that experiment has proved to a demonstration, that it is utterly unsafe for a conscientious Catholic to place his Clergy under the direct influence of a Protestant Government. The Prussian Protestant Government, it is now known, has exercised the most base, continuous, and emaciating treachery in its conduct towards its Catholic subjects.

"*Thirdly*—Since 1823, the same experiment has been fully developed in Belgium; the King of Holland obtained dominion over the Catholic Church—he oppressed the parochial Clergy, and actually had every bishoprick vacant, save one. The conexion of the Catholic Church with a Protestant state became intolerable—and, blessed be Heaven, the Catholic people of Belgium drove the tyrant from his Throne, and dissevered much of the fatal connexion between the Church and the State.

"*Fourthly*—Since 1825 this experiment has also been exhibited in its native horrors in another shape, in the connexion between a Catholic Church and a Catholic State—I mean in Italy. The late EMPEROR of Germany was a Catholic in his own way—certainly a sincere one—

yet, in his Italian states, he tyrannised over the Clergy, and asserted the principle of spiritual supremacy in the temporal monarchy, to the very edge of heresy.

"*Fifthly*—In 1825, the principle of voluntary Church Establishments had been but little if at all discussed. My own mind was not familiar with it. I have not then, as I have since, imbued my mind with the full conviction which I now entertain of its salutary efficacy. I am now fully convinced that the voluntary principle can alone produce *justice to all*—that the truth is shielded and supported by that principle, and that error cannot prevail to any great extent, unless that principle be violated, and temporal advantages held out for the promotion of erroneous opinions. Religion, pure and undefiled, in the present state of the world, requires that it should be left to shine by its own light, and not borrow any false lustre from the glitter of the putrescency of the Mammon of this world."

In the year 1835, at the Franchise Association, he made a speech which sets forth, *in extenso*, his opinions on this subject—opinions which he never altered to the day of his death. In them, we fully concur. It was on a motion of Mr. LAWLESS', disclaiming all intentions of appropriating any of the surplus revenues of the Established Church, to the payment of the Catholic Clergy.

He said :—"I have much greater pleasure in rising to second that motion, than I would have had if left to me to bring it forward ; for although it contains an apology for entertaining the question at all at this Association, I am not altogether satisfied that we should introduce it. I would prefer it was totally omitted, and I only yield a reluctant assent, in consequence of the importance of the measure itself I will not follow Mr. LAWLESS in his discursive flights, but endeavour to confine the little I

have to say upon the actual question before us—whether there should be a state provision for the Catholic Clergy of Ireland. That question should resolve upon another one; namely, whether the Catholic Clergy would be thereby rendered more efficient. As a Catholic, that is my opinion ; and as a citizen of the state, it is a question equally fair for me to discuss. As such, I might take another view of it; but as a Catholic I do not hesitate one moment to say, that the Catholic Clergy would be essentially injured by a state provision. It is not vain boasting of mine to say of the Catholic clergy, many of whom I know and esteem, with a veneration mixed with affection —it is not vain boasting of their services to say, that a more efficient body of clergymen, is not to be found in any country in the world, than the Catholic Clergy of Ireland. A state provision would not increase their utility ; for, according to their numbers, that would be impossible. They are the poor man's only friend, the ignorant man's instructor, the guide to the child, the comforter of old age, the sole instructor of the death bed, the bed of sickness and of poverty, who meet the mephitic air of pestilence and disease with a heroism worthy of a martyr, and a piety dignified as that of a saint. They frequent the cellars and the cabins where nothing but misery is seen ; they are the only persons who never forsake the wretched, and their attendance is only rendered the more secure, the more marked the wretchedness of the afflicted poor. I remember, in the House of Commons, a passage of a speech delivered by CHARLES GRANT ; where he spoke of the last visitation of the pestilential typhus, in which he described, with no less beauty of language than truth, a scene of wretchedness in a cellar in the outlets of Dublin ; where there lay upon a bed of straw, saturated with the poison of disease,

four wretched victims, ready to expire from want as well as disease. There was one man, he said, amongst them, in full health and life, who had ventured into that scene of almost certain destruction; who placed his ear close to the mouth of one of the dying inmates, so that it was impossible for him to escape the contagion of his fevered breath; who held out to him the words of consolation, and who bade him hope that for the miseries of this life he would be rewarded in another and better world. Who was it visited at this moment? It was a Catholic priest. What could a state provision do for men of that kind? It might make them worldly, selfish, ambitious, and proud; and it might induce to come amongst them those who at present think that the profession of a Catholic Priest is not sufficiently gentlemanly. It might bring speculators amongst them, who would disgrace religion, and degrade it into a mercenary trade. It might have attractions for those youths, who no longer had the army or navy to resort to; who would wish to sport their leisure on Sunday in polemical displays, and the remainder of the week, in fox-hunting or other amusements. If a state provision were given to the Catholic clergy, it would augment their numbers, but it would certainly diminish their functions and utility to the state. This is a decisive motive with me for opposing a state provision for the Catholic clergy. There is a temporary one at the present moment; for the Conservatives hold out that we want to lessen the temporalities of the church, not for the purpose of giving relief to the people, not for the purpose of extending education, which is another and a great object, but to hand it over to the people themselves. I would wish at this moment to give the lie direct to that assertion; and the reason I acquiesced in having the motion now brought forward was, that the calumny which

has gone abroad, might meet with, through this Association, the most unqualified contradiction. Let me not be supposed to deny that there was a period in history in which the connexion of church and state was of great utility in the propagation of religion, the extension of civilization, the cultivation of morality, and for the tranquillity of the country—a period when that connexion had all these advantages, and one still more precious; when the Church, though connected with the State, was the guardian of the liberties of the people. The great THOMAS A BECKET, to whom England has been indebted more than any other man, and whose name has been calumniated for the last 300 years, and which was all but adored for 300 years preceding—when the English people, in number exceeding 100,000, at one time thronged round his shrine at Canterbury, with a fervour unexampled in any country—was the advocate to whom England is indebted for upholding the Church, and stopping the tyranny of HENRY II., who possessed such formidable strength. One of the first signatures to *Magna Charta* was that of the successor of THOMAS A BECKET, STEPHEN LANGTON, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The connexion between the Church and State then differed from the connexion between the Protestant Church and the State at present, and any connexion that could be formed between the Catholic Church and the State. At that period the Church was superior, and had an interest in protecting the people against the State. The Reformation brought about a change, by which the Church was thus made slavish, not co-equal with the State. (Hear.) The result was, that since the Reformation, we never once found the Church on the side of liberty. Mr. O'CONNELL here adduced as an illustration of his position, Cardinal XIMENES, who put down the representative system of the

Cortes in Spain; but, in order to do so, first succeeded in enslaving the Church. As long as the Church had its liberty, it protected that of the people; but when Cardinal XIMENES got them a connexion between Church and State, the Church of Spain descended from its high office of protector of liberty, and became a portion of the servitude that followed. But, said Mr. O'CONNELL, we want not Protestant nor foreign examples, to instruct us in perceiving that a State provision would not be of service. I am almost old enough to recollect hearing the echo of the shout of liberty, made with a most powerful voice by the Dissenters of the North, who were amongst the first to assert the principle of religious liberty. Hitherto, I have treated this subject merely as a Catholic, mixing little of political feeling with it; but if I were a Protestant, I would have just as strong an objection to the principle of a State provision for the Catholic Clergy. Whether Protestant or Catholic, I am equally fond of the democratic spirit of human liberty. I do not wish, therefore, that the state should have any power over the Catholic Clergy; I do not wish to see Ireland afflicted with such a curse or scourge, as making the Catholic Clergy subservient to the state, and having them act as guagers or policemen, would bring upon the country. It may be said they are in a comparative state of destitution, and that the Churches of the people having been long since destroyed, it is a severe burden on them to have to build their own places of worship, and not only support those who do, but also those who do not administer to their spiritual wants. I admit, with sorrow, the truth of the engagement; but the Catholic clergymen are better supported, notwithstanding, than they would be if depending on a paltry sum from the government. It would take a million a year to give them any

thing like a decent provision—a sum not likely to be parted with by John Bull. It would have the effect of not only separating them from the people and their affections, but of throwing them into the hands of the government, and of encouraging that government to measures of harshness and severity. The government would be instigated to severe and harsh measures, even by the reflection that they had the Catholic clergy in pay. *I have always had a favourite plan of my own on the subject. Insufficiently, as I know, are the wants of the people attended to, and deploring as I do the state of their houses of worship, yet I know the difficulties that would necessarily occur from an increased number of clergy at present. I think individual subscription would be found to be sufficient to procure in every parish in Ireland a glebe and house for the Catholic Clergy, not connected with the State, but belonging as of right to the Catholic Clergy; and giving them a certificate of that right, with which the Parish Priest could go to the Courts of Law and obtain a right of habere from the Sheriff to put him in possession. That is one of the speculations of my mind.* A State provision for the Catholic Clergy therefore, as a politician, I condemn; and if I was a Protestant, I should most emphatically condemn it also; because it would compel me to contribute to the support of a clergy in whom I had no confidence, and from whom I derived no spiritual advantages. I would feel the injustice of the thing upon the same ground that I refuse to contribute to the support of the Protestant Clergy, and upon principle I shall ever be the decided opponent of any scheme or plan, having for its object, the pensioning of the Catholic Clergy out of the funds of the State. This is my opinion as a Statesman—it is perfectly consistent with the principles which I have always advocated, and it is the more necessary when calumnies are abroad with respect to our

objects, that we should adopt the resolution before the chair. By pledging ourselves to that resolution, we show, that in calling for the appropriation of the surplus funds of the Established Church for the purpose of education, that we have no ulterior object in view, and we disclaim its application for the purpose which they insinuate. Under these circumstances, I second with pleasure the motion of Mr. LAWLESS."

Thus, on the question of the "Wings," he afterwards altered his sentiments with reference to the payment of the Clergy, from an ordinary State Provision to the purchase of Glebes. Now with respect to the forty-shilling freeholders. In 1826, he acknowledged he was wrong in supposing they were serfs of the landlords. He established, as we will see, that year a fund for their protection; and their conduct at the Waterford election of 1826, when VILLIERS STUART was the liberal candidate opposed to the BERESFORDS, convinced him of the independent spirit which influenced them, and that they deserved the franchise. But in this matter he did not yield to clamour, or in apprehension of losing his popularity, for during the most angry period of the discussions incident on the "Wings," the only change he made in his opinions, was that he considered the two measures should be distinct and separate from the Act of Emancipation, and that the Catholics should look for freedom from all such adjuncts or conditions.

Such being at the time, then, the views of O'CONNELL, he accepted the terms, without which he was told Emancipation could not be had, and thereupon he consented to draw the bill. He imparted his views to the Association. The communication produced an angry feeling in the House of Commons. The idea of the arch-enemy of Protestant Ascendency, having the drawing of such a

bill, alarmed the anti-Catholic party, and Mr. TIERNEY was forced to contradict the statement that Mr. O'CONNELL was so commissioned. It was true the Committee appointed by the House of Commons did not, as a body, delegate their functions to him, but the leaders of the Committee—those appointed to draw the bill,to be afterwards discussed by the Committee, did confide that task to Mr. O'CONNELL.

In the meantime, Mr. LAWLESS—a great friend of GEORGE ENSOR'S, and a follower of COBBETT, sounded the tocsin, and went over to London at his own expense to carry out his views. His motto was no compromise. He proclaimed most unjustifiably that, for a silk gown, they were sold. He was backed by COBBETT. He endeavoured to bring the matter before the Deputation for discussion. He was stopped *in limine*, by being informed that he was no member of the Deputation; because he came not within the description of persons who should compose the deputation. He was a "literary man," and, as such, excluded. It is impossible to justify this rule. There may have been sufficient reasons to exclude Mr. LAWLESS; but they should have been stated more explicitly at first. He it was who proposed the deputation, and he had a legitimate claim to become a member of it.' The writer was in London at the time, and knew Mr. LAWLESS intimately. He certainly appeared ambitious of courting popularity; but he seemed to be an honest, enthusiastic, warm-hearted man, without much grasp of mind, or political foresight: but just the kind of being that would tell his thoughts without reserve, and fearlessly maintain his opinions. He did so with great perseverance in the matter of the "Wings," and amidst much obloquy. The mass of the Irish Reformers and

Catholics went with him, and after a time no more was heard of the "Wings." To give the reader a complete notion of the controversy that ensued, Mr. O'Connell's letter on the subject, and Mr. Lawless's reply are here inserted:—

"TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION.

"London, March 16, 1825.

"Sir—I feel it my duty once more to address the Catholic Association; and, feeling that I do so for the last time, I cannot but experience some painful emotions, mitigated, however, by the present cheering aspect of our affairs, and subdued both in tone and temper by that dutiful and willing submission which we have always paid to the law of the land.

"But, while we submit cheerfully to the law, we do not, and cannot forget what we owe to ourselves and our country, as Irishmen, and as friends of constitutional liberty, and in both these capacities, I think it quite right to express distinctly and explicitly the pleasure and the pride I feel at being a member of the Catholic Association. It will, during my entire life, be a comfort and consolation to me, that I was an active member of that body; and, if any stone shall mark my name after this mortal coil is with me at an end, I fondly hope that it will record as my best title to Irish gratitude—"He was a member of the Catholic Association of Ireland."

"I cannot, and I am sure I do not desire to forget, that when the Association commenced, all Ireland was in a state of trouble and confusion. In the North, blood—Catholic blood, was shed by the Orange faction, and it was shed unrequited; whilst, in several districts of that same North, the traitorous Ribbonman held, in the open day, his daring and almost rebellious processions. In the other districts of Ireland; in no less, I think, than

eleven counties, the constitution was suspended; trial by jury abrogated, and whilst crimes of the darkest dye, and murders of an assassin-like character multiplied, the odious, but, perhaps, then necessary Insurrection Act, swept the land of many a victim, and seemed to appeal to force alone, as the only instrument to extort a reluctant submission. Such was the state of Ireland when the Catholic Association was formed. I am not writing its history; I am only tracing its results. Such was the state of Ireland when we began our labours; and before many months had elapsed, and before £10 of the Catholic Rent was collected, the scenes of blood and slaughter ceased; all was quiet and peace in the formerly disturbed districts. Harmony, which was supposed to be banished for ever from Ireland, returned—shall I say—at our voice? The Irish peasant, when he found he could *procure a hope* of justice, ceased to seek revenge and many of the best and the wisest of our respected Protestant countrymen, joined us in seeking for that, without which permanent tranquillity, in Ireland, cannot be expected—an equalization of civil rights for all classes of faithful subjects.

"We have, however, been suppressed; we have been arrested in a career of great and general utility. But we have been arrested by the hand of the law—by the strong arm of the Legislature: and nothing can so completely demonstrate the purity of our intentions, as the ready, cheerful, and dutiful submission which we are all prepared to show to the law that is now about to dissolve our Association.

"In one thing we certainly were in fault; we did not take sufficient pains to enlighten the people of England upon the details of our views and wishes. We allowed a partizan and shameless press in Ireland to usurp a sway

over a portion of the English mind. Falsehoods, which were so gross and absurd to us in Ireland who know the facts, as to be treated with silent contempt, were received by Englishmen, who were ignorant of the unblushing baseness of the Orange writers, as admitted truths. An impression was thus made against us here, which alone is sufficient to account for our fall; whilst it leaves untouched the purity of the motives of many, many persons who appeared to be our violent enemies.

"But, let these topics pass, and for ever—we submit to the law, and shall seek for redress by means only which the law will not merely sanction, but approve of. There remain many and abundant constitutional sources of relief—there remain many abundant and legal means of seeking for redress of our grievances. Besides, every thing confirms me in the full conviction that Emancipation is at hand, and that this sessions will not pass over without laying the ground-work of lasting harmony not only in Ireland but between the two countries.

"Emancipation is at hand, unless we retard or postpone it by senseless calumnies or unreasonable apprehensions. The cause is now, in this country, taken under the guidance of good sense, good feelings, rational judgment, and most conciliatory disposition. Men of all parties in Parliament, combine to arrange the details of our Emancipation, in that spirit which the best friends of Ireland and of England have long wished to see put in action. There is in their true wisdom nothing of haste or intemperance. Every detail of the great measure will be brought before the public deliberately; and if there be any thing suggested which could alarm either Protestant or Catholic timidity, abundant time will be given to canvass the merits of the proposed arrangement, and nothing will be concluded on without affording sufficient opportunity to oppose any thing worthy of opposition.

"In the mean time, Mr. LAWLESS, who calls himself a Member of the Delegation, but is not so, as I perceive by the terms of the vote which appointed our Deputation. Mr. LAWLESS has hastily appealed to the Public, without consultation with, or the concurrence of any other person. I do not *now* blame him. I wish merely to vindicate myself, and to remove the misstatements which appear in his Letter.

"Mr. LAWLESS has, indeed, charged me with injustice, and with a dereliction of religious principle. He has charged me with consenting to rob the poor, and disgrace the Catholic Church in Ireland. He has to these crimes attributed the most base of all possible motives—personal advantages to myself. "A silk gown," he says, is to be my reward.

"To these accusations I plead not guilty. They are unfounded, totally unfounded. I fling the shield of my character between me and the base accusation—personal advantage! When have I sought it?—But, pardon me, Sir, I cannot condescend to justify myself in detail. I will trespass on the Association merely to state the real facts. They are these:—

"In the first place, there is as yet nothing arranged with respect to a provision for our Clergy, or with regard to any change in the elective franchise. It would have been wise to wait such an arrangement, before it were condemned in terms of harshness and reproach.

"Secondly—The Catholic delegation is no party whatsoever to any such arrangement. We have not made any bargain or contract upon that subject, nor has any one of us made any such contract; nor is it at all necessary that we should. If the Legislature thinks fit to legislate on these subjects, it will do so without deeming it wise or dignified to consult us.

"Thirdly—Although a provision for our Clergy is spoken of, it certainly has not been spoken of in any shape, which could excite the least alarm in the mind of the most scrupulous Catholic: and as to the principle of that measure, is there any one who imagines that the Catholic people of Ireland can be finally admitted into the station of subjects, so as to constitute a portion of the universal British nation, without our Clergy having a natural and just claim on the state for a provision? If there be, I confess I am not of that opinion. I own I think that our Clergy ought to receive a support from that State, which we, the Catholics, contribute to maintain with our monies and our blood; and as to the details of that provision, are they not safe in the hands of our excellent Prelates, subject as they also must be, to the inspection of all the people, Protestant and Catholic, of the empire, before they can be finally adopted, or made into a law?

"Fourthly.—As to the change in the Elective Franchise; that is a matter of serious consideration, and must be weighed well before it is adopted. At present it is in embryo, and may never attain regular shape or form. There are, probably, known of it but three things—that it is not intended to alter the qualification in Ireland when it is the same as it is in England, namely, when the person has the fee simple, or, in other words, a lease for ever, without being subject to rent; *that* it is not intended to take away the franchise from any person now registered, during such registry; *that* in all probability, it will not be taken away from any now existing freeholder, during his present lease; *that* ten pounds will, at the highest, be the lowest qualification; perhaps it will not exceed five pounds.

"Is there in these suggestions anything to alarm the

timid? Can we forget the report made to the Association by the Rev. Mr. DUGGAN, of several poor persons, who, to his knowledge, were compelled to swear to a freehold qualification, *which they had not*, under peril of having all their property sold for rent, and themselves expelled their farms? The Rev. Mr. DUGGAN transmitted to the Association the names of the landlords who perpetrated this cruelty. Are we ignorant of how many such scenes exist in Ireland? Are we insensible to the perjury thus generated?

"But let me ask, will not the stimulus to make freeholders exist after Emancipation, as powerfully as at present? It certainly will; and if it does exist, it is robbing the poor to make a law which shall compel any landlord who wishes, to make 40s freeholders, to make to each a lease for one life, at a rent which makes the qualification merely nominal, and puts the *freeholder* completely in the power of the landlord. Would it be robbing the poor, if the landlords, instead of a 40s. freehold, gave a freehold of £10 annual value? Let us recollect that landlords will, after the proposed measure, want £10 freeholders as they now want 40s. freeholders. They may, perhaps, not make so many of the one as of the other; but every £10 freeholder would be a *comfortable* person. Who will say that the 40s. freeholders are so?

"I must now conclude. I have not time to pursue the subject; but I have written enough to weary the Association; and also, I hope, enough to convince the Irish people that I am incapable of betraying their interests, or of being actuated by motives of a selfish or interested nature. My judgment may be mistaken, but I will yield to no man in purity of motive, and in honest zeal for liberty and "the faith of my fathers."

"I close my last words to the Catholic Association

with the strong hope, that the spirit of conciliation which has sprung up in England, will be met by a corresponding glow of discreet, but, at the same time, generous confidence, and that, flinging away idle fears and old jealousies, we shall evince a cordial and lively disposition to make such an arrangement as shall be satisfactory to all parties, and shall demonstrate our unaffected desire to consolidate the strength and increase the security of the empire.

"I have the honor to be, your faithful servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE BELFAST IRISHMAN.

"Tavistock Hotel, London, March 13.

"SIR—I have read in an Irish Paper, which arrived in this city on Saturday last, a letter signed "DANIEL O'CONNELL," of which, as one of the Deputation from Ireland, I feel it my duty to take this public notice. I cannot hesitate to say, that I regret much that my respected countryman should have given his opinion, even as a *private individual*, on the merits of that new Parliamentary arrangement, which is sometimes denominated the Catholic Emancipation Bill.—But as O'CONNELL has thought proper to exercise his undoubted privilege of giving his own individual opinion of this Bill, with all its accompaniments, he will concede me the same right, when I write under the conviction that the measure he so much praises, is deserving the contempt and indignation of every man in the British Empire, inasmuch as it goes to delude and betray a generous people into the sanction of principles degrading to the character of the Catholics of Ireland—most injurious to the political and civil rights of the Irish peasantry, and destructive to the hopes of all those enlightened and valuable men, who have so long laboured to extend and enlarge the political

power of the people. It is quite true that Mr. O'CONNELL is backed in the opinion he has given by great and distinguished names—by men who justly boast of the confidence of the Irish people—Mr. O'CONNELL is supported in this opinion by the venerated name of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT; and he is also supported by many members of the Deputation from Ireland. Opposed to such authorities, I may say I have little more than the justice of the cause I plead—that this is an armour in which I feel I am invulnerable. I confess I cannot account for my blindness in not being able to discover the splendid excellencies of the arrangement which Mr. O'CONNELL so much penegyrizes—I can see nothing but deformity, where my friend finds beauty—I can see nothing but insincerity and delusion, where he finds candour and fair dealing.—I think that the present Parliamentary machinery, so ingeniously put in play by Mr. PLUNKETT, is nothing more than improvement on the more candid hostility of the Bill of 1821, introduced by the same gentleman—the same effort to dishonor the Irish Catholic Clergy—the same effort to separate the people from their best and most faithful guardians—the same system of corrupt influence—the same dexterity to blast the principle of reform, and to add to that Parliamentary corruption, on the aid of which Mr. PLUNKETT at this moment depends for the success of his scheme of Emancipation. You will say, no doubt, it is very strange that, if it be true such are the leading features of this new parliamentary experiment, that O'CONNELL should be the first trumpeter of its peculiar claims on the respect and support of the Irish nation; I shall, therefore, proceed to call your attention, and that of the people of England as well as Ireland, to the *wings*, as they are facetiously called, of this new bird from the cage of our

honest, sincere and able advocate, Mr. PLUNKETT! Of this learned gentleman, I hope I shall be found to speak with all the praise his peculiar excellencies deserve. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT will pardon me, and so will Mr. O'CONNELL, if I decline to admit the sincerity of that Statesman, in the cause of the Emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, who takes good care that the Bill of Emancipation shall be accompanied and clogged with additions, which still insure its almost universal unpopularity among the very people whom he professes to serve. So much for Mr. PLUNKETT's sincerity, of which Mr. O'CONNELL is as much satisfied as Mr. PLUNKETT was of that of Lord CASTLEREAGH. Both, it seems, are sincere and honest men; let the people of England and Ireland judge of Mr. PLUNKETT's sincerity by the character of the conditions on which Catholic Emancipation is about to be conceded. In the first place, there is a Board to be constituted, composed of Catholics—the appointment to be sanctioned by the Irish Government; whose duty, it is said, is to be limited to the exclusion of foreigners from the Catholic Prelacy of Ireland, and to the reporting to the Government the characters of the persons seeking ecclesiastical promotion to the Catholic Church; to the registering of their places of birth; and the communication of all such information as may best regulate the mind of the Government in the distribution of the *annual stipend*, of which I shall speak after. It seems that this Board, in the contemplation of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Mr. O'CONNELL, and some of the friends on the Deputation, will be an innocent, harmless establishment, exercising a wholesome control over the appointment of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland. In this I differ from Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and Mr. O'CONNELL. I am of opinion, and in this opinion I be-

lieve I will be joined by every independent Catholic in Ireland, that the Board which I have described, will be hereafter a source of perpetual intrigue—a species of ecclesiastical inquisition into the political as well as moral conduct of every Catholic Clergyman, and a powerful instrument of corruption in the hands of an artful Minister. The constitution of such a Board is an insult to the Catholic Prelacy and Clergy of Ireland—an evidence of the distrust entertained by Mr. PLUNKETT of the loyalty and fidelity of the very men be has panegyrized, uncalled for by the English people, and only suggested by those persons who are perfectly satisfied it may be a successful impediment to that Emancipation they affect to be anxious to promote. What is the next condition of this Emancipation measure of Mr. PLUNKETT? The sacrifice of the political rights of the Irish peasantry, which the lamented GRATTAN, in 1793, considered to be the *Magna Charta* of the poor man in Ireland and which the justly-celebrated Doctor DOYLE considered his best shield in the year 1825—the poor man in Ireland, the 40s. freeholder, is to be robbed of his vote, to conciliate the Minister, who would not suffer Mr. O'CONNELL to wear a silk gown, or Lord KILLEEN to take his seat in the House of Lords. The Irish peasantry are to be robbed of their elective franchise, in order, says the sincere Mr. PLUNKETT, to promote the independence of the Catholics of Ireland, and Mr. O'CONNELL echoes the opinion! What! would the proposal be made, if the honesty of the Catholic 40s. elector, were not dreaded by those advocates of Catholic Emancipation? Would the Catholic 40s. freeholder be thus robbed of his power to elect, if Mr. PLUNKETT and his high Church friends, did not fear that Catholic Representatives from Ireland would be too numerous—that the people

would be apt to vote for the men who most enjoyed their confidence? And, therefore, says Mr. PLUNKETT, with his accustomed sincerity, "I will make Catholics eligible to places in Parliament; but I will take good care that they shall have no electors!" Is this arrangement honest to the poor people of Ireland, who have increased and multiplied under the operation of the privileges they now enjoy, and whose numbers strike terror into some of the miserable legislators, whom Ireland sends to the Imperial Parliament? Why, to be sure, Mr. PLUNKETT is *sincere* in making such a condition a *sine qua non* of this Emancipation Bill; but why Sir FRANCIS BURDETT and O'CONNELL, both honest Reformers, should treat the Irish Peasantry *thus*, is a riddle I cannot solve. It has been said that 40s. freeholders are brought to the hustings like so many cattle to the slaughter. I answer, that if even this were true to the extent stated, the *necessity* of so bringing them up, is in itself a great political privilege to the Irish Catholic. But I deny the fact. I assert that, even before Emancipation, the 40s. freeholders have manifested a spirit and zeal in support of public freedom worthy of the best examples in England. Who sustained COLCLOUGH in Wexford, or WHITE in Dublin? The much insulted and calumniated 40s. freeholders. And if these splendid instances existed before Emancipation, what would be their conduct if Emancipation pass, and competition be thrown open to those who command the hearts and affections of the Irish people? But is this the principle of the Reformer, to narrow the circle of the elective suffrage? Is this the example which Ireland *united* is to set to the people of England? Is this the practice of that broad and comprehensive theory so powerfully urged in Parliament for the last thirty years?—And above all, is this the return which the poor per-

secuted peasant of Ireland is to receive, for his unconquerable fidelity to the religion and freedom of his native land? What then can such an arrangement be considered, but an act of *High Treason* to the Irish peasantry—an act which will damn those who consent to it in the estimation of every man who wishes to preserve the public liberty? For these reasons, I, for *one*, object to this condition; and certain I am, there is not a man who wishes well to the tranquillity of Ireland, who would guard the Irish peasantry from the intrigues of Captain Rock, who will not join me in opposition to a measure which must drive the peasant from his present miserable cabin, to the more wretched shelter of the mountain; his little garden and field being no longer worthy the protection or care of his ambitious Landlord. Were there no other *wing* than this to the Emancipation Bill of Mr. Plunkett, it would be a wing of lead, which would never suffer it to rise—but there is another *wing* of exquisite workmanship. Ireland is to have a *pensioned* Clergy; and yet I am told by Mr. O'Connell and others, that there is *nothing at all of Veto or vetoistical arrangement* sought for or desired; nothing *but the affectionate gratitude of the Irish People*;—why, this is a credulity which I did not imagine our most credulous countrymen would be guilty of! Why are the Irish Clergymen to be pensioned? Is no value to be given for the annual stipend? Will not the eye of the Irish Government be allowed to take its dimensions of the physiognomy and character of the aspiring candidates for the Catholic Priesthood? A *Catholic Regium Donum*! Is the present Government so simple as to give the money for nothing? for the mere gratitude of the Irish Priest?—No, no; let the Catholic Clergy of Ireland be pensioned—and the same result will follow to the Catholic Church of Ireland, which has followed to all other religious establishments similarly en-

dowed ; the people are alienated from their Pastors, and the latter cease to perform the duties of their Ministry with their accustomed zeal and industry—confidence will be destroyed, and the Catholic Priest of Ireland will be hereafter going to the Castle to receive the annual wages for which the people have received no value.—Thus, one of the most exemplary, parental, and beloved order of men that ever adorned a country, will become the pensioners of the Castle of Dublin, and the eaters of the taxes of the British empire. How much then is it to be regretted that the Irish Catholic Advocate should come down from the high and respected ground of *unqualified and unconditional* Emancipation ? This was the ground which raised the Irish nation in the opinion of the English people ? which created the feeling that was lately displayed in the House of Commons, and which will ultimately accomplish the triumph of the cause ; a departure from that ground will cover its advocates with the contempt of the English nation, and make it a party against the concession of those rights which they are now ready to surrender. Admitting the purity of those who differ from me, I trust I may put in my claim to a similar feeling, when I oppose, to the best of my powers, a Parliamentary arrangement, which I conceive to be dishonourable to all parties, and cruel to the poor people of Ireland. I remain, your very humble servant,

" JOHN LAWLESS."

O'CONNELL was, meanwhile, making way with all parties in London. The views of Mr. BROWNLOW, the member for Armagh, were materially modified by O'CONNELL's celebrated examination before the Parliamentary Committee. DERRY DAWSON came to him, and said that his examination had removed many prejudices from his mind. In fact, it became silently the convic-

tion of many, who before opposed the Catholic Question, that it should be settled. Everything tended in that direction. Meetings were held in various quarters, for the purpose of hearing and seeing Mr. O'CONNELL.—The writer of this was present when he made his celebrated speech at the meeting in the Free Mason's Tavern, described in the extract already given from the *New Monthly* Magazine. He was four hours speaking. The anxiety to hear him baffles all description. In no part of Ireland could he have been more enthusiastically received. He delivered a truly magnificent oration.—SHIEL spoke after him; but at a late hour in the evening, as previously stated. He spoke shortly, but not with his usual effect. Tact in speaking is as useful as any other quality; and most necessary in seizing the exact time when the speech should be delivered. The period should neither be too early nor too late; but at the moment when the audience have entered fully into the spirit of the subject. O'CONNELL had this tact in perfection. He never came to a meeting until the opportune moment had nearly arrived. He invariably created a sensation when he appeared; the flagging spirits of the crowd revived—their attention was resuscitated. Then was the instant he always managed to present himself. Mr. SHEIL adopts the same plan in the House of Commons.—He seldom speaks before or after ten o'clock; if possible he selects that hour. At the meeting in the Freemason's Tavern, he did not observe this rule; and having encumbered himself with statistical details, and chosen an inopportune period of the day, his effort, comparatively speaking, was a failure.

The debate on the Catholic Question came on in March, 1825. As usual, the debate was spirit-stirring. But Mr. PLUNKETT surpassed all his former efforts. He

felt himself called upon to make an unusual display. He had, during the debates for the suppression of the Association, been taunted with having pledged himself never to hold office under any Government divided on the Catholic Question; and yet, behold him, as Attorney-General, suppressing the expression of public opinion at the bidding of such a Government! For this he had no other excuse than that he changed his opinion. Charges of this nature galled his proud spirit, and he resolved to right himself and vindicate his reputation. Hence the unrivalled display. His power of language, his close reasoning, and strength of expression, were never surpassed. Language flowed from him in a clear, deep, tranquil, but potent stream; not a smile played on his lips, not a spark of enthusiasm appeared to burn in his soul. The complexion of his eloquence was, so to speak, dark and sepulchral, but it was marked with genius and intellect never yet surpassed.

The Bill was carried on a first reading by a majority of Thirteen.

It was during this time that both Mr. O'Connell and Dr. Doyle were examined before the Select Committee of the House of Lords. The most remarkable evidence ever given before or since was that of Dr. Doyle. His eloquence, the beauty and correctness of his language, his varied information, the boldness of his views, the new light he threw on many subjects connected with the ecclesiastical history of the Catholic Church in Ireland, its discipline and doctrines—all contributed to render this evidence the most valuable, striking, and important, on record. We feel that this Memoir would be incomplete without it, and together with Mr. O'Connell's luminous testimony—it shall be given in an Appendix. The examination of both these distinguished men contains the very

best epitome extant of the political and ecclesiastical history of the period. Mr. O'CONNELL was principally examined by the Duke of WELLINGTON. He astonished their Lordships; though from him they were prepared to receive more than ordinary information, by his minute knowledge of the various subjects on which he was examined. The Corporations—the Landlord system, the Franchise—the Catholic claims—Orangeism—in fine, every possible topic connected with the state of Ireland, formed in turn a subject of inquiry, and with each he was found to possess extensive, close and intimate acquaintance. Then, his lucid explanations—his quickness in reply—his animation and eloquence—surprised their Lordships, and made a strong impression on them, and many adverse Members of the House of Commons, who were present while he underwent the ordeal. O'CONNELL's evidence necessarily attracted universal attention, and many were the opportunities afterwards laid hold of, to distort and turn it to his disadvantage, and convict him of inconsistency. The efforts were not limited to mere misrepresentation. He was absolutely misquoted by the Bishop of EXETER, on the authority of Lord WINCHELSEA, in March, 1838, on the occasion of that Prelate's presenting a petition from the City of Cork, complaining that the Catholic Members violated their oaths. It was charged against them that though they swore to do nothing to injure the Church Establishment, they were doing every thing to subvert it. On that occasion the Bishop of EXETER made use of the following words :—

" Now, he would refer to a very important testimonial of no less a person than Mr. O'CONNELL, himself. The questions asked were, " Suppose a witness were to receive a *carte blanche* on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, and were required to fill up the extent of con-

cession with which the Roman Catholics would be satisfied, how would he do so, and what would they require?" Mr. O'Connell replied, he would require that the doors of both Houses of Parliament should be thrown open to the Catholics, and that persons professing that religion should be eligible to hold the situation of Judges, &c., from which they were excluded. In answer to other questions, Mr. O'Connell said he would recommend that no concessions whatever should be made to the Roman Catholics unless the Establishment in Ireland should be rendered inviolable. It was then said "The recommendation now given, and the opinions now expressed by witness, appear to be at variance with his speeches in the Catholic Association, and elsewhere."—Mr. O'Connell replied "that he did not hold himself bound by what he had said in that assembly or elsewhere, under particular circumstances—that many things had been spoken by him in the heat of debate, to which, in cooler moments, he would not give his sanction."

On reading this statement, O'Connell immediately addressed the Earl of Winchelsea the following letter:—

"16, Pall-mall, London, March 5, 1838.

"My Lord—I cannot bring myself one moment to doubt that your lordship will receive this letter in the spirit of courtesy in which I write it, and that you will do me the justice, which I respectfully solicit from your lordship, precisely as you would desire to have a similar justice done to yourself under similar circumstances, should they be applicable to you. The grounds, my lord, upon which I ask this act of justice, are these:—The Lord Bishop of Exeter is reported by the newspapers, and in particular in the *Morning Post* and *Morning Chronicle*, to have quoted you, my lord, as his authority for

attributing to me opinions and assertions, the exactitude of which I mean publicly to deny; but being convinced either that the newspapers misunderstood the Right Rev. Prelate, or that some person has misinformed your lordship, I solicit at your hands a reply to the two questions which I beg leave to address to you on the subject. I think I have a right, in point of justice, to such reply; but I prefer seeking it as an act of courtesy. The first question is, whether your lordship ever quoted the questions and answers specified by the Right Rev. Prelate, or I should rather say, alleged by the newspapers to have been specified by him? The second question is, if the facts be answered affirmatively, upon what authority did you, my lord, quote them? In order to save your lordship any trouble in searching for the matter which has given rise to these questions, I beg leave to enclose that portion of the *Morning Post*, of the 2d instant, which contains the supposed introductory words of the right Rev. Prelate, and the queries and replies of the introduction of which I complain. I think it my duty to add, that until I read the newspaper of the 2nd instant, I never heard of such questions and replies, that I remember. It is right that I should add, that I am not inquiring into anything that was said or done in the House of Lords. I appeal solely to the newspaper statements, and my inquiries are limited exclusively to the document set out in these newspapers, purporting to be an examination I underwent. I solicit information merely as to whether that document was represented to your lordship as genuine; and if so, by whom and in what manner. This is my object in writing to your lordship. Confiding to your courtesy for as speedy a reply as may suit your

perfect convenience, I have the honor to be, my lord, your very obedient, humble servant.

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"The Earl of WINCHELSEA."

This letter produced the following correspondence:—

"Eastwell-park, March 6, 1838.

"SIR—I hasten to reply to your letter, which has just reached me. In answer to the first question which you have put to me, "Whether I ever quoted the questions and answers lately specified by the Bishop of Exeter in the House of Lords?" the extracts of which you have enclosed to me, I beg to inform you, that I certainly have upon different occasions, both in the House of Lords and elsewhere, publicly quoted them. In answer to your second question, "Upon what authority I quoted them?" I have only to reply, that I read them in the House of Lords out of a newspaper, in which they had been inserted; stating at the same time, as they had received no contradiction from you, that I conceived them to be authentic. If in this conclusion I find myself mistaken, I have only to add, that I shall be ready to acknowledge it. I cannot bring back to my recollection positively at what time, or in what paper, the quotations appeared; but I think either in the *Morning Post* or *New Times*, and that they were founded on the evidence given by you, about the year 1825, on the subject of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient humble servant,

"WINCHELSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

"DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq."

"16, Pall-mall, March 17, 1838.

"MY LORD—I am bound to acknowledge thankfully the promptitude and distinctness of the reply to my two

questions. I owe it to myself, and I think I also owe it to you, my lord, to state that although I had no doubt that the pretended extract of my evidence, which you found in the newspapers mentioned by your lordship, was a mere fabrication by the writers of those newspapers, yet I have taken the trouble of reading over the entire of my evidence before both houses of parliament, and I can now solemnly pledge myself that the passage quoted by you is totally unfounded, and that no evidence of mine could warrant the publication of that passage as genuine. You have, therefore, I do assure you, my lord, been deceived by the newspaper you quote; and perhaps you would permit me to say, that my leaving the deception uncontradicted would be no proof of its truth; as I have little inclination and less time to contradict the multitudinous false charges daily published in the newspapers against me. I readily offer your lordship to authenticate or to contradict any matter attributed to me of which you should desire to make public use; if you give yourself the trouble of a previous inquiry from me.—Again, my lord, thanking you for your satisfactory reply, I have the honour to be, my lord, your very obedient humble servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"The Earl of WINCHELSEA."

"2, Hill Street, March 19, 1839.

"SIR—I was on the point of writing, when your letter reached me, to inform you, after a considerable search, I have discovered that the extracts of the evidence reported to have been given by you before the Parliamentary Committee, in 1825, were inserted in the *Standard* newspaper of the fifth of February, 1833, accompanying the leading article of that day. I have since carefully perused the evidence given by you before the Committees

of both Houses in that year, and I am bound in justice to you to state, that the opinions attributed to you in the extracts referred to, are not in any way borne out by the sentiments you then expressed. I have only to express my sincere regret that I have in any way been instrumental in misrepresenting any part of the evidence which you gave before the Committees in 1825. I shall be most ready to make you the only reparation in my power, by placing you right before the public on this point, in any way most gratifying to your own feelings, either by contradicting it in my place in the House of Lords, or by publishing the correspondence which has passed between us. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"WINCHELSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.

"Daniel O'Connell, Esq."

"16, Pall Mall, March 19, 1838.

"MY LORD—I am bound to say, and I say it cheerfully, that nothing can be more candid or handsome than your Lordship's conduct on the subject of the fictitious extracts from my evidence in 1825. I therefore accept your offer of the publication of our correspondence on the subject. I cannot conclude without once more tendering to your Lordship the expression of my thankfulness. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your obedient humble servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"The Earl of WINCHELSEA."

O'CONNELL returned to Ireland, and in April attended a great Aggregate Meeting, held in Dublin—Lord GORMANSTOWN in the Chair. At that meeting, O'CONNELL made a long and able speech, in which he adverted

to the reception he personally experienced from the English, and spoke strongly of Mr. BROWNLOW as one very likely to become a convert to the Catholic Cause. Of the dispute respecting the "Wings," not a word was said.

The Deputation returned to London. The second reading of the Catholic Bill came on. Mr. BROWNLOW, in consonance with O'CONNELL's prediction, immediately on the order of the day being moved, announced his conversion. He had been a violent but honest-hearted Orangeman. He was a man of large fortune and great influence in the South of Ireland—He was Grandson to the celebrated BROWNLOW, of 1782, who was so prominent a member of the great national confederacy. His conversion created a deep impression in the House of Commons, and produced a similar effect throughout Ireland. It tended more than any thing that before occurred, to cement the growing union between Catholics and Protestants, and it accounts for the very determined stand subsequently made by the opponents of Emancipation. It accounts for Lord LIVERPOOL's false and virulent statement, that the Catholics of Ireland offered but a divided allegiance to the Crown. It accounts for the Duke of YORK's celebrated declaration, that in no situation he should ever be called to fill, would he alter his anti-Catholic opinions—and that the KING could not consent to Emancipation without violating the Coronation oath. He could not in conscience assent to Emancipation, even if both Houses of Parliament passed that measure! The Ascendency and Tory factions became alarmed; and hence the extraordinary resistance they offered to the demands of Ireland. The first speech the writer made, was at this time, and in reference to this very subject; and as it pretty fairly embodies his maturer sentiments, and gives a tolerably accurate notion of the state of feeling at the time, he feels

himself justified in making some extracts from among the leading topics it embraced.

The nature of the resolution referred to will be understood from what follows :—

"It was a resolution just, necessary, and called for at this particular moment. It was a resolution, to pass which he was of opinion, that every town in the country should assemble, in order to repel by the united voice of the entire nation, the calumny that had been cast upon the Roman Catholic Body by the first Minister of the Crown. The more exalted the rank of the individual who calumniates, the more extended his influence ; and the greater his power in the administration of the country, the more anxious ought the Catholics be to repel accusations which they knew were unjust and unfounded. Can any thing be more unfounded than the assertion, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland owe merely a divided allegiance to their Sovereign—that they give part of that allegiance to a foreign Prince, and present but the remainder to their KING ? This accusation in itself so unjust, so interfered with the Catholic's oath of allegiance, so mingled with their private pursuits, that he found it difficult to reason against it with temperance, or to combat it with moderation.

"Was it necessary for him to go into a long discussion as to the distinction which exists between the spiritual authority of the POPE, and the influence which it is said he exerts in the temporal concerns of a State ? Need he tell the respectable assembly that surrounded him, that no such influence any where existed—that in France, in Spain, in Austria, in no country without the limits of his own small Principality, did the POPE claim any interference in the temporal concerns of the State, and that if he did make such a claim, it would be indignantly spurned.

—Was it necessary for him to say, that in this country not the slightest semblance of such an influence exists?—If there were any person who disbelieved the assertion, he would refer him to the evidence of that distinguished Prelate, that great luminary of the Catholic Church, Dr. DOYLE;—to that evidence which will be handed down to the latest posterity, as affording a specimen of the pure classic taste of the scholar, of the piety, meekness and erudition of the Prelate. In that evidence it is distinctly stated, on oath, that no such influence exists; that if the POPE were to claim any interference in the temporal concerns of this country, it would be boldly refused by the Catholics; and if he made any demand which in the slightest degree encroached upon their sole and undivided allegiance to their Sovereign, that such demand would be spurned with indignation by the Roman Catholics. But it was unnecessary for him to go into arguments of this description—he would rely wholly upon the history and conduct of the Roman Catholics themselves, to refute the calumny of Lord LIVERPOOL. He would beg of his Lordship to look back into the history of this ill-treated country, and he would defy him to point out any period in that history which he could hold up as a proof of the allegations he had urged against the whole Catholic body; he would take his Lordship over the wars of the Peninsula—he would show him Irish Catholics bleeding and conquering for their common country, and he would ask the first minister whether it was there they exhibited any signs of a divided allegiance. He would take him to the last, the most glorious, the most memorable victory obtained by Great Britain—a victory which changed the state of things in these countries, and altered all the political systems of Europe; he would take his Lordship to the field of

Waterloo, and he would show him that brigade chiefly composed of Irishmen, whose achievements a previous speaker has so justly and eloquently described—he would show his Lordship those brave fellows fighting by the side of Lord Anglesea, who has now deserted them; and he would ask him was it there they exhibited any signs of a divided allegiance.—The fact is, he would not give Lord Liverpool credit for candour or sincerity on the occasion; he did not think his Lordship believed in the calumny which he cast upon the Catholics. He is too experienced in the ministry of this country, too long at the head of affairs, and too long watching over the conduct of the Roman Catholics, to believe the accusation. He had some motive, some deep design, for the manner he acted—he saw converts coming round every day to the cause of the Roman Catholics—he saw the intrepid Brownlow throwing off the shackles of early prejudice, freeing himself from the trammels of unmeaning bigotry, and boldly and openly proclaiming himself a convert to the justice of the Catholic cause. He saw that his conversion would be the means of promoting a union of feeling and opinion amongst all classes of Irishmen; and true to his Lordship's prediction, such a union was created—he saw the Protestant, the Catholic, and Dissenter, now equally anxious for the prosperity of their country, equally anxious for the tranquillity of this unhappy land, equally anxious to see her manufactures flourish, and to see British Capital flowing in amongst them.—His Lordship perceived, too, that it was the unanimous opinion of the entire, that Ireland could never be tranquillised, that prosperity could never smile upon her, unless the Roman Catholics were emancipated. He saw this, and he was determined, if possible, to disturb that unanimity. His Lordship saw something

more that annoyed him ; he saw that the Catholics now afforded no argument against themselves ; they were quiet, tranquil, and conciliating—they had given up to the laws of their country the child of their best affections ; they had resigned without a struggle, or without a murmur, the Catholic Association—that Association, that did more good for Ireland, during the short period of its existence, than was done for centuries before.—But his Lordship saw something that annoyed him much more, for he would treat with contempt any expression of opinion at this side—he saw in England the full tide of public opinion running rapidly in favor of Catholic Ireland ; the tide that ultimately carries everything before it, that bears down every opposition, and raises truth and freedom to its just elevation—he saw this tide running rapidly against him, and he was determined to use every exertion to avert it. He saw Englishmen of every class and persuasion conciliated by the conduct of the Deputation, and convinced by the eloquence and arguments of O'CONNELL—throwing aside their prejudices, opening their eyes, looking into the history of this ill-fated country—exhibiting a determination that she should no longer be as a dead body attached to a living one; that she should become an integral part of the British Empire, in fact as well as law ; and that both countries should for the future be of reciprocal advantage and utility to each other. How did Lord LIVERPOOL act on the occasion ? If he could judge by his actions of what passed in his Lordship's mind, he would conclude that he reasoned thus :—" I am first Minister of the Crown—I have been so many years at the head of the Government—I have got credit from all for experience—I have got credit from some for integrity—I will bring all my influence against this measure—the Catho-

lics now afford me no arguments against themselves—the principles of civil and religious liberty are gaining such rapid way, that I will not argue against their claims in open contradiction to those principles—I will take up some antiquated notion of the olden time, and fling it against them—I will tell the people of England that they ought not to admit the Catholics to an equal enjoyment of the Constitution; for they do not give an undivided allegiance, as you do, to the Sovereign of these Realms—they give to a foreign Prince part of that allegiance which is wholly and entirely due to their KING."

"Thus did Lord LIVERPOOL endeavour to bring back Englishmen to their old prejudices; but, thank God, he has not succeeded. So far was he (Mr. F.) from seeing any reason for despondency or despair, from the intemperate speech of the first minister of the Crown, or even from the alarming declaration of the Heir Presumptive, that he saw every reason to hope,—every reason to congratulate the friends of civil and religious liberty; for that declaration would never have been pronounced, that speech would never have been uttered, did they not see that they would be overwhelmed in their opposition by the current of public opinion, which was running strongly against them, did they not endeavour to avert it by some new and more extraordinary means. They have succeeded for the moment; but he trusted that ere long their opposition would be borne down by the full tide of opinion that was rising in favour of the Catholic claims.—The fact is, their cause was gaining rapid way. It was advancing swiftly and firmly; it was no longer confined within the narrow limits of a mere Catholic question; it had now merged into a great national consideration. Let them look at the proceedings of the meeting of the fifty-six Protestant Peers, who assembled

at the Duke of BUCKINGHAM'S—let them read their Resolutions, which exhibit such a spirit of firmness and determination, in which, declaring themselves proprietors of land in Ireland, they stated their conviction that property here was not of half its just value; and would be ultimately insecure unless the Catholics were emancipated and Ireland tranquillised. Let them peruse those Resolutions, and he would ask did they not see cause for congratulation? He hoped and trusted that their example would be followed by the rest of the great landed Proprietors, and thus would their cause be more than ever advanced. He was done; he had not exhausted the subject—he found ideas pressing fast upon him, but he also found he was incapable of giving them expression. He was unaccustomed to public speaking; it was the first time he had addressed a public assembly, nor should he now have intruded himself upon their attention, did he not conceive that it was the bounden duty of every Roman Catholic to come forward at this moment, and publicly declare how much he felt the degradation under which he laboured, and how anxious he was to throw off the chains which encumber him. He would sit down, congratulating the meeting on the unanimity which now prevails amongst the Roman Catholics of Cork, and expressing a wish that nothing would occur to disturb the harmony and concord which so happily exists."

To return to the point from which we have diverged; CANNING, who was labouring under severe illness, spoke during the debate. The House divided, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 27.

The "Wings" were then introduced in separate bills. Mr. LITTLETON introduced the one for the disfranchisement of the Forty Shilling Freeholders; and amongst other arguments, such as we have already alluded to, in

favor of the measure, he stated, and with truth, that so well at the time were the freeholders votes understood to be the exclusive property of their Landlords, that any one who canvassed them without permission, violated the laws of honor, and had to give satisfaction in mortal combat! These were the "good old times," praised by those who, discontented with the present, bestow on the past all their admiration. Mr. BROUGHAM opposed and spoke with eloquence and ability against the Bill. The Duke of YORK's notorious speech, delivered about this time, was the subject of his bitter denunciation. It brought him imperceptibly to advert to the KING's known hostility to the measure of Emancipation. He was interrupted by PLUNKETT; but the interruption only lighted up his eloquence more vividly, sharpened his sarcasm, and made the peroration of his speech, one of the best he ever delivered. The first reading of the Bill was passed by a majority of Forty-eight. The Resolution to pay the Catholic Clergy also passed the House of the Commons, by a majority of Forty-three. The Duke of YORK's speech, to which we have alluded, was delivered on his presenting a petition against the Catholic claims; the celebrated—"So help my God" speech, which was afterwards the subject of deservedly so much bitter comment. He took that occasion to remark, "that he had been for twenty-five years, ever "since the question had been agitated, advocating "the cause of Protestant Ascendency. 'I have been "brought up,' said his Royal Highness, 'from my earliest years, in these principles; and, from the time "when I begun to reason for myself, I have entertained "them from conviction—and, in every situation I may "be placed in, during my future life, I WILL MAINTAIN "THEM, SO HELP ME GOD.'"

While these transactions were in progress, the Deputation from Ireland was not idle. It carried to the foot of the Throne an address from the Catholics of Ireland.—The Deputation was received at the levee, for the purpose, and was most graciously received. It was O'CONNELL'S second attempt to play the part of courtier. It was of no avail, for never was there a more virulent and hypocritical enemy of Emancipation than GEORGE the FOURTH.

The Catholic Relief Bill at last passed the Commons, and was taken up with great pomp and circumstance to the House of Lords. While it was pending, petitions poured into their Lordships' House against it, from the No-Popery party. Amongst them was one from the Rev. THOMAS SIBTHORPE, who, probably, was the same Divine who some years after became a Catholic, and again relapsed into Puseyism. The Catholic Bill was thrown out in the Lords, on the second reading, by a majority of FORTY-EIGHT. This produced an immense sensation throughout Ireland. Deep and bitter was the disappointment—dark and ominous the exasperation. Meetings were held in every direction. The Duke of YORK'S speech was every where denounced. The unconstitutional tendency of such a speech, from the Heir presumptive, was apparent to every one. Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, the great English Lawyer, showed how false was the position he took up with respect to the Coronation Oath. The doctrines he laid down are now so fully understood, that it is unnecessary to dwell on them.

Besides the DUKE'S speech, and the KING'S hostility, the desertion of Lord ANGLESEA, and his insulting speech, was another cause of agitation. He proclaimed his readiness to put down agitation under the feet of his Hussars, —he, who afterwards advised the people to AGITATE—AGITATE—AGITATE!! The threat was worthy of the man

who asserted that three gun brigs would be sufficient to extinguish the agitation for Repeal!

In connexion with these memorable transactions, of 1825, Mr. BARRETT, in the very interesting personal narrative, which he is giving to the world, through the columns of the *Pilot*, relates an anecdote of a remarkable character. He says :—

" After the examination of witnesses before the committee of the House of Commons, had proceeded to a considerable length, the general tenor of which was strikingly favourable to Emancipation, and that it was found that the proposed securities would find no violent obstacles in O'CONNELL, or the Irish deputation, Lord PLUNKETT sent for O'CONNELL. At that interview, he told him that Lord LIVERPOOL had almost finally determined on bringing forward the measure—that he had secured the concurrence or acquiescence of the leading men of all parties, including PEEL—and that four or five of the principals were to meet at his house that night to discuss, and finally to decide upon the plan. He requested O'CONNELL to call late in the evening, and that he would communicate to him the progress or result of the conference. O'CONNELL called about eleven o'clock. Lord PLUNKETT came out of the council room, told him that all was going on favourably—that it could not be concluded for many hours—but that if O'CONNELL would call at the earliest possible hour in the morning, he would see him, even if he had retired to rest, and communicate the result. O'CONNELL called at half-past five the next morning. He found Lord PLUNKETT's man, who got his orders, standing in the open hall door way. He instantly showed him into the drawing room, and went into the inner room, in which Lord PLUNKETT slept. A minute brought Lord PLUNKETT out in his night cap, dressing-

gown and slippers. He ran up to O'CONNELL, seized both his hands in his own, shook them heartily, and said: "O'CONNELL, I congratulate you; the conference (which consisted of Lord LIVERPOOL, CANNING, HUSKISSON, and himself) has not broken up an hour. I got up to tell you all is decided—Catholic Emancipation will be granted before a fortnight, and without any of the conditions (ecclesiastical ones) to which you objected." They parted—O'CONNELL returned to his hotel—he had sat up all night—he went to bed with, as he described, the most pleasurable sensations he had done for a long time, and did not rise until late in the day.

"But while he was slumbering and dreaming of the regeneration of his dear native land, bigotry and intrigue were at work to frustrate the promised good, and to throw back the country and himself into the turmoil of another struggle.

"What great events from trivial causes spring."

"In the house with Lord PLUNKETT, was a Mr. PRENDERGAST; the same, I believe, who brought forward some charges against the late Lord ROSSMORE before the Jockey Club, and got him, I think unjustly, expelled. He was aware of the consultation in Lord PLUNKETT's room, and learned somehow the result. He must have been one of those small-minded beings who are bursting with the possession of a secret, and are too vain of their treasure to keep it to themselves. He dressed himself early, went into the city, visited the clubs, and there disburthened himself of the important secret with which he was big. It flew like wildfire. There was one member of the ministry whom it was neglected previously to secure—Lord ELDON. Whether it was that the government despaired of winning him over, and thought it could do without him, or whether they wished in the formation of their plan to be disembar-

rassed of his dogmatism and bigotry, calculating on securing him afterwards, O'Connell could not say. He thought he could have been secured, and that it was a mistake not to have done so. But so it was. Eldon was not consulted. He heard through its talking propagator what had been done—his bigotry or his pride, or both, took the alarm. He went off to the Duke of York, inflamed and confirmed in him his own sentiments, roused him into action, drew him up a speech, conducted him to the House of Lords, where he took the earliest moment to deliver it. The "So-help-me-God" anathema was pronounced—from thence the Duke followed the Prince Regent to the theatre, was received with more than usual cordiality—the throne and the heir presumptive had virtually declared themselves inexorably against the plan of the Minister, and Emancipation was, for the time, knocked on the head ; and by the same decree, what may be called *the* Catholic Association, started into vigorous existence."

The whole history of the transactions of that time induces us to give implicit credence to this remarkable anecdote, in every particular, except that we do not believe Lord Liverpool had really changed his own opinions on the Catholic question, or honestly resolved to carry Emancipation. We are driven to the conclusion, that he played a game of deep duplicity, by which both Plunkett and O'Connell were taken in. Though O'Connell, on his return to Dublin, never mentioned this transaction, in his celebrated account to the Association, of his proceedings in London, still, we are constrained to think that the interview alluded to by Mr. Barrett, is the same as the one described in a correspondence now before the writer, and dated 28th Feb., 1825, and in which the following passage occurs :—

"I am more confident than ever that the motion of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT will be CARRIED. The expectations of the friends of liberty here are high indeed. You may state this fact without reserve, that the highest and best informed of our Parliamentary friends are certain of a majority. Mr. O'CONNELL and Lord KILLEEN have had an interview (at the instance of the Right Hon. Gentleman) with Mr. PLUNKETT. The particulars of what occurred at that interview, I am in possession of; but I do not feel that I could with propriety at this moment disclose these particulars. I may, however, state this, that Mr. O'CONNELL, who may, from a recent transaction, be supposed to look with no kind eye on Mr. PLUNKETT, left him, strongly impressed with the sincerity and warmth of his feelings in favour of the Catholic cause. I am restrained (however anxious to give you information) from stating many things with which I have been made acquainted in a confidential way—not, in good truth, that the disclosure of these matters could, in my judgment, do any mischief—but simply because I said I would not do so."

The same motives for secrecy may have influenced Mr. O'CONNELL, in not alluding, in the Association, to Mr. PLUNKETT'S communication.

Well, the interview took place on the 28th of February, and on the 10th of March, after Lord LIVERPOOL had accomplished his two-fold object, of impressing such members of the Cabinet as were favorable to Emancipation, with a belief of his sincerity, and succeeding in keeping the Catholics quiet, while he suppressed the Association, we find him still playing out the game, and writing the following letter to the Home Secretary, Mr. PEEL:—

"Fife house, March 10, 1825.

"MY DEAR PEEL.—I return the report of the Irish Association. I have thought it quite necessary, in con-

sequence of the paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, to send an article to the *Courier*, contradicting the reports in circulation respecting any change in my sentiments upon the Roman Catholic question.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"LIVERPOOL."

Lord LIVERPOOL, after this communication, made the speech against Emancipation, which Sir ROBERT PEEL, in 1846, described as one of the most violent he ever delivered. While this shuffling was going on, on the part of Lord LIVERPOOL, the Catholic Bill passed the Commons, and PEEL wrote to Lord LIVERPOOL to say, that he wished to be relieved from the unpleasant position in which he found himself; being in a minority on the Catholic Question, in the House of Commons, and having the majority of the Irish Representatives opposed to him, who, as Home Secretary, was intimately mixed up with the government of Ireland. It was then that Lord LIVERPOOL saw he could no longer carry out the delusion; and then it was, that he came out with his most violent anti-Catholic tirade. It was then, too, the DUKE of YORK made his "So help my GOD" speech, and that, in like manner, the mask was completely torn off, and the true lineaments of Lord LIVERPOOL's character exposed. O'CONNELL afterwards denounced both these speeches; but probably bound to secrecy, he never alluded to the perfidy with which he was treated. But the following passages from O'CONNELL's address, sufficiently demonstrate the impression under which he laboured :—

"Lord LIVERPOOL now borrows (he said) the worn out theology and bigotry of PATRICK DUIGENAN, to ornament the first station in the British empire. The Congress of the Allied Kings is going to meet. Let them remember this—let them learn what a profound States-

man is at the helm of the British empire. These men are men of intelligence;—they respect their consciences, whatever else they do in their own countries. They are struggling to raise their nations above England, and consider her as only a formidable rival. They will meet you, and how will they be delighted at your theological speculations! What a statesman you are, Lord LIVERPOOL! What! is this speech of yours, and that attributed to the Duke of YORK, to go to Ireland, to circulate amongst the Rockites? Be not in a hurry, gentle Rockites;—be passive for a season; you have not arms, it is true;—but—

"Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis"—

wait for a more favourable opportunity. Lord LIVERPOOL will proclaim to Europe that there is a weak spot in the British Empire; which instead of healing, he wishes to aggravate—instead of curing, he wishes to make worse. Rockites, lie on your pikes. CROMWELL said to his men, "put your trust in the Lord, but lie on your pikes." All you want is arms. England must necessarily be involved in some quarrel. "I have proclaimed (may my Lord LIVERPOOL now boast) to the nations abroad where they can find allies, amidst the reckless population of Ireland—I have trampled on her gentry—I have stood on her nobility. I have traduced and vilified her."

Again; on the 15th September, in the same year, Lord LIVERPOOL wrote the following "most confidential" letter to PEEL, from Walmer Castle:—

("Most confidential.)

"MY DEAR PEEL—I return, in another cover, GOULBOURN's letter. You may wish to hear from me what I think about dissolution. In the first place, it must be decided, one way or the other, on the 22nd, the day of our meeting. I had some correspondence with CANNING upon

the subject ; the inclinaton of his opinion is to put off the dissolution till next year. I am decidedly for the dissolution now, if the Catholic question is to receive the support of those who are generally friendly to it in the government, in the next session. But if they are willing that the Catholic and corn question shall remain in abeyance during the next year, and are prepared, therefore, as to the former, to discourage its being brought on, and, if brought on, to move a previous question or adjournment upon it ; —in that case I have no desire to press the dissolution during the present autumn. I say to *press* the *dissolution* ; because I think the reasons for and against it are nearly balanced ; and I can readily acquiesce in the decision, whatever it may be. I hear Lord WELLESLEY is for dissolution *now* (with the permission of the house there is a single name mentioned in this letter which I will read in blank). and —— and the whole —— connexion, for very opposite reasons, decidedly against it.—Ever sincerely yours. " LIVERPOOL."

We are, therefore, inclined to think, that Mr. PLUNKETT, like others, was a victim to Lord LIVERPOOL's duplicity, when he made the statement to Mr. O'CONNELL, that Lord LIVERPOOL had altered his mind. That some such rumour got into circulation, there can be no question ; and that O'CONNELL gave it implicit credence, is clear from Mr. BARRETT'S statement, on the LIBERATOR'S authority.

There can be no question, however, that O'CONNELL was treated with great perfidy in the course of these negociations. He was led to believe that Emancipation was certain, provided it were accompanied with the " Wings." Every one at the time in London, who were mixed in the matter believed it. Mr. BLAKE, the Chief Remembrancer, who was then in London, and who was

examined before the Committee on the State of Ireland, who was also on terms of familiar intercourse with the leading political men of the day—he has since often stated his conviction, that the matter was settled. Lord PLUNKETT was, as we have said, himself, deceived, and was thus the means of deceiving O'CONNELL, and the rest of the Deputation. The system of deceit was carried so far, as to induce O'CONNELL to attend the Duke of YORK's levee at the Horse Guards. We have seen how he sent a message of peace to PEEL, and how magnanimously it was responded to.

It will be seen, bye and bye, how courteously Lord ELDON behaved to him on the occasion of his appearing before him in an appeal case. We have seen how O'CONNELL's evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, produced, or was said to have produced, a most favourable impression on many who were previously opposed to the Catholic cause—amongst others DERRY DAWSON, the brother-in-law of PEEL, who in 1828 made the celebrated "Pilot Balloon speech." All these different circumstances, added to PLUNKETT's assurance, induced O'CONNELL to believe, that if he yielded on the two points—Emancipation was secure. Why was this deceptive game played, and by whom was it played? It was played for the purpose, as we have intimated, of soothing the rising irritation in Ireland, in consequence of the suppression of the Association—suppressed because of its determined interference in matters connected with the administration of justice. It was played, too, probably with a view of entangling O'CONNELL with his Countrymen, and endangering his popularity;—an achievement of vast value to an anti-Catholic Government; and it was played by Lords LIVERPOOL and ELDON, and the Duke of YORK was made a party to it.

PLUNKETT, CANNING, and HUSKISSON were blindfolded as well as O'CONNELL; and it was not till after the Association was suppressed, and O'CONNELL had committed himself with the Irish people, that Lord LIVERPOOL thought of contradicting the rumours which his duplicity gave rise to. But he never, we are persuaded, openly avowed his conversion, or gave his *bona fide* consent for a single moment to grant Emancipation.

O'CONNELL, amid his various occupations, found time to attend to some professional engagements in London. He was employed by Mr. ADDIS, an eminent Solicitor in London, in the celebrated appeal, in which DENYS and JAMES SCULLY, were Appellants, and JEREMIAH SCULLY and others, Respondents.

A London Paper gives the following account of the case before the Lords:—

"This was an appeal from the decision of the Court of Chancery of the sister country; and though a case of considerable importance in itself, it derived increased interest from the circumstance of its introduction, for the first time, to the notice of the Lord Chancellor, of a person who has always been the antipodes of his Lordship in political feeling; and who, in proclaiming to the world "his country's wrongs," has not been sparing of censure or invective on his Lordship's conduct, in the part he has taken to perpetuate them. The celebrated Mr. O'CONNELL was engaged as one of the Counsel for the appellants, and for the first time appeared in his forensic character in this country. No sooner had he risen to address their Lordships, than it was buzzed about the precincts of Westminster, and persons of all descriptions crowded in with anxious curiosity, to witness his display. Several Members of the Houses of Peers and Commons, who happened to be down on business, came in at intervals, and

seemed to derive much satisfaction from having had an opportunity of gratifying their curiosity—amongst them were Lords HOLLAND and STANLEY. It seemed to have been the general impression with the crowd below the bar, that Mr. O'CONNELL had sustained the forensic reputation, which he enjoyed in his own "degraded, enslaved, and much-injured country." His narrative was clear, and his language fluent. It was characterised more by the persuasive than the impassioned eloquence for which the orators of the other side of the channel are so remarkable—a proof of the flexibility of Mr. O'CONNELL's mind, and his capability of discarding long practised habits, and adapting himself to the style of the country in which he may happen to be placed. There is, however, an earnestness in his manner, which impresses an auditor with the conviction that he is more than the mere advocate; in fact, that he links himself with the fate of his client. He addressed their Lordships for nearly two hours, during which the Lord Chancellor paid him great attention; which, with the deep interest he felt in the event, sustained his energy; for occasionally, the external surface showed no unequivocal symptoms of a deep heaving within—a suppressed murmur—that he, in the misery of despair, was now addressing him in the pride of triumph, who was the key-stone of that decision made in the same spot, scarcely 33 hours before, which shut him out from hope, and his country from justice.

"The facts of the case were briefly these, Mr. JAMES SCULLY, of the County of Tipperary, married in 1790, and by his marriage settlements, covenanted to settle at his death one-third of the property he might die possessed of on his wife. Mr. SCULLY was a respectable banker, and amassed a large property. By his will he

left his wife an annuity of £1,000, with a moiety of the household property, unless within one month after his death she should make an election, and prefer taking one-third of his property. The bulk of his property he left to his two sons, DENYS and JAMES SCULLY, the appellants; making but a small provision for the rest of his children. Mr. SCULLY died in 1816, and Mrs. SCULLY for nine months afterwards continued to receive the annuity; but the other children prevailed upon her to make an election of one-third, which would have been much more than the annuity.—DENYS and JAMES SCULLY resisted this claim, as she had not made her election earlier and she filed a bill against them in the Irish Court of Chancery. Mrs. SCULLY died before the suit was terminated, leaving JEREMIAH SCULLY, one of her younger sons, her principal legatee; and bequeathing to him a large portion of the one-third, if he could succeed in thus establishing her right. He filed a bill of reviver, and the case was decided against DENYS and JAMES SCULLY, who now appealed to that decision.

"Further hearing was postponed for a fortnight.

"When O'CONNELL was done, Lord ENNISKILLEN (who, with Lord KINGSTON and Lord DUFFERIN, sat to-day) came down to the bar and was introduced to Mr. O'CONNELL, by Lord KINGSTON. His Lordship came down close to the bar and listened to Mr. O'CONNELL with the greatest attention."

Lord Chancellor ELDON, in his diary, as given by HORACE TWISS, thus briefly alludes to O'CONNELL'S appearance before him. The inveterate bigotry and political prejudices for which the Chancellor was notorious, are evident in the following extract:—

"Mr. O'CONNELL pleaded as a Barrister before me in the House of Lords on Thursday. His demeanour was

very proper; but he did not strike me as shining so much in argument, as might be expected from a man who has made so much noise in his harangues in a seditious Association!"

The subjoined passages from the communication of a dear and valued friend, who was well acquainted with the whole proceeding, will be read with interest:—

"SCULLY'S case was an appeal to the House of Lords, from a judgment pronounced in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, by Lord MANNERS. From the position of the parties, and the large property at stake, it excited much public attention in Ireland. It was a family dispute, and was carried on with all the acrimony by which such suits are generally distinguished. Very strong prejudices existed in the public mind against the appellants, the two elder brothers of the family; and those prejudices were not a little influenced by a slashing speech made by Lord PLUNKETT, then at the bar, on behalf of the junior branches of the family. Passages from this speech are quoted to this day. The appeal from the judgment of Lord MANNERS, was brought before the Lords, and it was in active motion at a very critical period, viz., during the debates in Parliament on the Catholic Question, in 1825. The appeal was before the House of Lords for some days, during the latter end of May, and the beginning of June, 1845; and it was whilst this appeal was in progress, that the Emancipation Bill was rejected in the House of Lords. O'CONNELL was then in London; and was at that time the greatest lion of the day. He got a brief in the case. On the day appointed, the cause came on before their Lordships—the leading counsel for the appellants, was the then Solicitor General, Sir CHARLES WETHERALL. It was about one o'clock in the day when the case was called on—O'CONNELL had

never before appeared as counsel at the bar of the House of Lords—the whole scene was new to him, and he had not the least notion, nor had any one else, of his being called upon to address the House before the following day; as it was supposed Sir CHARLES WETHERALL'S speech would have occupied the whole of it, and part of the next. Sir CHARLES WETHERALL opened the case, and after making a few introductory observations, not occupying more than ten minutes, stated he was happy to tell their Lordships that, in the case before them, he was to be followed by a learned gentleman of the Irish bar, of great name and fame—Mr. O'CONNELL, who had been Counsel in the cause in the court below, and who would supply any deficiencies or inaccuracies into which he might fall, in detailing the complicated facts of the very important case under consideration. Immediately, upon this, Lord ELDON stopped Sir CHARLES WETHERALL, and said with much *seeming* kindness, that it was the practice of the House, in appeals from Scotland, to give precedence to the gentlemen from the Scotch bar, that they might not be, to their great inconvenience, unnecessarily detained in London; and he submitted to Sir CHARLES WETHERALL, that a similar courtesy was due to the learned gentlemen of the Irish bar.—To this Sir CHARLES WETHERALL most readily assented, and retired from the bar. O'CONNELL was immediately thrust forward, and took his place. Thus, he was a good deal taken by surprise, as he had not calculated on addressing the House that day, and was anxious to hear the line of argument his learned leader would take—and to familiarise himself a little with the new scene in which he was about to play his part. Whether Lord ELDON was influenced by the kindness he professed, or wished to embarrass O'CONNELL, in taking

him by surprise, was by many doubted. However, O'CONNELL came forward and made an admirable address; he was listened to with profound attention, and made the most favourable impression on the House, and the several Counsel engaged in the case, whether on one side or the other. O'CONNELL had not been a long time speaking, before it was bruited about that he was on his legs addressing the House. The space below the bar became quickly crowded, and the body of the House was gradually nearly filled by Peers; a very unusual circumstance during the progress of appeals; all brought together to see and hear the man who at that moment occupied so large a space in the public mind. The rich tones of O'CONNELL's voice—his legal ingenuity—and his clear and distinct articulation, were greatly admired, and amply rewarded those whose curiosity had led them to listen to him. There were scarcely any flights of fancy or imagination; they would have been out of place before a grave assembly of senators met to decide upon plain matters of fact, and dry legal questions. A good deal of delay took place before the judgment of the Lords was pronounced. From what was thrown out by Lord ELDON, during the progress of the appeal, sanguine hopes of success were entertained, but disappointment was the result. It was expected his Lordship would go fully into the case, and state the grounds on which the decision was founded, which is most frequently done; but all hopes and fears were rapidly set at rest; he did not take three minutes to pronounce a judgment against the appellants. He, however, did not visit them with the costs of their opponents, which was a saving to them of many hundred pounds; and showed, at least, that there were some grounds for appealing from the judgment of the Court below."

One of the best speeches O'Connell ever made, was at the great meeting of the British Catholic Association, the Duke of Norfolk presiding. It was full of fire, and of real classic eloquence. He astonished his auditory. In fact, wherever he appeared, he gained golden opinions from every one, by the blandness of his manners in private, and his lofty bearing in public. He left England, a popular man with all parties, with whom he came in contact. But he left it in despondency; his hopes were not realised. Notwithstanding every concession, the Bill was lost; the "Wings," of course, were abandoned, and he returned to Ireland with a presentiment of the storm about these very concessions, which awaited him. Cobbett and Ensor led the van in the agitation against the "Wings;" and they were followed by two zealous assistants; one in the north, the other in the south—John Lawless, and Richard Ronayne, of Cork, the latter as sterling a Reformer as ever lived. Mr. Cobbett opened the battle, by a letter in May, against O'Connell; Ensor followed; Lawless published repeated letters; and Richard Ronayne denounced the conduct of the Deputation in no measured phrase, at a great Catholic meeting, in the City of Cork. Notwithstanding all this tempest of invective, O'Connell maintained his ascendency; and though he admitted that the two measures, called "Wings," should not evermore be made adjuncts to Emancipation, he reiterated his opinion that in themselves, under proper restrictions, both measures were useful, not injurious.

On his return to Ireland he had the honor of a public entry into Dublin. At that time the Holyhead packets came into Howth harbour. He landed there, and a magnificent procession accompanied him to the metropolis. Nothing could be more gratifying than his reception.

Except the Kilkenny demonstration, in 1824, it was the first public entry he received. In latter years, such an honor, and it was a high one, became an accustomed compliment on his visiting any of the great cities in the provinces.

The Catholic Association now ceased to exist. The Algerine Act had passed. The law prohibited any Meeting or Association to assemble for redress of grievances, of any kind, in Church or State; or for petitioning on political subjects; or for the prosecution or defence of civil causes; or for alteration of matters established by law, in Church or State; or for the continuance of the Association sittings, by adjournment beyond fourteen days. This law prevented the weekly meetings of the Association, because that body included in its discussions, every grievance, political and social, of which the country complained. But O'CONNELL and SHEIL soon devised means to drive a coach and six through the Act of Parliament. A new Association was formed, which held, as heretofore, its meetings at the Corn Exchange; and which strictly confined itself to matters unconnected with political grievances—such as the state of education, the burial of the dead, &c. This body were not permitted to raise contributions for political purposes; but they had ten thousand pounds remaining in the funds, from the Old Association. In addition to the advantages derivable from the possession of that sum of money, they hit upon a plan of holding political meetings, for the purpose of petitioning for Emancipation. But we have not yet arrived at the period when they were holden; and we defer, for the present, the consideration of that branch of the subject. The uniform of the new Association continued the same as that the members of the former Confederation wore—namely, a blue frock with black

velvet collar, black silk buttons, and one gilt conciliation button at the top of the right shoulder, and a yellow waistcoat.

In the course of the year, Catholic meetings, both aggregate and parochial, were held in Dublin. At one of them it was resolved to accept nothing but unqualified Emancipation. At another—a parish meeting at St. Audeon's—Mr. O'Connell was roughly criticised, on the subject of the "Wings," by Mr. Richard O'Gorman. Nevertheless, a resolution of thanks to O'Connell, for his great services in London, was enthusiastically adopted. At another of their aggregate meetings, Mr. Sheil first suggested the celebrated plan of simultaneous assemblages. It was on this occasion that he made the allusions to the Duke of York, which are supposed to have given so much offence; when he said that "the Duke had his father's faculties, without his crown." In consequence of the Duke of York's speech, it was generally believed that the King was unfavourable to the Catholic claims. In allusion to his Majesty's hostility, Mr. Sheil spoke the following beautiful passages:—

"But, for my own part, I cannot bring myself to think so badly of human nature, as to suppose it possible that George the Fourth should be unfavourable to our claims. Why did he come amongst us? Was it for the sake of exhibiting the ponderous pageantry of an itinerant Court, and of astonishing us with the fantastic glare of melo-dramatic royalty? It was for a far nobler and more exalted purpose. If George the Fourth had landed in Ireland, with no better object than to gratify the passion for popular applause, which, while it is fatigued, is never satiated; his visit to Ireland would be little deserving of commemoration. But if, as I make no question, it was intended with a view to measures of ulterior pacification, it excused and almost justified the

paroxysm of loyalty into which the country was precipitated. The KING's entry into this great city, was an exhibition of the nation's heart. It was, if I may so say, an ovation of the affections, and a triumph of enthusiasm, of fidelity and of love. "There," we exclaimed, "are our hearts;" and we did even not ask for freedom as an equivalent—we stifled the language of entreaty, and so far from complaining, we did not even implore.—At length the day of his departure arrived. Do you recollect that memorable and, I may call it, that thrilling and pathetic incident? Must not the contemplation of the scene which accompanied his embarkation, have stirred every source of generous sensibility, to its inmost and purest depth, within him?—When he stood upon the deck of the golden galley, that slowly and majestically began to waft him from our shores; when the sails were unfurled, and the expanded canvas began to swell before the wind; when he looked back and beheld this beautiful, but unfortunate land, receding behind him; when he saw the green hills crowded to their summits with the living masses of his ardent and enthusiastic people; when he heard the prayers that were offered up in an undivided supplication for his welfare; when he beheld a million of hands raised up to heaven, to call down blessings on his head;—I do not know of what materials the hearts of KINGS are made; but if he has one touch of human nature in his bosom, his heart must have melted in him, and his soul must have rushed into his eyes. The recollections of his early life must have come back upon him; he must have remembered the time when he was the hope, the trust, and the fond anticipation of Ireland; and even, if his heart, in place of being, as it is, fertile of good sentiment, were as dry and barren as the strand from which he was departing; the feelings of his youth must have rushed back, like

a spring tide, and overflowed and refreshed his bosom with pure and generous emotions. If, at such a moment, an honest man had stood beside him ; might he not have exclaimed, " Oh, Sir, did your purple halls or your golden banquets ever yet disclose a spectacle like this ?—Look at the people whom your Ministers have devoted to oppression ! Behold the enthusiastic, the chivalrous, the high-minded men, who stand in myriads upon yon ill-fated shore ; and, with out-stretched arms, bid you a devoted and affectionate farewell ! And, what part does it become you to act towards Ireland ?—Ask it of your own heart—do not take counsel of the Members of your Cabinet, but of those monitors, whom God has placed in your own bosom. Liberate Ireland and yourself. Emancipate yourself from the cant of LIVERPOOL, the lachrymatory hypocrisy of ELDON, and the plebeian arrogance of PEEL.—Do not enquire what is convenient, and dexterous, and cunning ; but what is great, and wise, and good. Extinguish the dissensions of Ireland —consolidate the greatness of the empire—stamp your history with a measure which will make your People happy, your monarchy everlasting, and your name immortal ! and perform a part, which mankind will not deem unworthy of the Sovereign of a great empire."

At the same meeting, Mr. O'CONNELL, always practical in his suggestions ; said that lest there should be any personal risk to individuals, in collecting the " Rent," he would take all the danger and responsibility on himself, and sign the acknowledgments for money, received for the purpose of the New Association, not prohibited by the statute. We find, accordingly, during this period, the acknowledgments signed by him. It is not possible to convey, in language, an idea of his popularity at this juncture. He was absolutely adored by the Irish people. Their religious feelings were intensely interested in the

struggle. The Irish are essentially a religious people; they love the faith for which their fathers were persecuted; and they loved the man, springing from amongst themselves—who struggled for their freedom; even though it might be, to the majority of them, who were faithful to their creed, in a worldly sense, but an unsubstantial acquisition. O'CONNELL, then, was their idol; and, probably for centuries, no one will arise, who, combining so many qualifications within himself, and having so many concurring circumstances to gain the people's affections, will hold the proud and enviable position O'CONNELL deservedly enjoyed.

At the Bar, too, though surrounded by so many envious competitors, and such thorough-going ascendency men, he was personally beloved. He was familiar with them all. There was a kind of rich jocularity about his conversation, which was taken by them in good part; and with his other powers of conversation and his ready wit, contributed to the conviviality of the Bar Mess, and to while away the dull hours in a Court of Law. He was still advancing in his profession. This year he went Special to four different Circuits, outside his own;—to Antrim, in the celebrated O'HARA case; to Newry; to Galway, and Wexford. At Galway and Wexford, he was enthusiastically received. At Galway he was splendidly entertained at a public dinner. At Wexford a similar honour was proposed, but he had to leave town without accepting it. There was an Aggregate Meeting, during the day of his sojourn, at which he attended, but had to leave town without speaking, as the case in which he was engaged was called on before the Court. At this meeting Mr. SHEIL appeared—and his speech was powerful and brilliant. A man who could speak as he does, and with such ardent feelings, must be a patriot—and yet what are

we to think of later times? But of this more anon. In his own Circuit, too, Mr. O'Connell was enthusiastically welcomed. In Cork a most complimentary address was voted to him. In Mallow he was obliged to entreat the people, for the sake of Mrs. O'Connell, who accompanied him, and who was in delicate health, to allow his carriage to pass on, without taking off the horses. Everywhere, notwithstanding the opposition raised against him, he was hailed as a champion, and greeted with fervid acclamations. In Cork, during the Assizes, his unrivalled powers of cross-examination saved the lives of two men, named Keeffe and Burke; who were tried, on the evidence of an informer, for the murder of the Franks family. In fine, all must have then appeared to him *coleur de rose;* all with him was triumph.

It was about this period that two very characteristic incidents occurred; one showing how readily he caught up the points of the most intricate case, and the other the strong *esprit de corps* he felt as a Catholic. He was called rather suddenly into Court by the agent of his clients, in a case in which they were defendants. When he came in, and without opening his brief-bag, ascertained the leading particulars, he at once proceeded to argue for a non-suit. His argument was so conclusive, that he succeeded, to the great joy of the respectable solicitor by whom he was employed: and who expressed to him his gratification at such unexpected success. "I have not been paid my fee in this case," said O'Connell. "That is singular; for I left it with the brief at your lodgings," replied the Attorney—"I never received it"; and he was about to express some doubt of the solicitor's statement, when he was informed by a friend, that the gentleman who made it, was incapable of speaking an untruth. He instantly took a pen, and wrote on the brief a receipt for

his fee—and then gave the document to the solicitor, who immediately opened it, and, attached to the first sheet, was a five pound note. This at once proved that the brief was never opened; and, there was instantly a shout at O'CONNELL, who took the fee, and acknowledged the justice of the impeachment. The agent, who was somewhat of a wag, must have put in the brief, somewhat from the same motive that induced a saintly Aunt to give her Nephew a bible, with a hundred pound note in the first page, and make him promise to read it. After a time she asked for the bible, and to the Nephew's amazement, the hundred pound note was found where she had placed it. She instantly transferred it to her purse.

On another occasion, Baron —— was charging the jury in a criminal case. He was commenting on the evidence of the principal witness; and reading from his notes, he said that the witness had gone from his "barn to the "Mass-House." "My Lord," said O'CONNELL, interrupting him, "he never said any such such thing." "He did," replied the Judge testily. "I have the words on my notes." "My Lord, the witness is a Catholic; and "no Catholic would make use of an expression of insult "in reference to the House of Worship, where he "adores his God. I repeat, and insist on it, he never "used the term 'Mass-House.' "My Lord," said one of the Jury—"it was 'Chapel' he said." "How then comes Mass-House on my notes?" "It was suggested, my Lord, by the bias of your Lordship's mind, towards the religion of six millions of your countrymen," was O'CONNELL'S severe rejoinder.

The LIBERATOR'S uncle, MAURICE O'CONNELL, died early this year. He left the bulk of his property to the "Counsellor." His nephews, JOHN and JAMES, also came in for large legacies. The property he left Mr. O'CON-

NELL is estimated at over four thousand a year, of which the terminable property, amounting to £2,000 a-year, passed, it is said, from his family at his decease. It was in September, that he proceeded to take possession of his uncle's residence, Darrynane Abbey. The whole population of the district came out to meet him. Nothing could exceed the delight of the peasantry, in receiving as their landlord, the great friend of their country. It was a proud—a happy day for O'CONNELL. He was in his native mountains—away from the spite, malice, envy, with which he was not long before assailed. He breathed the pure air from the Atlantic. As he used to say himself, he imbibed the spirit of liberty which came directly across from the land of freedom. DARRYNANE is situated, if not on *the most* western, on one of the most western promontories of Kerry. The promontories of Bray Head, near Valentia Harbour, and Dunmore Head, near Ventry Harbour, are more western; but next to these, it is nearer to America than any other part of Ireland. Nothing can exceed the wild beauty of the scenery. The residence is close to an inlet, or creek, made by the action of the Atlantic. The Abbey, from which the place derives its name, and in which is the burial place of the O'CONNELL family, is on a jutting piece of land which, except at certain tides, is surrounded by water, and is called the Abbey Island.—The general approach to Darrynane, from the busy world, is from Cahirciveen, on one side, and Kenmare on the other; and, undoubtedly, the difficulty of the passage added much to the romance of a visit to the great Agitator, in the wilds of Kerry. Many a young lady from the sister country, with her imagination full of the descriptions of WALTER SCOTT'S Highland scenery, and having some undefined notion of what kind of person

O'CONNELL was, used to feel all her anticipations, realised, when, borne by a mountain poney, she traversed with her *compagnons de voyage*, the wilds leading to the residence of him, whose fame was European. There was something very attractive in such a visit. The wild and barren mountains around—the steep and stony path —the ocean—the sheltered and sunken valley by the sea shore, on which stands the irregular mass of building called Darrynane—the shrubberies flourishing in spite, as it were, of Nature's ordinance—and, above all, the hospitable owner, liberal and kind-hearted, and his amiable family—all made a visit to Darrynane one of the most interesting incidents in the life of the stranger. We have said that O'CONNELL's uncle confined his hospitalities principally to the industrious classes, whose business brought them in the direction. He felt no anxiety to hold communication with the merely curious *voyageur*. O'CONNELL, on the contrary, threw wide his gates to all visitors; and we know of instances in which total strangers, who had no introduction and scarcely a name, have spent days and weeks in the house—notwithstanding the awkwardness and indeed the impropriety of the intrusion. Such was the generous, indiscriminate hospitality the LIBERATOR continued for years to maintain. His table at Darrynane, though well furnished, never had any pretensions to high fashionable style, either in the *recherche* of the *cuisine*, or the richness of the appointments. These things were not looked for at the western shores of the Atlantic. Generous, but not inelegant abundance, was the characteristic of O'CONNELL's board.

Darrynane House was repeatedly added to since 1825. Originally it was a small and comparatively humble edifice. Now, though an irregular building, it is a very large commodious and comfortable mansion. A good deal of it, how-

ever, is occupied with passages. The drawing and dining rooms are fine stately apartments, and handsomely furnished. Some of the sofas O'CONNELL purchased at Lord CLARE's auction. Speaking of them to a visitor—he said, "these were once present at high Orange orgies. "I bought them at the auction of that *petticoat Robes-* "*pierre*, Lord CLARE; who never named Catholics with- "out some epithet of hatred and contempt."

As O'CONNELL's mode of life, during his autumn residence at Darrynane, from the time he came into possession of the property, to within a short time of his death, was the same round of healthful enjoyment, and abundant hospitality, this may be the most opportune time to group together some remarks on this portion of his biography; and the reader will understand, that during each succeeding year, when we mention the LIBERATOR'S visit to his native mountains, the usual mode of life we will now describe, was pursued uniformly to the end.

The following beautiful and graphic description from Mr. HOWITT'S "Visit to Darrynane," in 1835, is truthful and interesting: and may be first introduced, in addition to what has been already stated about the *locale* of Darrynane. "I believe," he says:—

"No good view has ever been taken of Darrynane. We have heard a good deal of the princely style in which O'CONNELL lives there—and are therefore led to suppose that his ancestral abode is something quite magnificent. This is not the fact. The house of Darrynane is a good and capacious, rather than a grand house. On the contrary, taking into consideration the fame and standing of the great Irish Liberator, and the hospitality that both his position and his disposition dictate, it strikes one, on arriving at it, as a somewhat modest one. It is the fitting residence of a substantial country gentleman, and

nothing more. It is of rather an irregular form; and has evidently been, from time to time, enlarged as became requisite, rather with regard to convenience than to one general design. Thus, you approach it by a sort of open Court, formed by two projections from the main building. The one to your right, consists of a part of the house, where, I suppose, the household affairs are transacted, as visitors seldom enter that portion; and of a small Chapel, which Mr. O'CONNELL has recently erected, and which is, indeed, not yet internally finished. The projection to your left, of two stories, contains, on the ground floor, Mr. O'CONNELL'S private study, and over it the library, with windows overlooking the ocean. A small lobby in this projection first receives you; and advancing from it, you find yourself in a large one; in fact, in the very centre of the house, and where the grand staircase conducts you to the rooms above. Here you find the drawing-room, a fine spacious apartment, running at right angles with the projection containing the study and library, and towards the sea; and the windows on all sides give you views over the ocean and the rocky hills around, with the plantation close under the house, and the green expanse of meadow between the house and the sea. Beneath this room is the dining-room, of the same dimensions. On the other side of the main staircase, you see a long passage leading to a variety of rooms: but to these, except it be to his bedroom in that direction, the visitor seldom penetrates. The library, the drawing, and dining rooms, are the visitor's quarter; and a more airy and agreeable one he seldom will find. In themselves, they are handsome, and handsomely furnished, with some family portraits, and other pictures; but with nothing that at all savours of a spirit of pomp or ostentation. They are handsome, home-like rooms;

such as befit the abode of the country gentleman, or the reception of the prince, the noble, or the simple and unassuming man of taste. You feel that it is the house of one who has far higher claims to distinction than such as are derived from the mere splendour of abode.—And what other house can show you such views from its windows? From the middle of a green wood, you gaze down over a green meadow to the sea, which runs up into a sort of bay before the house, bounded by the high and stony ridge of Lamb Head, which shuts out the Kenmare river. Beyond the Kenmare estuary, you catch a view of the high and craggy point of that long promontory which separates Kenmare river from Bantry Bay. To the west, the eye follows the shores below the house, to where protrudes, far into the ocean, the green but wild foreland, called the Abbey Island; because, in spring tides, it is sometimes separated from the mainland, but at other times can be reached across a narrow sandy neck on foot. In the corner, or inner sweep of the bay, formed by the running out of the Abbey Island from the mainland, you see the ruins of the old abbey of Darrynane; whence the house of the Liberator is still often called Darrynane Abbey. Out, at some distance in the ocean, in the same direction, you observe two lofty, insulated rocks, called Scariff and Dinish, of a bold and noble aspect, something like Ailsa Craig, off the coast of Scotland. Such is the view seaward from Darrynane; and when the ocean waves come swelling in with wind and tide, dashing their milky spray high over the black rocks, which here and there stand aloft in the waters, and climbing, in snowy whiteness, the craggy shores in every direction, there is a wild grandeur about the scene which can rarely be surpassed. If we then walk out and turn our gaze in an opposite direction, especially to the north and east, we find the place shut in by

a sweep of noble mountains, reaching an elevation of two thousand five hundred feet. These form what is called in England, a combe, or sheltered hollow, which is protected from all the severe winds, and builds a little secluded region of greenness and mildness; so mild, indeed, that the fuschia and the hydrangea are seen blowing there in great beauty in the open air. The house stands sufficiently elevated to command the fine sea view, and partly that of this green hollow, and its bold circle of craggy mountains. The house is partly battlemented, and the walls are all tiled from ground to roof, with grey stone tiles; a defence against the action of the elements, no doubt found very necessary here, exposed as the house, is to the winds and salt spray from the stormy Atlantic.

"On the north side of the house, lie the court-yard, farm-buildings, and offices; and, separated from these by the high-way, lie, in the bosom of the sheltered hollow, the gardens. These are spacious, and very delightful. You cross an outer plot; pass under a sort of tunnel, or archway, of some ten yards or so, and find yourself in a lovely flower-garden, with bee-hives standing here and there, and a beautiful spring of water, covered with a fanciful canopy of shell-work; and further on you see still more tempting garden-walks, and masses of trees, half-concealing the rocks and hollows at the foot of the hills, which form the natural boundary to these pleasant gardens. As you advance, you come to a fine orchard, in the most central and sheltered part of this hollow; in one place you ascend a few steps, and find a little square platform on the boundary wall, with seats round it, giving a splendid view of the mountain eastward; in another, you advance up a close woodland walk, and arrive at a summer-house, on a rocky knoll, giving one complete

and airy view over both sea and land. Descending again by another path, you discover, at the foot of the rocks, a simple rural seat or bank, overhung by the trees, and with the flower-garden lying displayed at your feet.

"This seat used to be the favourite resort of the uncle of Mr. O'Connell, from whom he inherited Darrynane. This old gentleman, who seems to have been a man of both powerful physical frame, and lofty moral character, lived to within one year of a hundred. He was for some years blind before his decease, and delighted to sit here, where, beneath the fresh canopy of trees and rocks, he could hear the distant sound of the sea. That sound, so full of majesty, seemed not only to soothe him, but to bring, as it were, a visible perception of the scenes around, in which it made so grand a figure, and to call up the vivid acts and images of his past life.

"There was no fear of death in his strong and prepared mind," said Mr. O'Connell, one day, as we passed this place. "In front of this seat, at some distance, grew a splendid ash tree.—Once, having sat for some time, as in deep thought, he said,"

"'Daniel, I have a favour to request of you.'

"'Of me, uncle; what can that be?'

"'Measure me the girth of that tree.'

"'I did so, and told him what it was.'

"'I thought so;' he said. 'I thought it was as large as that. The favour I would ask, Daniel, is, that that tree may now be felled.'

"'May be felled? What, the tree you have always seemed to take such pleasure in!'

"'Yes, I would have it cut down.'

"'Then, certainly, let it be cut down. There is no occasion to ask the permission of me.'

" ' Yes, as this place will be yours, I would not do anything without consulting you. I thank you for giving me leave to fell this tree; and now I will tell you for what purpose I would fell it. It is to make my coffin of its wood. I have for some time thought that it would be large enough, and I now find that it is. Send for the carpenter.'

" The carpenter was sent for. ' Now, carpenter,' he said, addressing him, ' I want you to make my coffin.—You must cut down that ash: saw it up into boards of an inch and a quarter thick, and of twenty-two inches deep; the entire boards will be large enough both for that, and for the bottom and lid of a suitable proportion. As for the length, what do you think that should be?'

" The carpenter, running his eye over the fine old man, and considering in himself for some time, replied:

" ' I should say seven feet, your honour.'

" ' Seven feet! Why, I never stood more than six feet three; age has something decreased my height, but death, I know, will stretch me out again to a certain degree; but, seven feet! why that is the proportion for a giant; let it be six feet five.'

" With this the old gentleman dismissed the man and the subject. The tree was felled; the boards sawn and seasoned, and the coffin made according to his directions."

" The plantations which thus embosom these charming gardens, and the house also, are of considerable extent, and have pleasant drives through them in different directions. Taken in contrast with the bareness of the surrounding country, and the rugged character of the hills, they present a very attractive and refreshing mass of verdure to the eye. They are, however, but young, and have, I believe, been for the most part planted by the LIBERATOR himself.

"The meadow, lying between, the plantations and the sea, presents, from the house, a most agreeable object, and offers one of the most charming places for walking; while the emerald billows are booming on the hard sands. Here, on Sunday afternoons, and on holydays, in the fashion of Catholic countries, the peasantry also assemble to a game of hurling, or a dance; and the LIBERATOR and his family often go out, and walk amongst them, and give a livelier zest to their sport by the interest they take in it. The sea-sand, by that admirable provision of Providence, seen wherever a low shore is seen, has been thrown up into a bank, which the sea-grass has grown upon, and with its roots knit, as it were, into ocean-proof firmness; the sea creating its own barriers. The meadow actually lies below the water at high tide; and, were the bank to give way, the whole meadow and part of the plantations would be overflowed. Of this there are some fears, from the looseness of the sand at a part called the Gap, or Dead Man's Gap; from funerals formerly having been carried along the shore to the Abbey, and through this gap. To favour the accumulation of sand, thorns and stakes are driven down on the shore, which seem to answer the purpose; yet not so as entirely to allay all fears of the effects of some tremendous tempest from the west."

Another visitor thus describes the residence of the LIBERATOR:—

"Darrynane, the residence of Mr. O'CONNELL, is distant from Kenmare thirty-one miles; and I was informed by the Landlord of the inn at the latter place, and indeed by all who spoke to me on the subject, that I should share, at the residence of the celebrated 'LIBERATOR,' the hearty welcome which is invariably offered to all who travel the wilds surrounding it. The road from Kenmare to Darrynane is mountainous; parts of the country

being thinly inhabited, and does not possess a single inn or house of public accommodation; Darrynane, in fact, is the only place of entertainment "for man and horse;" and Darrynane is open to all who choose to accept its hospitality. * * * * * * * *

"Old castles abound in the course of the drive from Kenmare; and from the high moors about two miles before we arrived at the descent to Darrynane, an extensive and noble prospect is commanded. The mighty Atlantic bounds this magnificent view, which includes, among other things worthy of notice, the mouth of the Kenmare river, the islands of Scarriff and Dinish, rising abruptly out of the ocean, the rocks called the Bull, Cow, and Calf, at the extremity of the Peninsula, which divides Bantry Bay from Kenmare river; and, lastly, Darrynane House and the ruins of Darrynane Abbey, reposing at the foot of the mountains, on the borders of Kenmare river, near the open sea. Having descended the hill, we overtook a company of men, boys, and girls, driving about thirty small horses and mules, laden with panniers of turf; they occupied the whole length of the road for some distance; and, on being asked where they were going, said, 'We are taking turf to warm the LIBERATOR.'

"The day on which I arrived was a fast day; the table, notwithstanding, was admirably supplied with a variety of fish and some excellent Kerry mutton, for the use of Protestant strangers. Fourteen different kinds of fish, caught close to the place, are frequently on the table at the same time. The coast abounds with fish; as many as thirty turbot have been caught at one draught.

"Darrynane House is an extensive pile of buildings, erected at different periods, and without regard to any particular order of architecture, or any prevailing uniformity of plan. Convenience and the comforts of his

guests, seem to have guided Mr. O'Connell in the enlargement of his mansion. In front of the house stretches an extensive garden, at the end of which is a fine natural lawn of soft short grass—in spring and summer the scene of various sports and pleasant exercises. The sea which here forms a cove or bay, comes close up to the lawn. The sands of the shore are firm and clean; and the waves of the bay, which struck me as being of a remarkable emerald hue, are interrupted in their magnificent progress by a few picturesque rocks. The ruins of the Abbey are at the opposite side of this small bay, a quarter of a mile from Darrynane House. A rookery presents a scene of perpetual animation to the north of the house; and in the same direction are extensive plantations, containing rustic bowers, tastefully designed, and winding walks by the side of clear brooks. All these, of course, I saw under considerable disadvantages; but still I saw sufficient to convince me that Darrynane was a lovely spot. The air is peculiarly wholesome; and, during my stay there, a letter was received from Mr. O'Connell, anticipating with pleasure the enjoyments of his native place, and speaking with delight of deriving from its healthy climate a good stock of health, to enable him to re-commence the tug of war in St. Stephen's. When at Darrynane, hunting is his favourite exercise; and I was informed that he climbs the rugged mountains, after his favourite pack of beagles, with all the untiring activity and buoyancy of youth."

The following extract from a letter addressed by O'Connell to Walter Savage Landor, gives as beautiful and as graphic a description of the wild and magnificent scenery of this famed abode, as any that has ever been written on the subject:—

"Darrynane Abbey, October 4, 1838.

"SIR—You wrong me much in supposing that I do not know you. 'Not to know *you* were to bespeak myself unknown.' Little do you imagine how many persons besides myself have been delighted with the poetic imaginings which inspired these lines on one of the wonders of my infancy—the varying sounds emitted by marine shells—

"Pleased, they remember their august abodes,
And murmur, as the ocean murmurs there."

"Would that I had you here, to show you 'their august abode' in its most awful beauty. I could show you at noontide—when the stern south-wester had blown long and rudely—the mountain waves coming in from the illimitable ocean in majestic succession, expending their gigantic force, and throwing up stupendous masses of foam, against the more gigantic and more stupendous mountain cliffs that fence not only this my native spot, but form that eternal barrier which prevents the wild Atlantic from submerging the cultivated plains and high steepled villages of proud Britain herself—or, were you with me amidst the Alpine scenery that surrounds my humble abode, listening to the eternal roar of the mountain torrent as it bounds through the rocky defiles of my native glens, I would venture to tell you how I was born within the sound of the everlasting wave, and how my dreamy boyhood dwelt upon *imaginary* intercourse with those who are dead of yore, and fed its fond fancies upon the ancient and long-faded glories of that land, which preserved literature and Christianity, when the rest of now civilised Europe, was shrouded in the darkness of godless ignorance. Yes! my expanding spirit, delighted in these day dreams, till catching from them an enthusiasm which no disappointment can embitter, nor accumulating years diminish, I formed the high resolve to leave my native

land better after my death than I found her at my birth; and, if possible, to make her what she ought to be—

"Great, glorious, and free,
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea."

"Perhaps, if I could show you the calm and exquisite beauty of these capacious bays and mountain promontories, softened in the pale moonlight which shines this lovely evening, till all which during the day was grand and terrific, has become calm and serene in the silent tranquillity of the clear night—perhaps you would readily admit, that the man who has been so often called a ferocious demagogue, is, in truth, a gentle lover of Nature, an enthusiast of all her beauties—

"Fond of each gentle and each dreary scene,

and catching, from the loveliness as well as the dreariness of the ocean, and Alpine scenes with which he is surrounded, a greater ardour to promote the good of man, in his overwhelming admiration of the mighty works of God."

Mr. O'Connell's chief enjoyment, while at Darrynane, was hare-hunting. The sport, of which the mountains round his home were uniformly the scene, was of course pursued on foot—and but few of his young and active friends were equal to the toil it imposed; there were none of them who could endure a long day's fatigue like the Liberator; he fairly tired out them all. His habit was, when a day's hunting was in contemplation, to go round on the previous evening, before retiring from the drawing-room, to his different visitors, and ask each, "Are you for the mountain in the morning?" When he had ascertained the number who were desirous of joining him, he gave directions accordingly to his butler. At four o'clock the following morning, each gentleman was called up, and a lighted candle and warm water placed on his dressing table. In the meantime, breakfast was sent to the

spot appointed on the previous evening; and before the visitors were ready to move, the LIBERATOR was already on foot. The postman was directed to bring the letter-bag to whatever place on the mountain the hounds were stationed. No matter what delay this worthy official had, breakfast was never ordered until he arrived; and it often happened that prolonged fasting, together with the fatigue of the hunt, proved too trying for the most athletic of the party. Even those who prided themselves on their capability of enduring physical toil, and hunger, too, were not able to compete with O'CONNELL, amidst the Darrynane mountains, before the arrival of the too tardy postman. When this important personage appeared, then the scene immediately changed, and an ample breakfast was spread out upon the sward. The LIBERATOR had not the smallest appetite amongst the party. None of them paid their respects with more *empressement* to the good things provided than did he, or were larger consumers. Still, he did not neglect his letters or his newspapers—out they came from the postman's bag, one by one; as read they were strewn on the ground, and on these wild mountain fastnesses it was curious to observe the medley. In one place there might be seen a French epistle along with a memorial from some Dublin tradesman, to save him from an Excise prosecution. In another place lay, perhaps, the *Univers*, Catholic journal, beside the *Times*—and the *Dublin Review* side by side with the *University Magazine*. Then there were all the Irish metropolitan and provincial papers, and innumerable letters from all parts of both kingdoms and from America. Yet, all the papers were run over, and all the letters opened before the sport began again. Then all became life and cheerfulness: the impatience and annoyance at the loitering of the postman were forgotten, and

every one joined in beating for the game. While the rest of the party were so occupied, the LIBERATOR's practice was, to hear the complaints and settle the differences between the country people—who always on these occasions crowded after him, for the purpose of obtaining his advice or decision, and his arbitration was invariably abided by on the part of the litigants. So soon, however, as the game was started—"Corromough," the huntsman, shouted out, "the hare's a foot, the *coorte* is over;" and forthwith the case was adjourned until the next check or interruption to the chase. Thus, during the day, was he alternately employed—settling, at one moment, amicably, and without law, the differences of the people; and, at another, breasting the mountain height, in order to get a position to see the running of the dogs below him, and enjoy the music of their cry as it echoed from crag to crag. These were to him moments of unmixed happiness, and thus were most of his days spent at Darrynane.

We now give Mr. HOWITT's description, and the reader cannot fail to be struck with the similarity which may be traced between his and that the writer has feebly sketched—

"It is well known that O'CONNELL has always been enthusiastically attached to those wild hills and shores of Darrynane, and that he has as enthusiastically followed the chase there. His pack of harriers, of native breed, are known all over Europe; and the ardour with which he has followed them daily, from hill to hill, when he has retired from the field of national agitation, for a season, to the mountains of Kerry, is regarded by himself as one of the most efficient causes of the maintenance of that almost gigantic frame and constitution, which have enabled him to battle for half a century with the evils and

the enemies of his country. To the present hour, when he has reached his seventieth year, that ardour remains unabated. At the mention of the stern beauties of his native region, and at the cry of his hounds, the spirit of Irish enthusiasm kindles visibly in him; and, as in the arena of national exertion, he scorns to be second in the field. It is worth the journey from England, to join O'CONNELL in a hunt on his mountains.

"To those who are accustomed only to the turn-out of an English field-day, to the troop of red-coated horsemen scouring over the hedges and ditches of a level country, the hunting here must be novel indeed. If you will ride here after the hounds, it must be on goats, and not on horses. Your field is one wild chaos of rocks and crags, from one ascent to another; now clambering aloft to catch sight of the pack, whose sonorous cries you hear; and now rushing down to gain some other eminence which shuts out the view. It is not at ten or twelve o'clock either that the pack will throw off. O'CONNELL is up by peep of day, and out with his hounds into the mountains. Even to this day, the only indulgence that he allows himself, on these occasions, is to ride a horse up the steep road from his house to some spot near the scene of action. At six o'clock, in October, he is out. About a score of hounds, the number which he prefers to the whole pack, are seen drawing near the house from the kennel. Gentlemen are turning out, furnished with leaping-poles; and a troop of such wild-looking fellows, as Ireland only can produce, are hanging about, ready to give their necessary assistance as scouts and beaters on the occasion. There are two huntsmen in red caps and red jackets, armed with the same staves. The LIBERATOR appears also grasping his; and away goes the throng towards the heights.

"The life of O'Connell at Darrynane has always been that of an old clan chieftain: and when you see him and his friends, and his followers, thus setting out for the chase, you are irresistibly reminded of some graphic sketch in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. But the huntsmen and the tribe of followers have dispersed over some of the steep fields at the foot of the hills, and are beating over the bushes. There is a period of watching and expectation, while the hounds silently traverse the ground in all directions, with busy noses; and as silently stand the Liberator and his friends, on some neighbouring eminence, awaiting the discovery of the hare. At once a hound gives mouth; the rest run, at the cry, in his wake; there is a general joining in the joyful clamour, and the hare is seen careering away up the valley. Now, then, for the hills; and luck to him who has a nimble foot and a free chest, for he will need them. From this moment all is excitement and eager pursuit. Round the hills circles the started hare, and is found and lost,—seen and again only traceable by the cry of the pursuers. Now all is silence; the hounds have lost the scent, and again the musical peal of voices comes streaming fuller and fuller down the wind. Here is the bewildered hare coming directly upon you. Still! There she stands reared on her hind legs, and listens in the very midst of you. But now!—she catches the view of you, and is gone over crag and hollow like a flying shadow. The scouts are already on every hill top. There is a whistle—she is seen by one of them, who points from his airy elevation the way that she is taking. The huntsman's voice, shouting 'Forwards, forwards!' is heard, and once more the pack is upon the track. Louder grows the cry, more eager, more continuous. Away! down the rugged brae, or you are too late! Here comes the

eager pack close on the flagged victim; and a loud halloo announces that the chase is over!

"Thus does it go, from one romantic region to another; now winding along the green and lofty mountain side; now lost amidst savage projecting crags, that frown far above you, and streamlets roaring and tumbling down the dizzy depths far below you; and now, from some far commanding point, taking in a glorious survey of hills and ocean, the wide plain of Waterville, or the distant rocky island of the Skelligs, or the splendid bays of Ballinskelligs, Valentia, or the distant Dingle.

"Afternoon sees a motley throng descending the winding road from the mountains, down towards Darrynane. The light hue of the dogs, and the scarlet gleam of the huntsman's costume, are prominently visible; and as they draw near, you wish for a painter to give the picturesque and weary company on a broad canvass.—It were a picture which, at a future day, when the great and the little men of the present generation are gone from the scene, and the LIBERATOR and his agitators for Emancipation and Repeal, are become matters of history, and of a more impartial judgment than can perhaps be arrived at by us, would be gazed at with intense interest by our children. That stalwart and manly figure in the centre; the men who surround him, often characters of note and influence in the political world; the dogs, a peculiar old Irish race; many of them with long shaggy coats, with serious faces and erect tails, trotting on as if from some great achievement; and they who crowd behind, in raiment, and with looks as wild as their own hills and moors—what most prodigal elements for a splendid painting by LANDSEER!

"But the LIBERATOR and his friends betake themselves to the house—it is the most important hour of six. The

hospitality of Darrynane is proverbial. Few whom the love of travel, or the curiosity to see the great Agitator in his mountain home, draw thither, depart without being asked to take refreshment: and never, during O'Connell's stay there, is the house without guests, and those often numerous. There is generally a considerable company assembled at dinner—and the drawing room, at other hours, is often vocal with a troop of the Liberator's grandchildren, of whom he has no fewer than six and thirty! Nowhere does O'Connell appear to more advantage than in the midst of his own family. He seems to be particularly happy in his family relations. Children, grandchildren, guests, and domestics, appear animated by one spirit of affection and respect towards him. It speaks volumes, that within doors and without, in his own neighbourhood, the enthusiastic attachment to him, is perhaps greater than anywhere else.

"The person of O'Connell is too well known to all the English, to need any description here: but no one can avoid being struck with his appearance, as you see him at home. That large figure, built like one of the ancient round towers of this country, arrayed in a reddish, well padded dressing gown, and the Repeal cap upon his head—thus you see him seated at breakfast, generally at a side-table by himself, for the convenience of reading his letters and newspapers, which the postman, early in the morning, brings over the hills from Cahirciveen. The Repeal cap is of green velvet, with a narrow gold band surrounding the upper part in Vandykes; thus, for all the world, resembling to the eye a crown. Thus arrayed, the Liberator—a title constantly used by his servants and friends—reminds you of some old king in a German story; but no old king in any German story ever occupied that position of importance, or exercised that

moral influence which the Irish Agitator exercises at this moment. While he opens letter after letter, or glances over the columns of every newspaper published in Ireland, besides English and French ones, which have issued from his capacious post-bag, the workings of a gigantic machinery, in daily operation, for compelling this great country to do justice to his long-abused native land, are laid open to his eye; and thoughts which will to-morrow send out an electric action to every nook of Ireland, sit solemnly on his brow. The accuracy with which that machinery works, and how well all its movements and results are known to the great director of them, a simple fact may demonstrate. Two days after I left, he was setting out on his tour of Repeal agitation. At dinner he said, 'At Cashel, I shall have 500,000 of the Tipperary boys, to meet me.' The report of that gathering in the *Times*, afterwards, showed how well founded was the assertion.

"Another point, which strikes you in a visit to Darrynane, is that which springs from Mr. O'CONNELL's particular faith. As a Catholic, he possesses a mighty hold on the minds of his countrymen. And he is no mere nominal and careless Catholic. He keeps a domestic chaplain, or confessor, the jolly-looking Father O'SULLIVAN; and it at first somewhat startles you to hear, perhaps during the day, a sound of merry children's voices from the drawing-room, and on entering, behold, amid all the noise and childish laughter, the holy father walking to and fro, as if totally unconscious of the juvenile racket around him, with his breviary in his hand, muttering his prayers. In the observances of his religion, O'CONNELL has always been seriously zealous and regular. One morning, on opening his letter bag, he exclaimed—'Bravo, I have got it!' 'What is that?' I asked—

'It is *The Cambridge and Oxford Magazine*, containing 'SMYTHE's Defence of the Jesuits—the first defence by a 'Protestant of that much misrepresented body of men.' At nine o'clock, every morning, the bell of Darrynane rings for mass. From all parts of the house, troop the members of the family, visitors and servants, to the chapel; and for one hour the whole place is as still as a tomb. At ten, breakfast is served, and then commence the ordinary affairs or amusements of the day. Such is O'CONNELL at Darrynane."

We now give from a Conservative publication, the *Dublin Christian Journal*, the following account of a visit paid by a Protestant Clergyman to Darrynane:—

"Little did I think, when one evening in the dining parlour of a Protestant and high Conservative, that the next would find me enjoying the hospitality of the greatest political Romanist of the age. After breakfast, we took it into our heads to have a nautical excursion across an arm of the sea which separated the two counties, in order to get just a peep and no more at the far-famed Abbey. Having a fair wind, we expected that after having accomplished the object of our suddenly planned voyage, we should be able, before night, to be anchored in our bay—but, being suddenly becalmed, did not make the harbour of Darrynane until about the time that we had hoped to be half-way home—and as it was, we were half content to have the prospect of getting on *terra firma*; being exhausted, and suffering greatly from the effects of sea sickness. But no sooner had I heard that no less a personage than an M.P. had come to our relief, than I started up on my feet, weak and exhausted as I was, and after kind invitation on his part to come along with him, assuring me how happy his father would be to see us—I accompanied him. But the rest of the party were not so complying as myself, so we left them; having first

arranged that they should come to breakfast the following morning. We had not proceeded far when we were met by another M.P., in another boat; who, on hearing of the obstinacy of my friends, exclaimed that it was not to be tolerated, and soon boarding them himself, he did not leave them till he succeeded in getting them to return with him. All this attention we felt the more grateful, as being till then perfect strangers to those from whom we experienced it; but known to differ widely from them in religion and politics. The whole reception we met with, especially from the host, was to us a corroboration of all we previously heard of the hospitality of the "Traveller's Home." Stories have been told, and believed by many—of oddities, peculiarities, airs, and assumptions, such as—the last to obey the dinner bell, all, both male and female, being expected to stay standing round the table until he made his appearance and took his seat; and that when dinner was over, he was the first to retire, all standing up to do him homage at his departure. But in everything we saw there certainly was nothing to justify such stories, but everything the very opposite. In fact, he conducts himself like other human beings; seeking to make his house and conversation every way agreeable to his guests, with nothing that could offend the most fastidious or sensitive; and he even the whole evening—with much, I am sure, to call him away—gave us the pleasure of his company in the drawing-room. I had also heard that religion and politics were totally excluded; but we had both—not in the way of controversy—but rather, as I would say, historically and practically. In reply to a marvellously quick succession of questions, from the head of our yachting party, he freely gave his opinion of several of the most eminent public characters of the day;

assigning to each whatever position of merit he conceived them respectively entitled to, without appearing much biassed by his political prejudices. With myself he entered freely into a different sort of conversation, in which, from a brief discussion of the law of marriage, we were led on to speak of the greatness of a SAVIOUR'S love, the infinity of his merits, and our consequent obligations. Into this we thus glided, as it were imperceptibly, without the appearance of design.

"My friend took his seat beside us, and asked me if I was trying to make a Protestant of our learned host. It happened in the course of conversation, that one of our party made a solemn asseveration by the Divine Name, which I thought should not go unnoticed, observing that whatever other differences of opinion might exist, we were agreed as to the sinfulness of the expression that had dropped from the lips of one of the Protestants of the trio. The reproof was well taken; after which I made some remarks to them how little such a habit had to excuse itself, it being of all sins the most easily avoided; in which our host concurred, and so our conversation went on very pleasantly till we were interrupted by some music. Our company was composed of several Roman Catholic and Radical M.P.'s, &c.; a Roman Catholic cabinet-maker, employed here by the day, at the business of his trade, but in the evening most generously treated as a guest; a Romish Priest, who attends here in the double capacity of P.P. and Chaplain; the head of our own little party, a well-known Conservative in the county from which he came, and his excellent and accomplished partner, niece to two of our Conservative grandees, the one a commoner and the other a peer; a host of other ladies of the same creed and politics with our hospitable entertainer, and myself.

"The reception and entertainment of a person here is not an unfrequent event, and was much less so in the times of the Home Mission. I have heard that, even when the family were from home, the person in charge had directions from his master, to be always prepared with a plentiful feed for both the Missionary and his horse, as often as, in their way by, they might choose to call. On hearing of their visits to the neighbourhood, he asked if they were Methodists, but when told they were Clergymen of the church, he exclaimed, "Well, I never before thought they had so much good amongst them." He had probably been disposed to regard our Apostolic Establishment in the light according to which an Independent Minister, with whom I was formerly acquainted, used to style it—'A lumber-room for the aristocracy to throw their blockheads into.'

"After a comfortable night's rest, in the same room with the only one of our host's four sons who has not yet been a member of the British Senate, and being most kindly and courteously waited on with razors and whatever else I wanted, by an honourable M.P., I repaired to the library and read a portion of the Douay Bible I found lying on one of the shelves. After breakfast, I walked out, numerously escorted, to see the place. I plucked a large plantain leaf, which I said I would take home and preserve as a relic, from the Abbey. I have it still carefully preserved between the leaves of a folio copy of BURNETT'S History of his own Times.

"After seeing as much as time would permit, and being dismissed with oft-repeated invitations to come again, we set sail at one o'clock, with the impression strong upon, at least, my mind, that the never-to-be obliterated remembrance of all the kind attention we had experienced, must evermore constrain me to 'mollify'

my feelings, and 'modify' my words, when thinking or speaking of a certain political personage, of whom, as a political foe, I had often spoken in terms of unmeasured reprobation."

We cannot better conclude this notice of Darrynane, than by giving the following spirit-stirring effusion, from the well-known and accomplished contributor who has written under the signature of "DESMOND," in the *Nation*:—

I.

"Where foams the white torrent, and rushes the rill,
"Down the murmuring slopes of the echoing hill—
"Where the eagle looks out from his cloud-crested crags,
"And the caverns resound with the panting of stags—
"Where the brow of the mountain is purple with heath,
"And the mighty Atlantic rolls proudly beneath,
"With the foam of its waves like the snowy FENANE—
"Oh! that is the region of wild Darrynane!

II.

"Oh! fair are the islets of tranquil Glengariff,
"And wild are the sacred recesses of Scariff—
"And beauty, and wildness, and grandeur, commingle
"By Bantry's broad bosom, and wave-wasted Dingle;
"But wild as the wildest, and fair as the fairest,
"And lit by a lustre that thou alone wearest—
"And dear to the eye and the free heart of man,
"Are the mountains and vallies of wild Darrynane!

III.

"And who is the Chief of this lordly domain?—
"Does a slave hold the land where a monarch might reign?—
"Oh! no, by St. Finbar, nor cowards, nor slaves,
"Could live in the sound of these free dashing waves!
"A Chieftain, the greatest the world has e'er known—
"Laurel his coronet—true hearts his throne—
"Knowledge his sceptre—a Nation his clan—
"O'Connell, the Chieftain of proud Darrynane!

IV.

"A thousand bright streams on the mountains awake,
"Whose waters unite in O'Donoghue's Lake—
"Streams of Glenflesk and the dark Gishadane
"Filling the heart of that valley divine!

"Then rushing in one mighty artery down
"To the limitless ocean by murmuring Lawne!
"Thus nature unfolds in her mystical plan,
"A type of the Chieftain of wild Darrynane!

V.

"In him every pulse of our bosoms unite—
"Our hatred of wrong and our worship of right—
"The hopes that we cherish, the ills we deplore,
"All centre within his heart's innermost core,
"Which, gathered in one mighty current, are flung
"To the ends of the earth from his thunder-toned tongue!
"Till the Indian looks up, and the valiant Affghan
"Draws his sword at the echo from far Darrynane!

VI.

"But here he is only the friend and the father,
"Who from children's sweet lips truest wisdom can gather,
"And seek from the large heart of nature to borrow
"Rest for the present and strength for the morrow;
"Oh! who that e'er saw him with children about him,
"And heard his soft tones of affection, could doubt him?
"My life on the truth of the heart of that man,
"That throbs like the Chieftain's of wild Darrynane!

VII.

"Oh! wild Darrynane, on thy ocean-washed shore,
"Shall the glad song of mariners echo once more?
"Shall the merchants, and minstrels, and maidens of Spain,
"Once again in their swift ships come over the main?
"Shall the soft lute be heard, and the gay youths of France
"Lead our blue-eyed young maidens again to the dance?
"Graceful and shy as thy fawns, Killenane,
"Are the mind-moulded maidens of far Darrynane!

VIII.

"Dear land of the South, as my mind wandered o'er
"All the joys I have felt by thy magical shore,
"From those lakes of enchantment by oak-clad Glena
"To the mountainous passes of bold Iveragh!
"Like the birds which are lured to a haven of rest,
"By those rocks far away on the ocean's bright breast—
"Thus my thoughts loved to linger, as memory ran
"O'er the mountains and vallies of wild Darrynane!"

O'CONNELL's first letter from Darrynane, was in reply to COBBETT's attack. In that letter he called COBBETT a

"vile vagabond;" though a few months before he praised him with much earnestness. His maxim was to "praise the ford as he found it." He frequently said that if he did not use the sledge hammer, to smash his opponents, he never could have succeeded.—There is much in this. A public man, like O'CONNELL, should not be judged like ordinary mortals. Still, we candidly confess, that respecting him as we have ever done, we have had often occasion to regret that so great a man stooped to such personalities. A "vile vagabond" was language unworthy of O'CONNELL, even admitting it was deserved. The "Wings" were a subject on which the best men might have differed. To hold opinions opposite to those entertained by O'CONNELL, made no man necessarily dishonest. To attribute corrupt motives to him, for giving his consent to these measures, was a calumny; yet it was not worthy either of a rejoinder or of refutation.

The close of the year 1825, is rendered remarkable by the assemblage of Provincial meetings. Munster led the way; the first meeting was held in Limerick, at which Mr. WYSE, the present member for Waterford, presided. The next was the Leinster meeting, which took place at Ballinasloe; and the last, in the year 1826, was the Connaught meeting. These meetings proved successful experiments. They were a sufficient manifestation of public opinion, to show the Government that no measures of coercion could put down the voice of the people, and that success alone could dissipate the organization.

The year 1825 closed with an affair of an unpleasant nature. Mr. O'CONNELL, at one of the recent meetings of the New Association, speaking of the attempts at proselytism by the Hibernian Society, in Kerry, introduced the name of Mr. LEYNE, a barrister, the son of a respectable professional gentleman in that county, and

brother to Captain LEYNE, afterwards appointed a stipendiary magistrate, by O'CONNELL's influence. He was reported to have said, that Mr. LEYNE renounced Popery, in order to inflict pain on an aged father. The offended gentleman sent Mr. O'CONNELL a message, and afterwards attempted to offer him personal insult, and called him a liar, a slanderer, and a coward. Mr. PERCY PAYNE, a barrister, and brother to the Rev. SOMERS PAYNE, of the County of Cork, was his friend on the occasion. Mr. O'CONNELL having, since the affair with D'ESTERRE and PEEL, determined to avoid the criminality of duelling, lodged informations, drawn up by himself, against LEYNE, to keep the peace, and the gentleman was bound over in large securities. Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL sent Mr. LEYNE word, that if he had any claim on his father, he would answer it. Mr. LEYNE replied, that having no quarrel with Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL, he declined the invitation. Mr. PAYNE, in this new affair, continued his friend. Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL and his brother MORGAN, in consequence of Mr. LEYNE's language to their father, were determined to chastise him. They were, however, recognised by the people, while they were waiting near the Four Courts, to meet Mr. LEYNE, and they withdrew. The whole affair soon transpired; and reached Mr. O'CONNELL's ears the following day. He went, forthwith, to the Head Police Office, to lodge informations against both his sons, and Mr. FITZSIMON, for a projected breach of the Peace against Mr. LEYNE. In consequence of these informations, a warrant was issued, and in the evening, at the Theatre, Mr. MORGAN O'CONNELL was arrested, and in Mr. O'CONNELL's own house, Mr. FITZSIMON was taken, and the required bail given by both. Mr. MAURICE O'CONNELL had left Dublin, but was soon after arrested in Tralee.

Mr. SHIEL, towards the close of the year 1825, moved in the Association that the DUKE of NORFOLK should be invited to preside at the contemplated Catholic meeting, to be held in the January following. The new year commenced by a letter from his Grace, declining the honor, on the ground that it would be a slight to Lord FINGALL, the premier Catholic Earl in Ireland, and the recognised leader of the Catholic body. Independently of this feeling of delicacy, the DUKE of NORFOLK may have thought that, just then, it was not quite prudent to take a very conspicuous part in Catholic politics, particularly amongst the Irish agitators. The No Popery cry was beginning to be heard in England. Lord CLIFFORD's place in Devonshire, was burned by No Popery incendiaries. The "drum ecclesiastic" was belaboured in every direction; and though the effort to excite universal fanaticism eventually turned out abortive, it succeeded for the time in producing considerable excitement. Under these circumstances, the DUKE of NORFOLK may have deemed it wise to remain in the back ground. But a great cause could not be impeded by the act of an individual, however exalted he may be. The meeting was held, and the cause progressed. It was determined to hold, at the commencement of each year, a meeting for the advancement of the Catholic question, and of Irish interests generally, to be continued from day to day, for fourteen days—the period to which such meetings were limited by law. It was also determined to have what was called separate meetings—that is, distinct from any former assemblages of the Catholic laity, and sitting each day without adjournment. These meetings, though thus independent of each other, could be, and, in point of fact were, guided by the same leading persons. By this means, another expedient was adopted to perpetuate the agitation, notwithstanding the statute. Aggregate Meetings be-

came more constant. Above all, the new Association met for *objects not prohibited by the late law*; and from its organization, it remained perfectly unassailable.—Funds flowed in, not so abundantly at first as to the Old Association; yet, fast enough to indicate the national feeling. All this was due to the tact and self-sacrificing determination of O'CONNELL. At his own risk, relying on his perfect knowledge of the law, he undertook to work against the Government, armed with the statute-book—and he succeeded. It proves how idle is the attempt for any Government, however strongly armed with penal laws, to wrestle with a nation when it has Justice on its side.

The fourteen days' meetings, and the New Catholic Association originated in a Report of a Committee of TWENTY-ONE, elected by general ballot, out of the Catholic body, to consider how the Act then passing through Parliament for the suppression of the Old Catholic Association, could be best evaded, or rendered nugatory. The Committee, after sitting *in secret*, for fifteen days, at the end of which period the Session of Parliament had closed, presented the Report which was unanimously adopted at a general meeting of the Catholics of Ireland.

The Tellers' return of the ballot for this important Committee, indicates pretty fairly, the relative estimation in which each of the persons appointed was held by the Catholic body. It is curious to observe Mr. SHEIL at the top of the list, and Mr. O'CONNELL sixth. Enmity never fails to follow eminence like a dark shadow. O'CONNELL had secret enemies even amongst those who professed most friendship. The Committee was thus composed:—

	Votes.		Votes.
Richard Sheil ...	... 317	O'Connor Don	... 282
Lord Killeen ...	... 313	Nichs. Purcell O'Gorman	281
Sir John Burke	... 313	Henry Lambert	... 270
Captain Bryan	... 312	Stephen Coppinger	... 261
Nicholas Mahon	... 312	Cons. M'Loughlin	... 258
Daniel O'Connell	... 311	Michael O'Brien	... 255
Sir Thos. Esmonde	... 309	Hon. Grenville French	... 244
Hugh O'Connor	... 304	John James Baggot	... 231
Hon. Mr. Preston	... 299	Philip Fogarty	... 229
Wm. Murphy	... 299	Michl. Dillon Bellew	... 81
Lord Gormanstown	... 283		

The following had the number of votes annexed to their names. The list is published now for the first time, and will be read with interest, as indicating the relative positions the individuals held in the agitation of that day, according to the estimation of the Catholic community :—

Sir Edward Bellew	... 107	Wm. Francis Finn	... 5
Fredk. W. Conway	... 71	J. Donnellan	 4
Stephen Woulfe	 57	Thomas Kirwan	... 4
John Howley	 58	Andrew Kirwan	... 3
John Bric...	 55	James Dwyer	 3
Richard Moore O'Farrell	... 47	Earl of Kenmare	... 2
William Bellew	 43	Counsellor Roger Hayes	2
Dowell O'Reilly	 43	John Dillon	 2
David Lynch	 37	Counsellor Corballis	... 1
Anthony Browne...	... 33	Michael Staunton	... 1
John Burke	 28	J. Huband	 1
Martin Lanigan	 25	Doctor Magee	 1
Hamilton Rowan...	... 23	James Callanan	... 1
Ignatius Callaghan	... 19	C. D. Bellew	 1
Richard Lonergan	... 16	J. J. Scanlan	 1
Christopher Fitzsimon	... 14	Jeremiah Murphy	... 1
Caddell O'Farrell...	... 9	Joseph D. Mullen	... 1
Richard O'Gorman	... 8	E. O'Callaghan	... 1
Maurice King	 8	Denis O'Connor	... 1
John Corley	 7	Michael Dillon	 1
John Lawless	 6		

It was resolved in January, 1826, to hold the fourteen day meetings forthwith; to terminate with a great Na-

tional Banquet to the sixty-nine Peers, who, being connected by property with Ireland, signed, the foregoing year, the declaration in favor of Catholic Emancipation.

Previous to the assembling of this fourteen days' meeting, there were two or three adjourned meetings, at which the subject of the "Wings" was brought forward by Mr. LAWLESS. The popular feeling had strongly set in against these measures. O'CONNELL announced that he was too deeply sensible of the favors he had received from his countrymen, and too grateful for the confidence they reposed in him, to run counter to their known wishes with reference to the "Wings." Though his opinions remained unaltered, he freely sacrificed them to the popular will. This announcement gave universal joy. The Irish people were determined to have Emancipation unclogged and unqualified, or to remain without it; and entertaining, in common with the Clergy, these views, it was painful to them to see their old, trusted, and honest Leader consent to even a moderate compromise. In proportion to the pain thus felt, was the delight of the Nation, when they found that all idea of a compromise was fully and finally abandoned.

The fourteen days' meeting was successful beyond the most sanguine anticipations. Lord GORMANSTOWN filled the Chair on the first day. This Nobleman was most energetic and zealous in the Catholic cause; Lord FINGALL's infirmities and age prevented his attendance. Lord FFRENCH presided on the second day; Lord KILLEEN on the third. Then, in succession, the Honorable Mr. PRESTON, the Honorable GRENVILLE FFRENCH, Sir THOMAS ESMONDE, Sir EDWARD BELLEW, the Honorable THOMAS BROWNE, THOMAS WYSE, Esq., Sir JOHN BURKE, the Honorable Colonel BUTLER, &c., &c. The mental powers and varied resources of O'CONNELL and

SHEIL were signally illustrated during these consecutive assemblages. The labour and the responsibilities fell on them, and nobly did they acquit themselves. Though we have not hesitated, when his conduct called for it, fearlessly to criticise the expressed opinions of Mr. SHEIL; though also, in the course of this MEMOIR, we shall be coerced to take no favourable view of his political consistency, we cannot deny this eminently gifted Irishman, the undying merit of having in the years 1825, '26, '27, advanced, equally with O'CONNELL, the National Liberties. O'CONNELL possessed more influence; the confidence reposed in him was unbounded. It was not so with SHEIL. The motives of public men are always severely, often unjustly, criticised even by those they serve. SHEIL did not escape. His Vetoistic opinions contributed to deprive him of the people's unreserved confidence. Still, his genius bore down doubt. His electric eloquence shattered to atoms every opposition; his impassioned oratory carried the Nation with him. No one could give expression to such noble sentiments, and in such fervid language. He was admired, trusted, by nearly all ranks and classes, and applauded. Such was the national feeling. In the pursuit of Emancipation he was as determined and as sincere as any living man. Indeed, it was his sincerity, mingled with anxiety for success, that made him, while yet a young man, willing to yield to Government a share in the ecclesiastical control of his religion. But the man who, in the face of a persecuting Government, gloried in the deeds which brought WOLFE TONE within the grasp of power, and spoke with open, though not ungenerous exultation, of the death bed of the DUKE of YORK, because the heir presumptive to the Throne had registered a vow in Heaven against Catholic Emancipation—the

man who could be carried thus away, in the fervour of his oratory, must have been sincere in the cause of Irish freedom—of civil and religious liberty. Mr. SHEIL was also opposed to the "Wings." This the people balanced against his Vetoism, and forgiving him for old opinions, glorified him for the last. During three years, the events of which we have related, his speeches were distinguished for their beauty and power, and the enthusiasm they kept alive in the Nation. It is, therefore, we say, viewing the past, as impartial observers, that he equally contributed with O'CONNELL to the advancement of Emancipation. We have to regret that in latter times he did not act up to a sentiment expressed by him in one of his remarkable speeches, during the fourteen days' meeting—namely, that "he knew nothing infallible—but popular opinion." The following from a *brochure*, entitled *Peel and his Era*, gives, in most respects, a truthful description of the "Twin Leaders," and may opportunely follow the remarks we have just written:—

"DANIEL O'CONNELL was the most remarkable of all the remarkable men who had ever advocated the Catholic claims. GRATTAN, and CURRAN, and PLUNKETT, were Protestants; some of the unhappy men whose lives had been forfeited to the laws which they had violated, were remarkable more for their mistaken enthusiasm than for any qualities of judgment or prudence; the Roman Catholics had hitherto felt that their advocates had been rather *with* them than *of* them. But here appeared a man, a Roman Catholic, a barrister; not a feeble, attenuated creature, nothing to remind them of the physical deficiencies of a GRATTAN or a CURRAN, but a brawny-shouldered Irishman, with a broad, laughing, grinning face, "more Irish than the Irish themselves,"

a rich provincial "brogue," a ready and racy vocabulary; familiar with the moral and mental constitution of his Roman Catholic countrymen, and ever ready to incorporate himself with their feelings, by a droll joke, vigorous vituperation, or rough but deep toned eloquence. All the qualities of the Demagogue he had in full; unflinching boldness, audacious assertion, restless motion, and reckless power. But above the qualities of the demagogue, there were other and higher qualities—untiring energy, soaring ambition, exquisite tact, and instinctive sagacity. Such was the man whom his warm hearted countrymen hailed as the Irish "Liberator;" him, whom they considered as having achieved their full freedom. By his side stood little SHEIL. DANIEL O'CONNELL was *sui generis;* the MIRABEAU of Ireland. But RICHARD LALOR SHEIL was, in many respects, a perpetuation of the GRATTANS or the CURRANS; as insignificant in person as careless in personal attire, his taste was as cultivated and even more refined, and his eloquence as rhetorical and electrical. These were the two leading men who organised the Irish for more combined and desperate effort. DANIEL O'CONNELL originated the "Catholic Association;" devised the terms by which admission to it might be obtained, namely, by payment of a "Catholic Rent;" pointed out how, in their proceedings, the law must be adhered to, even in the letter; and pledged Roman Catholics not to vote at elections for members of Parliament unless they were favourable to the "Catholic claims."

Amongst other occurrences which excited public attention, during the fourteen days' meeting, was the admission into the Association of the celebrated ARCHIBALD H. ROWAN, whose name CURRAN has made immortal. This venerable man was, during the debates on the suspension

of the old Association, called by Mr. PEEL "a branded traitor.'" The insult disgusted the whole country. It is said that the venerable patriot went over to exact satisfaction from the Right Hon. Gentleman, which, however, was denied him. At all events, the unjustifiable use of the unworthy epithet, revived in the minds of the Irish people, the memory of the past; and the name of the aged Secretary of the United Irishmen, was received with vehement applause, when he was proposed a member of the New Association. Such is always the effect of injustice. It reacts upon the authors. The phrase "branded traitor," like that of "convicted conspirator" of later days, falling from the lips of a HOME SECRETARY, served, one knew not why, to light up anew the flame of agitation. Thus have the most trifling incidents produced the most extraordinary events in history.

A circumstance of rather a disagreeable character occurred at this time. It appears great complaints were made, and justly, that the proceedings of the Fourteen Days' Meetings were not fully or accurately taken by the Reporters of the Dublin Press. The truth is, as we had occasion to remark before, Stenography was in its infancy in Ireland, until O'CONNELL, by his unceasing agitation, formed a staff for himself. Though there were then able men on the Dublin Press—witness MACCABE, the talented Author of the Catholic History of England, there did not then exist either the capability or the organised division of labour requisite for taking, with correctness, the reports of lengthened proceedings. However, it happened that Mr. O'CONNELL complained of the inaccuracy and brevity of the reports of this remarkable meeting. Well, when the national dinner came on, the Reporters applied as usual for free tickets of admission. They were refused by the

dinner committee. This was a marked offence to the Press. How was it resented? The Reporters all purchased tickets, went to the dinner, and took not a single note of the proceedings. The comments of the Newspapers on this affair will be read with interest, and we are therefore induced to give them. One of the Newspapers, it will be observed, entered into a regular calculation about Mr. O'Connell's rapidity of utterance. He spoke, it is stated, two hundred words in a minute; that is, twenty-two lines of type, or one-eighth of a column—or a column in eight minutes. This was over seven columns in an hour—or twenty-two columns for the average length of Mr. O'Connell's great speeches. This calculation is clearly erroneous. Even Mr. Shiel, whose utterance was nearly once and a half as rapid as O'Connell's, could not speak—supposing every word was put in type—more than a column of the modern-sized Newspaper, in twenty minutes. We merely mention this much to show what little reliance can be placed on the statements of the Newspapers in defence of their reports. Their remarks, however, will amuse many at the present day:—

FROM THE DUBLIN MORNING REGISTER.

"That no report of the proceedings of the dinner has appeared in any of the Journals of this city, requires some explanation. We believe it is a matter tolerably well ascertained at this period, that the Press is an organ of public sentiment, that at least is not to be contemned, and that the members of it in every department are entitled to respect and consideration. Strange, however, as it may appear, their importance is often underrated, and it requires their *own* efforts to prove that they contain within themselves a powerful momentum of the public mind, and that in justice to their body at

large, they can, when they please, spiritedly uphold their credit. It is usual, on all occasions such as this grand national dinner, to send complimentary tickets to the Reporters for the Press. The object of this attention is manifest. The part which the Reporters play in the "*eatables and drinkables,*" to use DIGGORY's words, is one of positive labour, and not of pleasure. *These* Gentlemen *work* while other individuals *enjoy* themselves, and when the scene of conviviality is at an end, *they* do not stretch themselves, supersaturated with good things, upon their pillow; but they condense into intelligible matter, for the public gratification, the confused materials which they have collected in the course of the evening. If ever there were an occasion when this complimentary attention to the Reporters of the Press should *not* be neglected, it was the present. But to be brief. The Reporters were treated with slight in this affair—there were no invitations sent to them; and in addition, it is mentioned that certain observations, (not calculated to increase their respectability) regarding them and their services, were made by those who conducted the arrangements for the Dinner. They were given to understand that they would be permitted to the *privilege* of writing down the speeches of the speakers at the Dinner, and of sacrificing their own individual comfort, upon paying *no more* than the the sum—two pounds ten shillings British! which was paid by those who were occupied exclusively in discussing the merits of the *viands* and the *wines*! Although this privilege was one that *must* strike every person as being remarkably gracious and considerate on the part of those who conferred it, still, *strange* to say, the Reporters rejected it, and with one accord, they resolved to go the Dinner, *pay for their tickets,* and take the place which, as gentlemen of education, and a respectable employment, they were entitled to take, and *not to*

report a single word that would be uttered. We, as far as our paramount authority in our own Journal is concerned, had no control over the gentlemen engaged in this department—they acted for themselves, independently, and we think, taking into consideration the necessity of upholding the good reputation of the Press, *they acted with perfect propriety.* This explanation will, we think, account satisfactorily for the circumstance of no report having appeared in our own, or any other Journal in this city.

"Let this occurrence, which, undoubtedly, has effected a partial evil; although we are quite convinced it will ultimately produce great benefit; teach individuals, who take upon themselves to conduct what they call a "national" object, that *the good of the cause generally*, and not the gratification of their own personal feelings, is to be consulted by them."

FROM THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

"Mr. O'CONNELL has once more made war upon the Press. The immediate objects of his present attack, are the gentlemen who report public proceedings for the journals of this City—of whom we may be permitted to observe, that there is not in any department of any profession, a more useful, efficient, or respectable class of men.

"In virtue of that dictatorship, which Mr. O'CONNELL has assumed in Catholic affairs, he determined, on the occasion of the recent dinner, to depart from established usage, and withhold Cards from the Reporters. The wisdom, as well as liberality of this resolution, will be judged of by the public; but justice towards all parties requires that we should state the reasoning upon which it was grounded. In the first place, the learned gentleman asserted that the reports of the late fourteen days' sittings, were scanty and inaccurate—and *therefore* the

Reporters were undeserving of complimentary tickets.—Again, he assured *his* committee that the services of those Reporters, such as they were, would be afforded as a matter of necessity upon their parts. The Newspapers he said *must* purchase tickets for their own sakes. They could not exist without reports of Catholic proceedings, and, if they could, the Catholics would be no losers by the absence of such reports.

"We agree with Mr. O'CONNELL that the Catholics would lose nothing if some of the speeches pronounced at their meetings were quietly consigned to oblivion.—We will even go farther and say, they would be great gainers if a very large number of his own speeches had never been transferred to paper; the event has proved, however, that he was mistaken in asserting that the Reporters *should* attend the dinner professionally, *for their own sakes*. 'Tis true they purchased tickets and did attend—but they appeared as private gentlemen, and neither took notes nor reported proceedings. Mr. O'CONNELL will also yet discover that he is in error with regard to the dependence of Newspapers on Catholic oratory. He professes to think differently; the present is as good an opportunity as may occur for trying the question.

"The Reporters do not quarrel with Mr. O'CONNELL for having withheld tickets. Indeed we never knew a Reporter who would not much rather decline than accept invitations to attend public dinners in his professional capacity, if he could do so consistently with his sense of duty. Nor is this at all extraordinary. Those only who have witnessed the effort, can duly appreciate the union of talent, information, and painful and patient labour requisite to present to the public, on the succeeding morning, a correct report of the speeches and occurrences at those dinners—taken, as such a report

must be, at a very late hour—often in very inconvenient situations, always under the disadvantage of irregularity, transcribed with breathless haste, and consigned to the hands of the Printer without even a chance of revision.

"But although Mr. O'CONNELL was of course quite at liberty to use, according to his pleasure, the absolute authority with which he seems to have invested himself in the affair of the Dinner, he shall be taught that he has no right to insult and calumniate the Press. It will be shown in the *Freeman's Journal* that the charges of brevity and inaccuracy, at least in respect to this Paper, and he made no exception, are utterly destitute of foundation."

FROM THE DUBLIN MORNING POST.

"Verily, honest, *honest* DANIEL, thou unitest in a very high degree, to all those other magnanimous qualifications which so abound in thee, that one to which we, Irish, lay claim as our peculiar characteristic, the RECOLLECTION OF BENEFITS CONFERRED! When in December, 1824, thou wert prosecuted for sedition by the King's ATTORNEY-GENERAL, whom thou now so plentifully bespatterest with thy blarney, three Reporters from this establishment were called upon to prove thy words, as reported in the newspapers; of these three one was not present, and therefore could say nothing against thee; a second who was present refused to be examined by the Magistrates, and was prepared to abide the consequences; a third, who had been taken by surprise, did unwittingly confirm the statement, as it was reported in the *Dublin Morning Post*; but *he* also was determined, if the Grand Jury had found the Bills, never to appear against thee as a witness, be the consequences what they might to himself. The same individual thou afterwards proposedst as a Member of the Association, and wert pleased to de-

signate him emphatically "A GENTLEMAN." But was it for *thee* they had determined so to act? No! it was for the public cause with which they believed (in error) that thou wert identified. THEY acted from principle—from a noble impulse of independence, and the hatred of a mean or dishonourable act; a feeling to which some, who affect to look contemptuously upon them, are utter strangers. THEY *voluntarily* incurred this hazard at a time when thou didst appear *shaken*—when it was observed by all, that firmness had forsaken thee. Thou knowest all this well, honest DANIEL; and thou knowest also, that others of the Reporters, now the objects of thy pitiful and spiteful animosity, acted the same honourable part as the two that we have mentioned. We now tell thee, and thou mayest ruminate upon it, that

"WORTH makes the MAN, the WANT OF IT THE FELLOW;
"The rest is all but leather and prunella."

FROM THE DUBLIN EVENING POST.

"We refer, and with deep regret, to the conversation which took place in the New Catholic Association on Saturday last. It has been, and it shall be, our object to prevent—and, when we cannot prevent, to obviate the evil consequences growing out of haste, or intemperate expressions, used by any gentleman, of whatever class or party he may be. We are not amongst those who indulge in the vulgar common places about the Press—we know that the Ass too often brays in the Lion's skin; but we do know at the same time, that the gentlemen, generally speaking, who furnish the reports to the Dublin Newspapers, are competent, industrious, and trustworthy.

"To Mr. O'CONNELL's and Mr. SHEIL's speeches, as the principal speaking members, they devoted all the attention their station in the Catholic body, and their

talents demanded; and we felt, therefore, extremely sorry that any circumstance of a trivial nature should have induced Mr. O'Connell to indulge in Saturday's philippic. *Cui Bono*? It cannot be denied, that, but for the reporters, the proceedings of the Association would not be published. But circumstanced as the Catholics are, publication is the chief thing necessary. Anything that has a tendency to prevent this must be injurious. There is no man more willing to proclaim and enforce this doctrine than Mr. O'Connell; and we are sure that as the feelings of a respectable and very valuable class of men have been hurt, there will be none more ready to make a suitable *amende*. The public expect this, and, on a little consideration, Mr. O'Connell will admit that he owes this to the public, and to the cause, the essence of which is, under present circumstances, incessant, perpetual, and if we may so express ourselves, undying publicity."

FROM THE DUBLIN REGISTER OF TUESDAY.

"Mr. O'Connell avows that *he* was the person who put the affront upon the reporters, which smothered the expression of the public voice at the national dinner, and made a perfect *nullity* of an event so calculated to be publicly useful. Well! we suppose he has to receive the thanks of the noblemen and gentlemen who attended, and the gratitude of the country in general, for a deed so well designed and so eminently meritorious. But he says, first, that the reports of *all* the papers in Dublin, not excepting one, were grossly erroneous and defective, during the fourteen days' meeting; and, secondly, that he, in excluding the reporters, merely intended to "prevent misrepresentations." We know by what polite name Mr. O'Connell would call both these assertions, if they were made by another; he, himself, being out of his present humour. We will bestow upon them no epithet, but proceed to our proofs:—

"1st. We maintain that the reports of *all* the papers in Dublin, were not grossly erroneous and defective; because *the speeches published for the principal speakers, in the Morning Register, were approved of by the speakers themselves,* BEFORE PUBLICATION. Our readers must have observed, in going through some of these speeches, that, taken even as samples of literary composition, they were of an order very far superior to the ordinary productions of the Press, even of London. They at least could not have been "grossly defective and erroneous." They must have been worthy of dissemination amongst the nations: their interest and value should not, at all events, have been depreciated by general and undiscriminating imputation. In a word, as far as they are concerned, and they formed the principal portion of the whole debates, Mr. O'CONNELL has alleged what is not borne out by fact; and has, as far as in him lay, done an act of great public mischief. His own speeches, however, are yet undefended. He asserts that the reports did not contain all that he delivered. We admit that they did not, in length, go much beyond *seventy* columns; but as Mr. O'CONNELL in general speaks on one day little more than the speech or speeches which he delivered on another, seventy columns could not have done him *great* injustice. They certainly did not include *all* that the learned gentleman had spoken; for to do that, would have required Mr. THWAITS's "broad sheet"—an engine which all the patronage that all the Morning Papers in Dublin received from the public, would not enable a Printer to uphold in this City. Any one who measures by a stop watch, will find that Mr. O'CONNELL pours out about 200 words in one minute. These 200 words will make 22 lines of small print.—These 22 lines are about one-eighth of an ordinary column—so that it will give Mr. O'CONNELL only seven or

eight minutes' trouble to fill out a column of small print, if he must be followed exactly through episodes, parentheses, and all! What are eight minutes' speaking to Mr. O'Connell—what are forty—what one hundred and fifty? In a five hours' sitting, he will contrive sometimes to be three hours on his legs; and in three hours he will positively pour out two and twenty columns and one quarter of oratory; to catch all of which, with a view to speedy publication, would require the labour of twelve or thirteen Gurneys; and to print all which, with other necessary matter, would require more space than is furnished by the London "broad sheet" itself. We must, therefore, freely acknowledge that we had not published all that Mr. O'Connell delivered; but he had, as we calculate, his *seventy* columns. These were necessarily made up by different hands—but we will boldly assert, that all of them were, in execution at least, of the average merit of London reports—that some of them displayed the best tact and spirit of reporting—that some of the pens engaged upon them were quite as well able to manage a topic upon paper, as Mr. O'Connell himself—and, what is more conclusive than all, that Mr. O'Connell *himself had taken one or more occasions of praising the manner in which he was reported* during this very fourteen days' sitting, and that he never found fault *until the fatal publication of poor* John Lawless's *speech*, and that this publication did not occur until near the close of the Sessions."

Notwithstanding this quarrel, a report of the proceedings afterwards appeared; the prominent feature of which was, the speech delivered by Mr. Wyse. Lord Gormanstown presided, and Mr. O'Connell acted as toast-master, standing behind the President's chair. He announced each toast, prefacing them for his Lord-

ship. It was an unusual arrangement; but, as may be well imagined, one that caused the emphatic expression of spirited and patriotic sentiments. The Earl of BECTIVE, Lord PORTARLINGTON, Lord KILLEEN, and Sir M. SOMMERVILLE, were amongst the guests. Mere abstracts of all the speeches delivered were given in the published report, except Mr. WYSE's, which was given at length, and in the first person. We therefore conclude that the report was furnished to the papers by that talented gentleman.

About this time the Catholic Bishops came out with the following series of declaratory resolutions, which, as developing the system of attack then employed against the Catholics and their religion, we deem it right to give without curtailment:—

"DECLARATION

OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF IRELAND.

"At a time when the spirit of calm inquiry is abroad, and men seem anxious to resign those prejudices through which they viewed the doctrines of others, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland will avail themselves with pleasure, of this dispassionate tone of the public mind, to exhibit a simple and correct view of those tenets, that are most frequently misrepresented. If it please the Almighty that the Catholics of Ireland should be doomed to continue in the humbled and degraded condition in which they are now placed, they will submit with resignation to the Divine Will. The Prelates, however, conceive it a duty which they owe to themselves, as well as to their Protestant fellow-subjects, whose good opinion they value, to endeavour once more to remove the false imputations that have been frequently cast upon the faith and discipline

of that Church which is entrusted to their care ; that all may be enabled to know with accuracy the genuine principles of those men who are proscribed by law from any participation in the honours, dignities, and emoluments of the State.

"I.—Established for promoting the happiness of mankind, to which order is essential, the Catholic religion, far from interfering with the constituted authorities of any state, is reconcileable with every regular form which human governments may assume.—Republics as well as Monarchies have thriven where it has been professed, and, under its protecting influence, any combination of those forms may be secure.

"II.—The Catholics in Ireland of mature years are permitted to read authentic and approved translations of the Holy Scriptures, with explanatory notes ; and are exhorted to use them in the spirit of piety, humility, and obedience. The Clergy of the Catholic Church are bound to the daily recital of a canonical office, which comprises, in the course of a year, almost the entire of the sacred volume; and her pastors are required, on Sundays and on Festivals, to expound to the faithful, in the vernacular tongue, the epistle or gospel of the day, or some other portion of the divine law.

"III.—Catholics believe that the power of working miracles has not been withdrawn from the Church of God. The belief, however, of any particular miracle not recorded in the revealed word of God, is not required as a term of Catholic communion, though there are many so strongly recommended to our belief, that they cannot without temerity be rejected.

"IV—Roman Catholics revere the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and piously invoke their intercession. Far, however, from honouring them with divine worship, they

believe that such worship is due to GOD alone, and that it cannot be paid to any creature without involving the guilt of idolatry.

" V.—Catholics respect the images of CHRIST and of his Saints, without believing that they are endowed with any intrinsic efficacy. The honour which is paid to these memorials is referred to those whom they represent; and should the faithful, through ignorance, or any other cause, ascribe to them any divine virtue, the Bishops are bound to correct the abuse, and rectify their misapprehensions.

" VI.—The Catholic Church, in common with all Christians, receives and respects the entire of the ten commandments, as they are found in Exodus and Deuteronomy. The discordance between Catholics and Protestants on this subject arises from the different manner in which these divine precepts have been arranged.

" VII.— Catholics hold, that in order to attain salvation, it is necessary to belong to the true Church, and that heresy or a wilful and obstinate opposition to revealed truth, as taught in the Church of Christ, excludes from the kingdom of GOD. They are not, however, obliged to believe, that all those are wilfully and obstinately attached to error, who, having imbibed it from their parents, seek the truth with a cautious solicitude, disposed to embrace it when sufficiently proposed to them; but leaving such persons to the righteous judgment of a merciful GOD, they feel themselves bound to discharge towards them, as well as towards all mankind, the duties of charity, and of social life.

" VIII.—As Catholics, in the Eucharist, adore JESUS CHRIST alone, whom they believe to be truly, really, and substantially present, they conceive they cannot be con-

sistently reproached with idolatry by any Christian who admits the divinity of the SON of GOD.

"IX.—No actual sin can be forgiven at the will of any Pope, or any Priest, or any person whatsoever, without a sincere sorrow for having offended GOD, and a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone for past transgressions. Any person who receives absolution without these necessary conditions, far from obtaining the remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

"X—Catholics believe that the precept of sacramental confession flows from the power of forgiving and retaining sins, which CHRIST left to his Church. As the obligation of confession, on the one hand, would be nugatory without the correlative duty of secrecy on the other, they believe that no power on earth can supersede the divine obligation of that seal which binds the confessor not to violate the secrets of auricular confession. Any revelation of sins disclosed in the tribunal of penance, would defeat the salutary ends for which it was instituted, and would deprive the ministers of religion of the many opportunities which the practice of auricular confession affords, of reclaiming deluded persons from mischievous projects, and causing reparation to be made for injuries done to persons, property, or character.

"XI.—The Catholics of Ireland not only do not believe, but they declare upon oath that they detest as unchristian and impious, the belief "that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever for or under the pretence of their being heretics;" and also the principle "that no faith is to be kept with heretics." They further declare, on oath, their belief, that "no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified

or excused by or under the pretence or colour that it was done even for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever;" "that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither are they thereby required to believe, that the POPE is infallible;" and that they do not hold themselves "bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the POPE or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such an order; but, on the contrary, that it would be sinful in them to pay any respect or obedience thereto."

"XII.—The Catholics of Ireland swear, that they "will be faithful, and bear TRUE ALLEGIANCE, to our most gracious Sovereign Lord KING GEORGE THE FOURTH; that they will maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of their power, the succession to the Crown in his Majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever; utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the Crown of these realms;" and they "renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, and by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever;" and that they "do not believe that the POPE of Rome, or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, HATH, OR OUGHT TO HAVE, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly within this realm." They further solemnly, "in the presence of GOD, profess, testify, and declare, that they make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of their oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already grant-

ed by the POPE, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that they are, or can be acquitted before GOD or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the POPE or any persons or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

"After this full, explicit, and sworn declaration, we are utterly at a loss to conceive on what possible ground we could be justly charged with bearing towards our MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN ONLY A DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE.

"XIII—The Catholics of Ireland, far from claiming any right or title to forfeited lands, resulting from any right, title, or interest, which their ancestors may have had therein, declare upon oath, "that they will defend to the utmost of their power, the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, and established by the laws now in being." They also "disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead. And further, they swear that they will not exercise any privilege to which they are or may be entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant Government in Ireland."

"XIV.—Whilst we have, in the foregoing declaration endeavoured to state, in the simplicity of truth, such doctrines of our Church as are most frequently misunderstood or misrepresented amongst our fellow-subjects, to the great detriment of the public welfare, and of Christian charity; and whilst we have disclaimed anew those errors or wicked principles which have been imputed to Catholics, we also avail ourselves of the present occasion, to express our readiness, at all times, to give,

when required by the competent authority, authentic and true information upon all subjects connected with the doctrine and discipline of our Church; and to deprecate the injustice of having our faith and principles judged of by reports made of them by persons either avowedly ignorant of, or but imperfectly acquainted with, the nature of our Church Government, its doctrines, usages, and discipline.

"This declaration we approve, subscribe and publish, as well that those who have formed erroneous opinions of our doctrines and our principles may be at length undeceived, as that you, dearly beloved, be made strong in that faith which you have inherited as "the children of saints, who look for that life which God will give to those that never changed their faith from him."—Tob. ii. 18.

"Reverend Brothers, beloved Children, "Grace, mercy, and peace," be to you, "from God the Father, and from CHRIST JESUS our Lord."—1 Tim. i. 2.

"Dublin, 25th Jan. 1826.

Patrick Curtis, D.D.	Daniel Murray, D.D.
Oliver Kelly, D.D.	Robert Laffan, D.D.
Farrell O'Reilly, D.D.	J. O'Shaughnessy, D.D.
Peter M'Loughlin, D.D.	Thomas Costello, D.D.
James Magauran, D.D.	Kiaran Marum, D.D.
Geo. T. Plunkett, D.D.	Peter Waldron, D.D.
James Keating, D.D.	John Murphy, D.D.
Charles Tuohy, D.D.	James Doyle, D.D.
Edward Kiernan, D.D.	P. M'Nicholas, D.D,
Patrick Kelly, D.D.	P. M'Gettigan, D.D.
Cornelius Egan, D.D.	Edmund Ffrench, D.D.
William Crolly, D.D.	Thomas Coen, D.D.
Patrick Maguire, D.D.	Robert Logan, D.D.
Patrick M'Mahon, D.D.	Patrick Burke, D.D.
John M'Hale, D.D.	John Ryan, D.D.

O'CONNELL was very anxious that the Catholic question should not be passed over in the existing Session of

Parliament, and he submitted a motion, embodying that opinion, to the Association. But it was conceived too late;—the session was about to close. The perseverance of his disposition led him to think little of obstacles or difficulties. He had but one object in his eye, and he kept that steadily in view—namely, Civil and Religious Liberty. In pursuit of that, he came in contact with individuals as well as political bodies. He spoke his mind freely; depending on his own integrity and his powers of language, to defend himself, or, if necessary for the public good, to attack others. In doing so, he often used harsh language, which he always forgot, and often regretted almost as soon as it was uttered. An attack made upon him, in June, 1826, would, if stereotyped, answer as an example of the kind of warfare which he had to submit to or to repel. There happened to be then considerable distress amongst the Weavers in Dublin, and to save their pockets, and escape private subscriptions adequate to meet the emergency, it was proposed, by some parties, that the Association should give one thousand pounds out of the accumulated fund, and send another thousand for a similar purpose to England. This application of the funds was protested against by Lord GORMANSTOWN, Sir EDWARD BELLEW, and Mr. DARCY MAHON, a young gentleman who had distinguished himself in College, and who was decidedly of great future promise, and who, at one of the separate Catholic meetings, opposed a vote of thanks to the Secretary, PURCELL O'GORMAN, which was proposed by Mr. O'CONNELL. The grounds of the resolution were these: Mr. MAHON had, in the public prints, attacked Mr. O'GORMAN, because he refused to call an Aggregate Meeting, to consider the appropriation of the two thousand pounds. In the course of his address, which was elaborately prepared, and principally directed against O'CONNELL, Mr.

DARCY MAHON made use of the following language, which deserves to be transcribed as an exemplification of the great abuse O'CONNELL was then exposed to:—

"Were I, (DARCY MAHON,) the man who for years preached civil and religious liberty, and in the end recommended measures tending to sap the foundation of both, I should regret that no kind friend was near to prevent such a woeful lapse. Were I the man who extolled a distinguished reformer to the skies on this day, denounced him on that as a miserable miscreant, and on the next seconded a vote of thanks to that miscreant, I should indeed regret that no consistent friend was near, whose wholesome influence might correct the meteoric eccentricity of my course. Were I the man who exulted in the ruin of the British commercial body, the most liberal and enlightened in the British empire, I should regret that no person of common feeling or understanding, was at hand, to point out the indiscretion and inhumanity of such language. In fine, were I the man who systematically insulted every one opposed to me, and gave credit exclusively to those who thought with myself, I should deeply lament the want of a sincere friend to point out that by such a system moderate and respectable men were scared from our councils, and the management of a select junto by a monopoly too flagrant to be longer tolerated by a body seeking to be free!"

The Chairman here interposed and called him to order. Mr. O'CONNELL, with characteristic dignity and good temper, simply said:—"The gentleman cannot be out of order while he is abusing me. (A laugh).

"Mr. MAHON—Were he a person who made it a system to insult every person——

"Sir E. BELLEW here rose to order. The gentleman was wandering very widely from the subject before the meeting.

"Mr. O'Connell said, he was perfectly in order.—As the speech was evidently a prepared one, it was ten to one but it was already in the *Mail*; and it would therefore be rather awkward for him to be interrupted in his rehearsal of it."

The young gentleman was not allowed to proceed.

We have already spoken of the extraordinary knowledge of polemics Mr. O'Connell exhibited at a meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society, held in Cork. His correspondence with the celebrated Rector, the Rev. Robt. Daly, now Bishop of Cashel, Emly and Waterford, illustrates this remark in a far more striking manner. We have never read, not even in Dr. Milner's writings, a cleverer or more convincing argument in favour of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, than Mr. O'Connell's reply to the Rev. Gentleman's letter. As this controversial correspondence, though exceedingly interesting, is too long for insertion here, we propose to give it in an appendix, with Dr. Doyle's and O'Connell's evidence before the Parliamentary Committee. The truth of the matter is, that O'Connell did not require either the study or the time other men did, to acquire a knowledge of such subjects. He seized on the material points almost intuitively; and with these as his weapons, was able to confound the arguments of those who had made the subject their study for years. During the Cork controversy, we, however, have it from accurate information, that he was furnished with the leading points which he so triumphantly used to overthrow that clever zealot, Richard Pope.

A new Parliament was summoned this year. This produced a general election. Whether stimulated by the imputation, that they were the slaves of their landlords, or, which is most probable, animated by the agitation,

the spirit of the people beamed out with unusual lustre at the general election; the Forty-shilling Freeholders nobly did their duty. The County of Waterford election, in particular, will be ever memorable for the devotion of the Freeholders. The contest was between Lord GEORGE BERESFORD and VILLIERS STUART, then a very young man, now Lord STUART DE DECIES. Mr. O'CONNELL was election counsel for VILLIERS STUART, and he received for his services, a fee of SIX HUNDRED POUNDS. VILLIERS STUART carried the election against the vast power of the BERESFORDS, who claimed a hereditary right to represent Waterford. The Forty-Shilling Freeholders won this as well as other Counties. The consequence was, that they were persecuted. Their conduct was new to their Landlords. They received their leases on condition of voting with their "masters;" that, the Landlords asserted, was part of the consideration. Such was the way constitutional rights were understood in Ireland. The elective franchise, in theory, is a public trust confided to the individual for the benefit of the community—of the represented as well as of the unrepresented. It was a trust the holder was bound to use conscientiously—as scrupulously, according to his judgment and opinions, as he would a private trust. This is the theory of the elective franchise. But with the poor Forty-Shilling Freeholders of Ireland, the practice was the very reverse. They were Catholics; yet they were forced to vote for the degradation of their religion, and for their own, and their children's and their country's enslavement; and when at last they broke thro' a tyrannical and oppressive thraldom, they were cruelly persecuted, driven from their holdings, and arrears of nominal rent revived and exacted to effect their ruin. Persecution so atrocious, the spirit and generous nature of O'CONNELL could not brook. He

brought before the Association a plan for the protection of these poor freeholders. He established THE ORDER OF LIBERATORS. Hence his glorious and immortal title. In this order there were three grades. First—The "Liberators" *par excellence*; second, the "Knights Grand Cross;"—third—"Knights Companions." Lord CLONCURRY was the Grand Master, and there was to be a Chancellor and a Prelate of the Order. To become one of the order, every one should send in his claim, or title. Two acts of real service to his country would entitle a man to be a Knight Companion; three acts, a Knight Grand Cross. Mr. O'CONNELL's own claims for admission into the order were, he said, firstly, HAVING SERVED IRELAND FOR TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS; SECONDLY, HAVING FORMED THE ASSOCIATION OF 1823, AND, THIRDLY, HAVING ORGANISED THE "CATHOLIC RENT." He also proposed the formation of a freeholders' fund, which he called the "New Catholic Rent." Thus there were two funds established, and in the course of collection at the same time—"The Catholic Rent, for purposes "not prohibited by the late statute; and the New Ca- "tholic Rent, for the protection of forty-shilling free- "holders, to liberate them from aristocratic thraldom, to "examine the registries, and to accumulate electoral "strength, for any future elections." Both these rents brought into the Association from five hundred to six hundred pounds weekly. In originating the latter fund, Mr. O'CONNELL addressed the people of Ireland, and signed himself "DANIEL O'CONNELL, *of the order of Liberators.*"

Mr. BROWNLOW's address to his constituents, which appeared at this period, caused a very great sensation. The honor, firmness, manliness, and sound policy which breathed through it, drew forth grateful acknowledgments; and Mr. O'CONNELL, true to his own character,

proposed and carried in the Association, that this address should be framed and glazed. This incident is here mentioned, *en passant*; as it serves to illustrate the nature of Mr. O'CONNELL's disposition. He acted very much on occasions, by impulse; and, so impelled, he was as ready to tender exaggerated encomiums, as to assail with hypercritical severity.

A new description of agitation sprung up this year, and the city of Cork has the honor of originating it. The first meeting held in Ireland, for the consideration of Poor Laws, met in Cork, and the first petition in their favour was adopted there. The meeting adjourned several days, and at last the friends of the destitute were successful. The writer of these reminiscences looks back with pride on the position, while yet but twenty-five years of age, he took upon that occasion; and, after the experience of one and twenty years, he feels now no occasion to retract any of the principles or opinions he then entertained. The right of the destitute to relief he then asserted as he does now. Seeing the injury that the old Poor Law, under the maintenance system, inflicted in England, he was then for a modified system—such as was recommended then, or afterwards, by Dr. DOYLE. He is now of the same opinion. The agitation arising in Cork extended itself; and, though Mr. O'CONNELL, under the impression that a Poor Law would swamp the property of the country, for the support of those poverty-stricken by their own faults—opposed Poor Laws for Ireland, they were ultimately brought into operation, because the people willed it. We could never understand Mr. O'CONNELL's opposition to the principle of Poor Laws. The regulations at present in action, every one, except the well paid officials, condemns. In every civilised land, poor laws of some kind or other, always

existed. They existed in ancient times ; for the slavery system of those days was a Poor Law. They existed in the feudal age ; for serfdom and vassalage was a Poor Law. They existed in Scotland, for a partial, compulsory, parochial assessment existed there. They existed through all Catholic countries, at all times; for one-fourth of the tithes was appropriated by the Catholic religion to feed the poor, independently of the ever-flowing benevolence of the monastic establishments. In Ireland, the poor supported the poor ; for they had no other friends. The rich man was shut up in his demesne, where no beggar dare enter ; or he was away, enjoying the luxuries of the Capital, where he was expending the fruits of the poor man's toil. In Ireland, the poor maintained the poor ; and all that was done by the law was, to take a portion of this burden from their shoulders, and place it on the land ; but not equitably on the land ; for property does not now pay its fair proportion. Why should a tenant, who pays the full value of the land, pay as much Poor Rate as the landlord? The proprietor gets all that can be received from off the land, and the tax-gatherer then comes, and exacts from the sweat and toil of the poor possessor, what he has scarcely the power of paying, without depriving his family of the means of living. Has the benevolence of the people fallen off, as was anticipated, since the introduction of poor laws ? Has the stream of charity been dried up ? No, certainly not. For these reasons we have always felt surprise, that the noble-minded, generous O'Connell, should have continued hostile to Poor Laws for Ireland. His opposition, however, proves this—namely, that no mere love of popularity would ever induce him to abandon a principle which he considered right.

The Provincial meetings, this year—in Munster and

Connaught, were as successful as the last. The Connaught meeting was made remarkable by a speech from Mr. SHEIL; and the Munster one, which was held in Waterford, and at which JOHN O'BRIEN, of Elmvale, presided, was distinguished by the presence of the venerated Earl FITZWILLIAM, who was recalled from the administration of Ireland, in 1795, because he insisted his pledge to the people should be redeemed, and Emancipation granted. The disappointment produced by his recall, led to the subsequent rebellion. The noble Earl's explanation of the transaction, at the Provincial dinner, fully bears out the opinion we have just expressed.

O'CONNELL was at this time—September—enjoying a little relaxation from politics, and his professional duties, amongst the mountains of Darrynane. Listening to the cry of his deep-toned beagles, in the society of attached friends, removed from angry strife in the busy world, he forgot his toils and his injuries. The free winds of Heaven blowing across the boundless Atlantic came to cheer and refresh him—the mountain steep renewed his physical constitution. He climbed his native crags with freshened energy, in the healthful exercise which his favourite sport, the most exciting of all others, afforded—yet, he never, while so occupied, forgot his country. The Postman, no matter in what fastness, or on what mountain pinnacle he awaited his coming, always discovered his position; and there, as the dogs cast about for game, or hunted at the mountain's base, would the LIBERATOR, for he was then *the* LIBERATOR, open and read his hundred letters, and glance over, to be afterwards carefully perused, the mass of newspapers that were strewn before him. His avidity for newspaper reading was perfectly insatiable—scarcely an obscure paragraph escaped his notice; and so ready and retentive was his memory, that he was sure, when the occasion suggested, to bring out

the matter, incident, or fact, from the tenacious storehouse of his brain. He, in truth, was never idle.—In 1826, he wrote to the Association from Darrynane, suggesting, in opposition to a direct loan from the Committee of the old Rent, that a portion of the old Rent should be lent to individuals, to be by them advanced to protect the forty-shilling freeholders—For this purpose he was willing to take £500 or £1,000. He never hesitated to implicate himself to any amount of money, when the public cause demanded it. This was a test of his sincerity, and one of the causes of his success with the Irish people.

The Duke of York was, during the greater part of the year, slowly dying. He was a bitter enemy of the Catholics. He made, as has been seen, a foolish speech in the House of Lords, in which he registered a vow in Heaven against the Catholics; no matter what situation he might subsequently hold. As heir presumptive, in the event of the death of the King, whose constitution was already giving way, he would have mounted the throne, with this oath recorded against him. He had held, but had resigned, the office of deputy grand-master of the Orangemen. He was not a moral man, though Bishop of Osnaburgh. His approaching death was not a subject of regret on the part of the people of Ireland. It appeared he suffered very much. Mr. Sheil, at a public dinner at Mullingar, in a moment of what he called "unpremeditated emotion"—of what the whole London press, friends and foes, called "barbarous hilarity"—gloated over the prospect of the unhappy Prince's death. For that he was universally assailed; and he himself deeply regretted the expressions he let fall. They certainly injured the Catholic cause; for a stricken down enemy, is always an object rather of compassion than of

hatred. Looking at the circumstance from this distance of time, the redeeming feature we see in it is, as we have already expressed, that it proved his honesty, sincerity, and zeal. In referring to this subject, in the new Association, on the 3rd of October, he however added fuel to flame. He reiterated his statements; he lacerated the unfortunate Duke of YORK, and made mince-meat of his character. This was indeed ill-judged; while we cannot avoid admiring the extreme eloquence of the speech itself, we are forced to condemn the want if good taste and charity which it betrays.

While the Catholics were thus proceeding, the Orangemen were not idle. They had their orgies, processions, and fetes. Every expedient was resorted to, to keep alive the spirit of their party. Colonel VERNER, their Irish leader, was entertained at a grand Orange banquet. The "glorious, pious, and immortal memory," which O'CONNELL drank with Mr. ABRAHAM BRADLEY KING, in order thereby to extract its bitterness, by repudiating the intended insult, was again revived in all its pointed offensiveness, and drank at this dinner; so, also, was "Protestant Ascendency." Such was the state of society which was then beginning to show itself again in Ireland. But it was the golden age, compared to the times we have yet to treat of.

The last event, in 1826, which we think worthy of reference, is the great Aggregate Meeting in Dublin, in the month of November. At this meeting, SHEIL and O'CONNELL spoke, one after the other. SHEIL'S was not in his happiest strain; still it was a brilliant effort. O'CONNELL'S was short, but in a truly eloquent vein.— We cannot better close our remarks on his history, in 1826, than by transcribing the opening passages of his speech. They are in a beautiful soul-stirring tone:—

"It was on the evening of the 23d of August, 1172, that the first hostile English footstep pressed the green soil of Ireland. Even the splendid and fervid eloquence which we have just witnessed with such delight; capable as it was of leading captive our intellects, and of withdrawing our minds from the recollection of past transactions, has not for a moment effaced that date from my memory. It is there engraved in indelible characters. It was on the evening of the 23rd of August, 1172, that the first hostile English footstep pressed the soil of Ireland. It was said to have been a sweet and a mild evening in autumn, when the invading party entered the noble estuary formed by the conflux of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, at the City of Waterford. Accursed be that day in the memory of all future generations of Irishmen; and if it live, may it be to warn and to admonish—when the invaders first touched our shores. They came to a lovely land, where the sun beams played on her blue waters, reflecting the beauties of the surrounding country. They came to a nation famous for its love of learning, its piety, and its heroism; they came when internal dissentions separated her sons, and wasted their energies. Internal traitors led in the invaders; her sons fell in no fight; her liberties were crushed in no battle; but domestic treason and foreign invaders doomed Ireland to seven centuries of oppression. How varied is the story of English oppression towards Ireland?"

The death of the Duke of York, afforded Sheil an opportunity of explaining away his former expressions against the Prince, and doing justice to the many excellencies of character in private life, for which he was remarkable. As usual, the speech was brilliant and exciting; but not sufficiently, in our opinion, in good taste. The Duke was no more; his powers of mischief no longer existed. He should have been allowed to rest in peace.

The year 1827 opened with the renewal of the fourteen days' meetings; but nothing very important or interesting occurred during the sittings. Parochial meetings were recommended, and the recommendation was very generally followed. These, with a few aggregate meetings throughout the provinces and in Dublin, two provincial assemblages—of which one was in Cork—a few separate Catholic meetings, and the usual gathering of the New Association, were the sum total of the agitation this year. In the course of it, however, another attempt was made to force Mr. O'CONNELL into personal collision with individuals. In the position which Mr. O'CONNELL filled, as the chosen advocate of his country—the prosecutor before the court of public opinion of all its political foes, and of all public abuses; no matter whether perpetrated by individuals or by corporate bodies; it was impossible for him to avoid severe comment on the conduct of others. It may be—we cannot deny it—that he often, in the excitement of the moment, went beyond the necessary limits.—But, assuredly, as a public man, it was his duty to expose the acts of individuals, when they affected the general weal; and he was not, in consequence, to measure prowess in mortal combat with every person who took offence, and sought by the collision to obtain distinction. He was once forced to do so; and, as he himself said, he would give all he was worth in the world, could the deed be undone. Over and above the criminality of duelling, *per se*, O'CONNELL felt himself peculiarly called on to refuse this mode of satisfaction. He was one of the best pistol shots in Ireland. His aim was unerring. In self-defence, in a duel, the chances were ten to one that he would hit his antagonist. This was by no means a pleasant reflection, and hence it is, that after the fatal encoun-

ter with D'Esterre, and the transaction with Peel, he determined never to engage in a similar affair. But, surely, such a resolution was not to deprive him of his right, as a public man, to criticise, and severely, the public acts of others. In doing so, he had much to endure. Every paltry adventurer felt himself at liberty to insult and malign him—to call him coward and liar, and those other mild and, when directed against O'Connell, *safe* epithets. There was high moral courage in the endurance; far more than in standing before some nervous adventurer, while with the pistol in his hand he felt satisfied he could, in all probability, protect himself by shooting his adversary. We applaud this determination of O'Connell, however much it exposed him to insult.

In the beginning of 1827, an occurrence of this description took place. At a meeting of the Association, held on the 13th January, the previous election in Cork was the subject of discussion. Mr. O'Connell had denounced Mr. Gerard Callaghan, the defeated candidate at that election, as a "renegade." This and an unhappy occurrence connected with that election, produced in his mind a train of reflection, which naturally led him to allude to the conductors of the *Evening Mail*, the great Orange journal of that day, and, of course, a determined enemy of Catholics. That paper was then particularly distinguished for its acrimony. The chief conductors and proprietors, the Messrs. Sheehan, had the reputation of being once Catholics. There is no question that their parents were respectable Catholics, residing in Cork; their brother and sisters were, and still remain, attached members of the Catholic faith; the brother being now a most exemplary Catholic Clergyman, officiating in his native City. The universal opinion was, that the gentlemen, in whose hands was the manage-

ment of the paper, once professed the faith of their fathers. Indignant that, as such, they should take the public course they did, as Journalists, Mr. O'CONNELL, at the meeting of the 13th January, following out the train of thought the Cork Election suggested, called them miscreants and renegades. This was clearly said of them as public men; and though it was undoubtedly harsh language, we cannot admit that a personal encounter was the mode of obtaining redress. Mr. REMMY SHEEHAN denied that he or his brother was ever a Catholic. On being satisfied with the accuracy of this statement, Mr. O'CONNELL would undoubtedly have retracted without hesitation the offensive epithets. But Mr. SHEEHAN did not take any pains to do so. He met Mr. O'CONNELL in the streets of Dublin. He accosted him in these words—"You abused me;" he then struck him with an umbrella; and having inflicted the blow, narrowly escaped the indignation of the people. Mr. O'CONNELL instantly lodged informations against him, both for the assault, and for the purpose of binding him over to keep the peace towards him and his family. Mr. O'CONNELL's affidavit was not sufficiently specific, as regarded the individuals of his family, towards whom he wished the peace should be kept, and therefore his application, so far, was refused. But the informations for the assault were granted, and returned for trial before the Recorder of Dublin.—When the trial came on, Mr. SHEEHAN pleaded guilty; for he refused to plead what was not true—namely—not guilty of the assault. He was sentenced to three months incarceration, and he accordingly went to prison. Mr. O'CONNELL immediately memorialed the Lord Lieutenant to liberate him. Mr. SHEEHAN hearing this, addressed a letter to the Under Secretary, stating that he would receive no favour from the Government; more

particularly, if Mr. O'CONNELL was instrumental in obtaining it. Thus terminated this attempt at personal *rencontre* with O'CONNELL.

As we have had occasion to state before, the characteristic of the WELLESLEY—PLUNKETT administration was prosecution for libel. Mr. SHEIL was attached this year. He had, in 1826, spoken of WOLFE TONE, in words of haughty menace against England, if Irish rights were longer delayed. The menace, and the language in which it was clothed, however strong, were founded on "hypothesis;" and his laudation of TONE was an hyberbole quite admissible in the heat of public speaking.—The speech was suggested by the recent publication of TONE's memoirs, edited by his son. SHEIL furnished a copy of his speech to Mr. STAUNTON of the *Register*.—PLUNKETT called on Mr. STAUNTON to deliver up the author, or he should be prosecuted, as Proprietor of the Journal in which the sentiments were published. Mr. SHEIL at once acknowledged his responsibility, and entered into recognizances to abide his trial. After this, PLUNKETT called again on Mr. STAUNTON to give up the author of another speech of SHEIL's. The second speech was not reported by SHEIL, and he was not accountable. But there was a low cunning in the manner in which it was attempted to secure the prosecution of SHEIL for both speeches. His admission of authorship of the one was first secured; then it was immediately announced that the Government intended to prosecute for the other. Both O'CONNELL and SHIEL denounced the whole of this affair, in the most unmeasured and indignant language. O'CONNELL, in the course of his observations, made use of these expressions. "I confided in the sincerity and "honesty of WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKETT; the "delusion has vanished. I now bid no Catholic to con-

"fide in that man." The trial came on. Mr. SHEIL traversed in prox; and his traverse was admitted. In the interval, Lord LIVERPOOL became incapacited from holding the reins of Government; Mr. CANNING, as we will see, succeeded, and the prosecution against Mr. SHEIL was heard of no more.

The Catholic question was mooted in Parliament early in the year, by Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. The utmost anxiety, at both sides, was exhibited. Those who, with Lord FARNHAM at their head, cherished the idle hope that by means of the New Reformation, all Catholic Ireland would become Protestant, were anxious that its disenthralment should be achieved rather by conversion to Protestantism than by the agency of the Legislature. Those, on the other hand, who saw the storm of agitation, year after year increasing, who knew how absurd were the dreams of the New Reformers, and were aware of the determination of the Catholic middle class, in proportion as it advanced in wealth, to be free—they were most anxious the question should be finally settled, and they countenanced an arrangement. In the cabinet, the same difference of opinion existed as before; but Lord LIVERPOOL'S influence prevailed over CANNING'S. Treasury circulars were actually issued, summoning the anti-Catholic section of the House of Commons, to meet Sir FRANCIS BURDETT'S motion with a negative. If Emancipation were really an open question, such summonses should never have been transmitted. The procedure compromised, to a certain extent, the honor of CANNING. It justified BROUGHAM'S charge against him; that for place, he truckled to Lord LIVERPOOL, or the KING. It was an ungenerous advantage, taken of his position in the Cabinet. However, the result was, the defeat of the motion, by a majority of FOUR. The ex-

citement caused by this defeat can scarcely be described; and had not an event occurred which revived the expectations of the people, the agitation, in 1827, would have proved perilous indeed. Lord LIVERPOOL's political life was brought suddenly to a close. Though he lived some time after, he was totally incapacitated from business. Then was the object of CANNING's ambition accomplished. In spite of the Aristocracy, he became Prime Minister of England; on the condition that the same policy should be pursued with respect to the Catholic question, as during the LIVERPOOL administration.

The Duke of WELLINGTON, however, refused to join any ministry of which CANNING was the head; not from personal objection, but because knowing Lord LIVERPOOL's influence, as prime minister, on the fate of the Catholic question, he felt convinced that CANNING, as head of the Government, would have equal authority in a direction opposed to his own views. WELLINGTON's rejection of CANNING's invitation, obliged the Prime Minister to throw himself on the Whig party. That party, with Mr. BROUGHAM at their head, gave him their disinterested support. Mr. O'CONNELL, too, in Ireland, aided the establishment of CANNING's government. He even addressed letters to the electors of Kilkenny, not to oppose CANNING's friend, DOHERTY, his future foe. At one of the separate meetings of Catholics, he made a luminous and telling speech, in favour of the new Government. So great were his exertions, that it was insinuated he was offered a patent of precedency in his profession. It is unnecessary to say how little influences of that kind operated on O'CONNELL. The truth is, CANNING's advent to power, was a God-send to liberty, all the world over. His predilections were with the people; and though his views on

Reform were biassed by his position and his associations, though his views on the Catholic Question were not backed up by a more decided action in the Cabinet, still, a feeling pervaded the whole community, that with CANNING as Prime Minister of England, liberty over the wide world was in the ascendant. O'CONNELL participated in this feeling, and hence his anxiety to give his Government a trial. This was, however, all a dream. Providence decreed otherwise. Poor CANNING's sensitive nature was not proof to the rebuffs, nay, direct insults, he received from his old colleagues. His health, previously much impaired, sunk under the trials to which his new position exposed him. He died prematurely; and thus departed one of the most brilliant geniuses that ever electrified the Senate House. The finished scholar—the ready and sarcastic wit—the graceful yet impassioned speaker, the modern DEMOSTHENES—and yet too—the modern CICERO, perished thus in early life; worn out by an opposition against which his impatient nature chafed too fretfully. His fine person; his noble intellectual countenance; his speaking brilliant eye; his graceful action;—all combined to make him one of the greatest masters of oratory that ever swayed the passions of mankind. In language somewhat similar, O'CONNELL spoke of him at the great aggregate meeting in Limerick, in August, 1827; and in similar terms, to the present day, do all who admire great genius and noble sentiments, express their opinions of the illustrious GEORGE CANNING.

If will not be inappropriate to introduce here the following extract, relative to the death of this eminent statesman, from the "Autobiography of Sir JOHN BARROW."

"The gloom which the death of Mr. CANNING occasioned, was general throughout the land, and the opinion

which the Duke of CLARENCE (afterwards WILLIAM the FOURTH) expressed on the moment of hearing it, "They have killed him; I knew they would kill him," was also general, and more especially with those who mixed with public men and public affairs. As Prime Minister, succeeding to the popular government of Lord LIVERPOOL, he had announced an intention to consider, but nothing more for the present, what relief with safety could be vouchsafed to the Catholics. This alarmed his friends, who, in great haste, and in an evil hour, resigned their official situations, which he was left to fill up with those of his personal friends among the Whigs, to enable him to carry on the government. By the Tories he found he was deserted, denounced as having betrayed them. The newspapers in their cause abused and slandered him with that virulence and malignity usually bestowed upon an apostate. They carried their malevolence so far as to taunt him with his mean birth and family connexions; and even those who were once his most intimate friends, taunted him or turned their backs upon him. The secession of Mr. CANNING's Tory or Protestant friends, and his union with those who had always been his political enemies, cannot but bring to one's mind what is now occurring with regard to Sir ROBERT PEEL. His friends have deserted him, because of his endeavours to procure food and clothing for the people, and at reasonable prices. Mr. CANNING's friends left him, because he wished to confer toleration on the immense body of Catholic subjects. The kind and amiable feelings of Mr. CANNING were of too sensitive a nature, to enable him to bear up against the desertion of old friends, the ambiguous support of new ones, and the taunts of enemies. His mind was ill at ease, his spirits drooped, and he fled for repose to a house at a Chiswick, where he had one friend that

did not desert him: and here he terminated his mortal career, in recovering peace of mind and tranquillity as the end approached. That mind and those spirits, the eloquence and playfulness of which were once the admiration of all who had the happiness of his acquaintance, were now at rest."

One of the most remarkable incidents of O'CONNELL'S life, this year, was his great speech against the Church Rate Bill, passed in 1826, under the auspices of PLUNKETT. By this measure the Protestant community were enabled to tax the Catholics for the building and repair of their Churches. This, at common law, was a duty imposed on the Incumbents. Mr. O'CONNELL'S speech on the occasion was more than usually elaborate. He grappled with the whole subject. But his opposition was without avail. This unjust act, imposing oppressive burdens on a people, seven-eights of whom were Catholics, was not abolished until 1835, when by the reduction of ten bishoprics and the sale of perpetuities, a fund of one million sterling was raised, which was appropriated to the building and repairs of Churches, and by which the Catholic community was relieved from liability to the impost.

In reference to this subject, we cannot avoid extracting from a remarkable petition drawn up by Mr. STAUNTON, of the *Register*, the following paragraphs, to exhibit in a clear light the statistics of the Established Church in Ireland:—

"Your Petitioners humbly represent, that the income of the Protestant Rectors has been often a subject of controversy amongst statesmen and statistical writers. The very latest authentic records on the subject are the returns of tithe compositions, ordered to be printed by your Honourable House, on the 12th of April, 1827. According to these it appears that 940, out of 2436 parishes,

have compounded ; and there is good reason to know, that the richest of the benefices of all Ireland, are these in which there has been yet no composition whatever.—It is known that there are, on an average, nearly two parishes to each rectory in Ireland, and that as the total of the compositions for the 940 is £249,616, each Rector enjoys, in tithes, over £530 per annum ;—but besides tithes, there are glebe houses, equivalent to a rental of at least £50,000 a-year ; and besides glebe houses, there are glebe lands, in all, according to the evidence of Mr. Leslie Foster and others, amounting to 120,000 English acres, and yielding at least 120,000 English pounds per annum ;—and besides glebe lands there are the profits of what are termed the Parsons' freeholds ; that is to say, the Church-yards, yielding, according to the most authentic calculation, £100,000 per annum ; and besides the Parsons' freeholds, there are marriage, baptismal, and other fees, amounting to at least, £20,000 a year ; and besides these fees there is what is called Minister's money, amounting, in one of the parishes in the City of Dublin, to at least £1,200 a-year, and amounting altogether probably to £25,000 per annum ;—and besides Minister's money, there are consistorial perquisites, amounting to about £30,000 a year ;—and besides consistorial perquisites, there are the profits of jail, charitable, and military Chaplaincies, amounting perhaps to £10,000 a year ;—and besides these Chaplaincies, there are profits from schools and university appointments. amounting to £50,000 a year ; and besides these profits, there are choral, prebendary, and other cathedral emoluments, amounting perhaps to £50,000 a-year ; making in all an aggregate sum of £458,000 a-year, over and above their produce of the tithes of the entire kingdom. The tithes, taken at the fallacious estimate alluded to, and these

sources of emolument, make, between them, nearly one million one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum; being (according to this scale of measurement) an average of more than £800 per annum, to each of 1,300 Rectors; but your Petitioners have not the least doubt upon their minds, that the average income of the 1300 Rectors, all things considered, equals £1000 to each of them.

"Your Petitioners humbly submit that £250 per annum is supposed to be the average of the secondary rectories in England; and that the average of the entire is not estimated as exceeding £400 a-year. If the Irish Rectors bore the proportion to the population that the English do, they would be 385 instead of 1300—and if the English was the Irish rate of payment, it would be £400 instead of £1000 per annum. Then your Petitioners submit that if the English ecclesiastical system were in operation in Ireland, 915 out of 1300 Rectors might be dispensed with; and instead of an expenditure of £1,150,000 per annum, according to one estimate, or £1,360,000 according to another; an expenditure of £154,000 would suffice, and a saving might be made of over one million sterling per annum; which, added to what your Petitioners suppose to be a superfluous expenditure on the Bishops, would amount to a saving of one million twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds a-year.

"Your Petitioners beg leave to represent, that in these items of expenditure, are by no means included the entire cost of the Church of England Establishment in Ireland. The Vestry Rates, for the building and repairing of Churches, and the payment of parochial officers, reach, according to the best computation, to £575,000 a-year; and the grants, under the heads of first fruits and religious institutions, exceed £150,000 per annum."

O'Connell continued to be in great professional request. He went special to various Counties; and the time was now arriving when he declined to attend any Circuit except as special Counsel. Notwithstanding their hatred to him, the Orange party employed him as readily as his own friends. In fact, it was universally admitted that as a Jury advocate he had no equal. Notwithstanding his professional eminence and services, the Orangemen cordially hated him, and in every conceivable manner blackened his character. Yet, this man thus hated and maligned, was in the domestic circle and in private life beloved and admired. He was a kind friend, always ready to hold out a helping hand to whoever wanted his aid. He was hospitable to those most opposed to him in politics. At Darrynane Abbey, politics were neither discussed, nor hinted at, and the most violent Tories always went from him prepossessed in his favour. He had an abstracted—absorbed manner, which had a discourteous air to strangers, but it was never so intended; he was never guilty of rudeness in private intercourse; he felt he was a privileged person, and his abstraction from things passing around, while he was immersed in newspapers, was regarded as a matter of course.

We now approach the most memorable epoch in O'Connell's career, and, with the exception of the year 1843, the most eventful—we mean, 1828. So much of his undying fame is derived from the events of this year, that it will be necessary to dwell upon them at some length. This is the more necessary, as the measure of Emancipation was forced on the consideration of Government by the transactions on which we enter. It proved in more cases than one, the precusor year of Catholic freedom.

But entering on these stirring times, it may be well to

advert shortly to the past. Lord WELLESLEY ceased to be Governor of Ireland. There is much to be said in favor of that distinguished Nobleman; and during the time he was in power, there was much said against him. The system of State Prosecution for libel, acted on during his time we have already spoken of. It was a policy useless in its effects and utterly repugnant to the love of liberty growing in the public mind. Whether the aims of the Executive were levelled against the obscure fools frequenting the gallery of a Theatre, or against such gifted beings, as O'CONNELL and SHEIL, these prosecutions were equally condemnable. What was the consequence of this miserable policy—this plan of not giving a triumph to either party? Just this—the disturbances in the Provinces increased—the Insurrection Act, which was confined to eight Counties on Lord WELLESLEY's arrival, was soon extended in all direction, for disturbances accumulated. Though one of the greatest men who ever governed the Indian Empire, and a man of rare intellectual acquirements—he allowed himself to be the tool of an underling in office; GOULBOURN was in reality the Governor of Ireland. It is true, WELLESLEY's intentions were honest. He hated the Orange faction as intensely as they hated him. His despatches to Government, which have since come to light, show how anxious he was for justice to the Catholics; for he felt that if matters continued as they were, the armies of England would not preserve the connexion. He was accused of suggesting the Vestry Act, to which we have already referred, and the Subletting Act, to which we shall shortly have occasion to advert.—But such was not the case. It was all GOULBOURN's doing. In truth, so long as the KING persevered in his obstinate fancies on the subject of the Coronation Oath, and that, in

consequence, the Government of the country was carried on by a Cabinet equally divided on the most vital question of domestic policy, so long were all such men as WELLESLEY and CANNING in a false position—so long was their fame in danger of shipwreck. Nothing but their incomparable talents could have saved them from condemnation. There was one circumstance, notwithstanding all this, that in addition to his hatred of Orangeism, tended to make WELLESLEY's Government popular in Ireland. The Marchioness was a Roman Catholic. She was the grand-daughter—we write from memory—of the celebrated CARROLL, who signed with FRANKLIN and other patriots, the declaration of American Independence. She was an exceedingly charitable woman and exemplary in her religious observances. These qualities won on the popular mind, and the favor in which the Marchioness was held, was by an easy transition transferred to his Excellency. O'CONNELL, notwithstanding the State Prosecutions with which he and SHIEL were threatened, defended Lord WELLESLEY'S Government, after he ceased to be Lord Lieutenant; and one of his last acts, at the meeting of the New Association, in 1827, was to protect him from the attacks of the honest, but hot-brained JOHN LAWLESS.

The last day of the year was rendered memorable by the proposition made by SHIEL, and subsequently carried out, of the SIMULTANEOUS MEETINGS. The peroration of his remarkable speech, on that occasion, was in the following vivid an enlivening words :—

"The press is a speaking trumpet, and every word I utter, is carried through that great vehicle of the mind, to the remotest extremities of Ireland. I feel every syllable I articulate will be heard, not only by the hundreds within these walls, but by the millions without them.

The Press, I repeat it, is the trumpet into which I put my spirit. I feel as if I stood upon some great eminence, and from that elevation addressed myself to congregated millions. To them, and not to you, I speak, and say—'Slaves—slaves, you are seven millions—know your own strength—appreciate your power—it is no longer fitting that a handful of men should lord it over you. Meet at the same day, and at the same moment—meet loyally, legally, and constitutionally—but meet—assemble round your altars and your Priests—let the rites of your Church be celebrated—let the chalice ascend and the cross be lifted up, and then raise your voices for liberty together. Raise such a call for freedom as shall travel through every department of the State. Let the representatives of the people hearken to that burst of anguish from the people's hearts—let it reach to the lofty walls of the titled Senate, and amidst the luxurious recesses of the kingly palace, let it not be unheard—let a shout go forth for freedom, at which England will start, and to which France will not be deaf, at which princes shall be amazed, and Cabinets shall stand appalled. Call for freedom, and call for it as your right—call for it in the name of reason—call for it in the name of justice—call for it in the name of expediency—call for it in the name of safety—call for it legally, but determinedly—and above all, let seven millions call *for it together*."

We now draw near the termination of this long chapter. Let us cast a retrospective glance over these twelve years of O'Connell's career, extending from 1816 to 1827, inclusive; and see whether, as we advance in his history, we do not detect, more and more, the great cause of his continued popularity; namely, endeavouring always to be in the right, and, whenever wrong, not being ashamed to avow it, and manfully retrace his steps. On the question

of the VETO, how triumphantly right he was? It is not easy now fully to understand the perplexing difficulties that beset his path. Many of the most active members of the Catholic body were against him: all the Catholic aristocracy were in favor of the VETO. SHEIL, a host in himself, was opposed to him. Some of the Bishops were said to have leanings towards the views of CONSALVI and PITTA. O'CONNELL had, however, at his side nearly the entire Clergy; and the people, to a man; and with their aid he triumphed. One of his ablest allies was Dr. ENGLAND; one of his bitterest opponents was GRATTAN, who was mortified beyond measure at the Catholics following O'CONNELL'S advice in preference to his own. Let us give here a specimen of GRATTAN'S power of vituperation directed against Ireland's most gifted son, because he differed with him on the VETO; and who certainly never deserved from the patriot of 1782, so virulent a phillipic. When O'CONNELL'S memory is slandered because he sometimes indulged in language not justifiable, let the following remind his calumniators how unceasingly, undeservedly, and unsparingly he was himself attacked, even by those who ought to have acted otherwise, and who afterwards repented of their conduct. In an address to the Catholics of Ireland, and speaking of the Association, GRATTAN thus indulged in his bitterest sarcasms against one who was destined far to transcend him in his services to the *whole people* of Ireland. There is evidence of jealousy in every line of this characteristic effusion:—

"Examine their leader, Mr. O'CONNELL—he assumes a right to direct the Catholics of Ireland—he advises—he harangues—and he excites; he does not attempt to allay the passions of a warm and jealous people. Full of inflammatory matter, his declamations breathed every-

thing but harmony; venting against Great Britain the most disgusting calumny, falsehoods, and treachery, equalled only by his impudence; describing Great Britain as the most stupid, the most dishonest, and the most besotted nation that ever existed; that Ireland could not confide in the promises of England, &c. Without discrimination, he pronounced all Protestants 'bigots.' When he advocated the grievances of the Catholic body, he omitted the greatest *grievance*—himself! A man that could make the speeches he has made, utter the sentiments he has uttered, abuse the characters he has abused, praise the characters that he has praised, violate the promises that he has violated, propose such votes and such censures as he has proposed—can have little regard for private honour or for public character; he cannot comprehend the spirit of liberty, and he is not fitted to receive it. He betrays such a scattered understanding and barbarous mind, that if he got liberty he would immediately lose it. Almost unsuited for the British constitution, and almost ignorant of the bonds of civil society; of such a mould, and such a disposition, as to be incapable of accomplishing any rational object; his declamations to the lower orders are full of extravagance, wildness, and ambiguity, and set afloat the bad passions of the people, make them restless in disposition, and impatient in action. He leaves a vacuum in the meaning of his harangue, to be filled up by the elevated imagination of a warm-hearted and sensitive people. It is the part of a bad man to make use of grievances as instruments of power, and render them the means of discontent without a single honest attempt at redress. He knows, or at least he ought to know, that this conduct is of such a nature as must always tend to confusion in bad ministers, and strengthen their authority; it seduces people into mischief not intended, and, after exciting them to folly, it abandons them through fear.

It may lead them to rise against an exciseman or titheman, to burn a hayrick, or murder a farmer; but will never teach them to redress grievances, or to bring the offending minister to the scaffold. This leader, in spirit, is poor, his courage is of a hesitating quality, his political confidence is prodigious also; in debate he is more than a hero; in every sentence there is a challenge; in the field he is a diplomatic. He was insulted, and did not fight; again insulted, he was goaded to the ground, where his antagonist RODERGO fell. He then offered an insult, was noticed by the condescending spirit of an imprudent Minister, was challenged, travelled 400 miles *incognito*, was arrested through an unforeseen accident; did not go to the ground, being prevented by an unavoidable necessity. His speaking is extravagant diction—a vulgar boast, a swaggering sentence, affected bombast, and ludicrous composition. His liberty is not liberal, his politics are not reason, his reading is not learning, his learning is not knowledge; his rhetoric is a gaudy hyperbole, garnished with faded flowers, such as a drabbled girl would pick up in Covent-garden, stuck in with the taste of a kitchen-maid. He makes politics a trade, to serve his desperate and interested purpose. This man can bring forth nothing good; in abortion he is the most fertile; the womb of his mind is of such sinful mould that it can never produce anything that is not deformed. He never succeeded in any project except the loss of your question. He barks and barks, and even when the filthy slaverer has exhausted its poison, and returns to its kennel, it there still barks and howls within unseen. No administration but would injure their reputation by advancing such a character."

When GRATTAN says "he was insulted and did not fight," he alludes to an affair which occurred in 1810, at

the Limerick Assizes. Counsellor MAGRATH and he had a controversy on some legal matter in the bar box, and it went to such lengths that MAGRATH kicked O'CONNELL under the box. This act was not seen by the public. O'CONNELL immediately struck him with his brief across the face, and went out of Court to find his friend, PURCELL O'GORMAN, to whom he communicated what occurred. O'GORMAN thought O'CONNELL had by far the best of it, as he had openly insulted MAGRATH; while the insult offered him was not witnessed. This reasoning did not satisfy O'CONNELL's wounded feelings, and he sent O'GORMAN with a message. He was referred to Mr. GEORGE BENNETT. The parties met at six o'clock in the morning, numerously accompanied. NICHOLAS PHILPOT LEADER attended as one of MAGRATH's friends.

He was intimate also with O'CONNELL, and availed himself of the acquaintance to try and accommodate the quarrel. While O'GORMAN was in the act of measuring the ground, LEADER came up to him, suggested a reconciliation, and stated that, on his applying to O'CONNELL, the latter disclaimed any unkind feeling, and declared that he was going to fire at a man against whom he did not entertain the slightest resentment or ill will. Mr. LEADER added, that if O'CONNELL would repeat the expression, Mr. MAGRATH would apologise. O'GORMAN went directly to O'CONNELL and asked him what occurred between him and LEADER, and O'CONNELL confirmed LEADER's statement. O'GORMAN expressed his surprise and regret that in his absence he could have held any such conversation, especially with one of his opponents' friends. O'CONNELL replied, he was brought innacently into the conversation; but that he was entirely in O'GORMAN's hands, and would abide by his decision. O'GORMAN, thereupon, desired him take his ground, and he put a case of pistols into his hands.

While this dialogue was going on, LEADER's proposition, and the conversation that followed, circulated amongst the bystanders, who were very numerous and respectable; and thereupon MICHAEL FURNELL, J. O'BRIEN, JAMES and DENIS LYONS, DANL. O'CONNELL, (Kilgorey), PAT. MAHON, Newpark, HEFFY CONSIDINE, and others, came round O'GORMAN, and all pressed him to accept LEADER's proposition, as stated by O'CONNELL; and declared, that upon O'CONNELL repeating, on the ground, the declaration with respect to MAGRATH, the latter should then apologise to O'CONNELL for his misconduct. This O'GORMAN refused, and insisted on matters proceeding; as that was neither the time nor place for such a course. The gentlemen above named strongly dissented, and denounced his conduct; stating he should be held responsible for any result; and some declaring that in the event of any fatality he should and ought be hanged. O'GORMAN went to O'CONNELL and represented his own situation, in consequence of his incautious conduct; and that, therefore, he considered his own responsibility at an end. The gentlemen who interceded, or some of them, then took the arrangement on themselves, and the affair ended without a shot, LEADER's proposition being complied with. The parties shook hands together, and with O'GORMAN, returned to Limerick, in the same carriage, perfectly reconciled. Faction, violence, and prejudice, afterwards grossly misrepresented and distorted this affair, of which these are the exact particulars. We have heard those who were present say, they never saw a braver or steadier man than O'CONNELL was that day.

Such was the affair on which so many calumnies were based. It was unworthy of GRATTAN to have tortured it as he did, into receiving an insult without resenting it.

GRATTAN was himself a duellist; and, therefore, as all was not precisely according to strict rule, he took advantage of the informality, to join in flinging aspersions on the character of a political antagonist; because he honestly, and contrary to his own interests, advocated the cause of the National Religion. We think it was right of O'CONNELL to have expressed the sentiment, even though contrary to etiquette. It was evident it did not proceed from any personal fear; for he was as cool and as brave a man as could be, on the ground.—When a friend spoke to him on the subject, the observation that escaped him was perfectly legitimate and natural. The transaction exposes the monstrosity and absurdity of duelling. If, as in this case, friends interfered and insisted on a reconciliation, there is no doubt that nine affairs of honour out of every ten would be similarly arranged; because, in most cases, it is not feelings of resentment that produce these hostile rencontres.

This undeserved attack of GRATTAN proves what a man must encounter, who, without reference to persons, discharges his duty by his country faithfully, zealously and with singleness of purpose. Indeed O'CONNELL's consistent resistance to the VETO, is one of the noblest acts in his long career of usefulness. It was clearly his interest, as a Barrister, to obtain Emancipation on any terms. He was not at the period, so fully as at a subsequent stage, what is understood by the term "practical Catholic." He loved his religion, he used to say, "because it was Irish." Patriotism was therefore his ruling motive, in resisting any attempt to make the national religion subservient to the English Crown. He had his eye steadily fixed upon the necessity, for the sake of Ireland, of keeping her Priesthood aloof from the interference of the British Government; and when he came into collision with some of the Bishops, and was ready to do so with

the Pope, it must naturally be concluded that it was by the interests of his country he was chiefly influenced. The interests of religion were in better keeping with the Bishops. Unquestionably, at that period, a schism was much to be apprehended; for the people would never have submitted to any arrangement that would have given the Government influence in the affairs of the Catholic Church. It was not alone the people; the second order of the Clergy were very decided. Any one who now reads the published letter of Dr. England, under an anonymous signature; and his editorial writings, in the columns of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, will be struck with the boldness with which he criticised certain backslidings on the Veto question, and the unsparing severity with which he attacked the acts of the authorities in Rome. Take for instance, his comments on the Pope's answer to the remonstrance of the body which complained of the expulsion from Rome of their delegate, the Rev. Mr. Hayes. The remonstrance we here mention was not written by O'Connell. It was written, we believe, by Eneas M'Donnell. In his Holiness's answer, he very severely spoke of Mr. Hayes. Dr. England took up the Rev. Gentleman's defence with a manliness that did him credit; but with a spirit that showed a strong feeling against any intrigue that could end in placing in bondage to the Government, the Clergy of the people. We have already expressed our opinion, founded on the Pope's answer to the remonstrance, that Mr. Hayes had carried his zeal too far; that he was rather intemperate, and consequently disrespectful in urging his suit on His Holiness. We must take for granted that where the Holy Father's answer refers to matters which came under his own observation and affected personally himself, the statement therein was strictly true. Where an abstract

opinion is expressed, it may be taken like an opinion set forth in a Royal speech. as the production of the minister; but where facts are stated, having distinct reference to the POPE himself, it is His HOLINESS who makes the statement, and it should be received as truth. Indeed, Mr. HAYES did so receive it; for he, as in duty bound, humbly apologised for the offence he had given. But, in justice to the memory of that ill-used and excellent Clergyman, it should be considered, that he was in Rome in the capacity of delegate to the Irish Catholics, who expected that he should sternly and zealously discharge his duty. He represented those who were determined not to yield the right of VETO to the Crown. Impressed with the same opinions, and upheld by the same determination, he adopted an independent tone in his letters to, and interviews with, the Pontifical authorities. They were hostile to his views, and soon became hostile to himself. The result can be clearly traced. The POPE became prejudiced. He considered the Reverend Gentleman as his clerical subject, bound to obey in Rome all the rules and regulations of his order as a Franciscan. Mr. HAYES, on the other hand, considered himself a a Catholic Delegate, and therefore free from the restrictions and regulations which were sought to be imposed on him; such as wearing the dress of his order, and being within his College at stated hours. This, together with his sturdy action against the Vetoists, made him unpopular with the authorities in Rome. Influenced by the feeling which the hostility he experienced produced in his mind, and the natural independence of his disposition, he did act, in the opinion of the writer, in an injudicious manner towards his HOLINESS, personally; though, under the circumstances, it may be excused.

Of the KING's visit, and the result, we have already fully

spoken.—The experiment O'CONNELL then made on the Orangemen, was a complete and total failure, as he afterwards acknowledged. But the principle which influenced him was good. The attempt to reconcile Irishmen together, though it failed, can be no cause of censure on the LIBERATOR.

The formation of the Catholic Association, in 1823, and the institution of the Catholic Rent, in 1824, were in themselves, master strokes of policy; particularly the latter. They laid the foundation of the ultimate triumph of civil and religious liberty.

In 1825, O'CONNELL's evidence did much to soften down the asperities of the Orange party; and undoubtedly there existed in London that year, a better feeling in favor of the Catholics. O'CONNELL's conduct about the "Wings," was blamed, and he afterwards admitted his error. But it must be ever borne in mind, that emancipation was the price offered for the sacrifice. At that time Emancipation was considered a remote, almost a hopeless pursuit; and when he found it already within his grasp, by abandoning a franchise hitherto employed for Landlord and Orange purposes, and by consenting to the payment, under careful protection, of the Catholic Clergy, it is not to be wondered at, that, surrounded as he was by old Parliamentary friends, who were anxious for its accomplishment, and by the Catholic Aristocracy, who were panting for political power—it is not to be wondered at, that for a time he yielded to these influences. But he had not, in his disposition, what he himself called "rascally consistency!"—that is, consistency in wrong; and therefore he now changed views on both those points.

The fourteen days' meetings; the formation of the New Association, and the triumph of the popular cause

over the BERESFORDS, in Waterford, by the aid of forty-shilling freeholders, were the distinguishing features of 1826. The petition in favor of the Dissenters, drawn up by O'CONNELL, and signed by a hundred thousand Catholics, illustrates the spirit of liberty which actuated the Irish people in 1827.

Since 1823, O'CONNELL and SHEIL worked steadfastly and cordially together. There does not appear to have been any jealousy between these distinguished men. SHEIL, it is evident, from the position he was placed in, on the Committee of twenty-one, in 1825, at the head of the ballot, was a great favorite. It was impossible it could be otherwise. The brilliancy of his genius won for him golden opinions from all; and we will find him in the next chapter, by the aid of that genius, vieing on equal terms with his great compatriot, in the crowning struggle for Emancipation. He was the TEUCER—O'CONNELL the AJAX and the ULYSSES of the agitation; and both in their peculiar and different modes worked out together the liberation of their country. But the indefatigable industry of O'CONNELL—his ready eloquence—his exhaustless resources—his solid sense made him more trusted by the people, as their leader; and the history of the previous twelve years, proves the value of the principle he always followed, viz., to endeavour to be always in the right; and when wrong, not to fear acknowledging an error, and abandoning it.

We now close this long chapter by correcting a mistake made in it in reference to Mr. O'CONNELL's uncle, MAURICE O'CONNELL. We stated he was never married. Our information was incorrect. He was many years a widower, without family; and the majority of the two last generations who knew him were not aware he ever was married. Hence the error the writer committed in

taking for granted what from his childhood he understood to be the case; the old bachelor habits of the individual were in consonance with the general impression. The following interesting letter, however, will amend all misconceptions:—

"You state that "Hunting Cap" had never married; but you have been misinformed. His wife was the daughter of ROBERT CANTILLON, Esq., of the County Limerick, grandfather, maternally, of the late ROBERT BURKE of this city. His son, PHILIP CANTILLON, married my mother's eldest sister, but the family is now extinct. When "Hunting Cap" came to Cork, in order to settle the marriage of his nephew, JOHN, with Miss COPPINGER, he frequently called on me, and entered into many family details, not forgetting this alliance of our families. His father-in-law, ROBERT CANTILLON, was the near relative of two brothers, bankers in Paris, who had followed the fortunes of JAMES II., and made large fortunes there, which the daughter of one of them inherited; and became the wife of the Earl of STAFFORD, the descendant of the unfortunate victim of the Popish Plot, THOMAS HOWARD, Viscount STAFFORD; whose title, as *Baron*, is now possessed by Sir GEORGE JERNINGHAM, a descendant, in the female line, the male being extinct. I have some letters written by the Parisian Bankers between 1720 and 1730 to my grandfather.

"You may recollect that the person mentioned by Sir JOHN DAVIES, as calling himself CANTILLON; but who was really an O'DRISCOLL—consequently a *merus Hibernus*, was killed by an Englishman, or one so contradistinguished from the mere Irish, who pleaded that circumstance in justification of the murder. But I must stop, not only to avoid trespassing on your time, but because I

have been so incessantly interrupted, that I write most hurriedly, and am only allowed to add that I am ever,

"My dear, Sir, your's cordially,

"Cork, July —— 1847." ———

CHAPTER IV.

1828---1829.

We now approach the most glorious period of O'Connell's career. We shall devote this Chapter to the history of the two years which were terminated by the achievement of religious freedom for millions of British subjects.

The Fourteen Days' Meeting, in the commencement of 1828, passed off with the usual amount of oratory and patriotism. The only feature of novelty in the proceedings, was Mr. Wyse's proposal of a political Catechism, drawn up in a popular form, so as to teach the rising generation their rights, and unfold to them the wrongs of their forefathers. Mr. Wyse's speech on this occasion was remarkable for that smooth and flowing eloquence and literary research, for which he is distinguished. It has been often a matter of surprise to us, that a man of his acquirements has not been appreciated as he deserves. There is in his public addresses a depth of knowledge—a graceful and lucid eloquence—an earnestness and enthusiasm which entitle him to a foremost place amongst the most distinguished public men. It is true that, eschewing politics, he has devoted himself lately to one most important subject—Education—one that, though noble and intensely interesting to the middle class, is a cause of much division, and not so popular with all orders as

objects of a purely political character. Besides, a man who rides a hobby, though useful to a great extent, is often voted a bore; and hence it is, that even in the House of Commons, we have witnessed Mr. WYSE's most luminous addresses delivered to empty benches—the house absolutely decamping the moment he rose. The proposal of a political catechism practically affected all, came home to the minds of the people, and it was hailed with general enthusiasm.

The proposition to hold simultaneous meetings, made at this fourteen days' meeting, was one pregnant with interest to the Catholic cause, and in their result, the meetings proved powerful instruments for the advancement of Catholic Emancipation. It was determined to hold them on the 13th of January. Two thousand meetings were convened, and it is computed that five millions of people attended them. Aspirations were thus at the same hour on a Sunday, after the holy sacrifice of the Mass, offered up for Liberty of Conscience. What a noble combination! How it struck terror into foes—how trumpet tongued it spoke in the voice of warning to the government of the country! The Government—that is the Ministry, distinct from the SOVEREIGN, trembled when they beheld an organization so perfect, and learned a lesson for their future guidance. It is said that even at this time WELLINGTON and PEEL began to see that yield they must—that it was but a question of time, and that sooner or later, the KING must conquer his prejudices, and give way to the power marshaled against him.

The next resolution proposed, or rather suggested for future consideration, was the preparation of petitions for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. This step was most generous on the part of O'CONNELL, who recommended it, and proves that the great principles of Liberty of

conscience and Christian charity to all, were the polar-stars of his political life. The Dissenters, in whose favor the petitions were designed, were absolutely inimical to the Catholic claims; and were opposed to any general measure of relief, that would leave unshackled the consciences of their Catholic fellow-subjects, together with their own. CANNING refused to grant them a partial measure of relief, on the ground that it would weaken the Catholic cause; and the Dissenters preferred to remain unemancipated, rather than assist, and their assistance must have been successful, in giving religious liberty to all christian sects.

One of the most able documents ever drawn up by O'CONNELL, was an address this year to the Dissenters of England, calling on them to abandon their prejudices, to disbelieve the lies propogated against the Catholics, and to do as they would be done by—by aiding them in obtaining Emancipation. It was unavailing; it was disregarded.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL took a different view of this subject from CANNING. He believed that the more liberty of conscience was recognised by the legislature, the more easy would it be to carry the principle to its full extent. O'CONNELL agreed with him and gave him every aid. To entitle a person in England to become amember of a Corporation, he should receive the sacrament of the last supper, as a TEST of his belief. This most dissenters could not conscientiously do. However, the law was so formed that if a Dissenter were elected to a corporate office, without any question asked him as regarded the sacrament, he was, after installation, not removeable. If during his election he were asked the question, and by his answer, or his refusal to answer, he proved himself a Dissenter, all the votes given for him were cancelled, and his opponent was forthwith installed. In the towns where

the Dissenters predominated, this question was not put; and consequently, notwithstanding the law, the Corporations of these towns were composed almost exclusively of Dissenters. The law, then, was from its injustice made inoperative. The Catholics were obliged to do more; the test in their regard was to swear that the holy sacrifice of the Mass was "damnable and idolatrous!" If this oath were not taken, the rights of Citizenship were denied them. The WELLINGTON Government in this year yielded Liberty of Conscience to the Dissenters. They refused it to the Catholics!! ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND CATHOLICS signed the petition drawn up by O'CONNELL in favor of the Dissenters—yet the Dissenters opposed their Emancipation.

The next important suggestion from the meeting of the 31st December, 1827, was, that the people should petition against the Sub-letting Act. This was a measure on which many friends of the Catholics differed. Mr. SPRING RICE, for instance, who undoubtedly was a vigorous advocate of their claims, was in favor of this Act. So was Mr. VILLIERS STUART—and, we believe, the Marquess of LANDOWNE. The system of sub-letting had unquestionably grown to a great evil in Ireland. The usual lease granted to middle-men, through whom formerly the owners of the soil dealt with the occupiers, was for three lives, concurrent with forty-one years. The middle-men sub-let; their tenants again sub-let; and when the land came out of lease, it was found choked up with a crowded population, who held at a rack rent. The remedy for this, was, for the owner of the soil to deal directly with the occupier, and to let his land at a long lease and fair rent, in SMALL FARMS, suited to the means of the working farmers. What did the legislature do or rather attempt to do, for its amendment was not obeyed?

It prevented by a law, which was afterwards evaded, any tenant who derived from the proprietor, subletting his land after the passing of the Act. Now such an Act as this, which encouraged wholesale ejectments, and sent thousands of poor wretches to pine in the dark lanes of some neighbouring town, should never have been passed ; and if at all, not without being accompanied, firstly, by a Poor Law, and, secondly, by an improvement in the relations between Landlord and Tenant. Mr. O'Connell, at the time, truly said, the statement of over population was unfounded. He based his denial of this statement on the fact of the exports of food from the country. Poverty was no test of over population ; for a million of people in the same Country may be made, by misgovernment, poorer than nine millions on the same surface ; he may have gone further, and said that SEVENTEEN MILLIONS, it is now well ascertained and admitted, might with an ordinary improvement in agriculture, be comfortably maintained in Ireland.

From the very commencement of the year 1828, the greatest interest was felt in the proceedings of the Catholics. Wellesley was gone. Anglesey, who threatened to trample us under the hoofs of his Hussars, was coming over, an altered man, a friend of the Catholics, and with every disposition to render justice to all. The New Reformation, on the other hand, was making a mighty noise. The enthusiasts absolutely fancied that they were shortly to have Ireland to themselves. They boasted already of having made two thousand converts. Their proceedings were causing vast excitement and angry feeling. The Orange faction were in exstacies at Canning's death— at the overthrow of the semi-Whig Government, of which Lord Goderich was the head, and at the approaching formation of a strong Protestant Ministry.

All this produced corresponding exertion on the part of the Catholics. Both were pitted against each other. The Government and the Orangemen on one side—O'Connell and the people on the other. In the end, O'Connell was the victor.

One of the first steps taken by O'Connell, this year, was the appointment of Catholic Church-Wardens in every Parish in Ireland. This piece of machinery was a great aid to the agitation. The value of this organization, which was well put into action, will be appreciated when the duties of the offices are set forth. They are embodied in the following report :—

" That each Parish Priest be requested to nominate one Church Warden, and that the Parishioners be requested to name the other.

" That such Church wardens do continue in office for one year, and that a new nomination do take place on the Sunday after the feast of the Epiphany in each year.

" That the Churchwardens so nominated, be requested to assist in all charitable and humane public works within their respective parishes.

" That in order to keep up a constant communication between the New Catholic Association and the Catholic Churchwardens in each parish, there be supplied to each Churchwarden, in each country parish, a copy of that excellent paper, the *Dublin Weekly Register*.

" That such paper shall be sent at the expense of the Association, so long as the Churchwardens shall furnish monthly returns to the following questions :—

" 1. What has been done in your parish during the last month, with respect to the collection of the Catholic Rent ?

" 2d. Who are the collectors of the Catholic Rent in your parish ?

"3d. Is the system of turning the peasantry out of their habitations in activity in your parish; and if so, who by name are the Landlords acting on such a system?

"4th. Has the "New Reformation" made any progress in your parish; and what is the state of your parish with respect to conversion upon all sides?

"5th. Is there any prosecution going on in your parish against the Forty-shilling Freeholders, and if so, by whom and to what extent?

"6th. Is there any persecution going on in your parish against parents who refuse to send their children to Biblical Schools; and if so, by whom and to what extent?

"7th. What is the amount of Church Rates in your parish; and of what description of persons are the Vestries composed?

"The Committee recommend that the names of the Catholic Churchwardens be read in the Association once a month, and that such names be posted in the rooms on the same compartment with the names of the Collectors of the Catholic Rent."

As was anticipated by the Orangemen, an essentially Tory Government was formed after the resignation of Lord GODERICH. The causes of the break up of this Administration are a portion of the general history of the empire, and cannot be enlarged on in this MEMOIR. Suffice it, that now, for the first time, the Catholics had before them an open avowed foe—one who had declared that as the reformation was introduced into Ireland by the sword, it should be maintained there by the sword—that open avowed foe was the Duke of WELLINGTON—who, when plain ARTHUR WELLESLEY, it is well known was favourable to the Catholic claims. WELLINGTON was the head of the new Ministry. LYNDHURST was Chancellor—PEEL, Home Secretary—GOULBURN, Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer. In the late Government there were eleven friends to the Catholic claims and four enemies. In the newly formed one, there were six violent and able opposers of these claims—and seven lukewarm friends, and all were of the PITT school.

In the mean time the agitation progressed rapidly.—The fourteen days' meetings, were maintained with vigour; separate meetings of Catholics for the redress of grievances were held every Wednesday, and the New Catholic Association assembled on Saturdays. Its funds, "for all purposes not prohibited by law," swelled at the commencement of this year to six hundred pounds weekly.—The receipts afterwards declined until the period of the Clare election, when they rapidly rose again, exhibiting an alternate laxity, and vigour, in the collection; for when called upon, the people were never backward in giving their aid to the glorious work. The state of feeling in Ireland, and the apprehensions of the mere spectators of political events, will be best conveyed to the reader in the following extract from a well known Edinburgh Newspaper, at all times conducted with great talent, discretion, and impartiality:—

"It would be difficult to find in the annals of mankind, so singular an instance of a people unanimous in discontent. We speak of course of the Catholics only, who—thanks to bad laws, badly administered—are really a separate and distinct nation. Even the North Americans, at the commencement of the revolution, whether taken in the mass, or estimated by separate sects, were not nearly so unanimous in their feelings and opinions.—It may now be said, almost literally, that every Irish Catholic, from Coleraine to Bantry, thinks himself an injured, and is a discontented, man. The Catholics knew their union themselves; they knew also that union is

strength; but to make this truth operate on the minds of their enemies, it was necessary to render it palpable to all. The "simultaneous meetings" were an excellent device for this purpose. They were perfectly peaceable; the object was legal, and they displayed at once their numbers, their union, and their organization. Mr. SHEIL says, and has good reason now to say, that the Irish Catholics "stand up in a solid square," and that "the tramp of six millions of men must be heard afar off."—Would to Heaven, that the bigots who have so long maltreated Ireland, would lay this truth to heart in a right spirit.

"The Catholics have an excellent organization, which has been created by time and circumstances, and a common sense of wrong, rather than by the craft of individuals. It cannot be denied, the Association is, for certain purposes, a Parliament. It is an organ which expresses the feelings, and watches over the interests of the people. It keeps their wrongs constantly before their eyes and the eyes of the British public; it checks the rash, stimulates the languid, and makes the hopes and fears, the opinions and purposes of all bear steadily in one direction. The leaders well comprehended the truth of BURKE'S maxims, that violence in those who suffer, defeats its object, and that the best means of extorting concessions from Government, is by "a litigious and dissatisfied obedience." The "rent" is really a revenue, and though trifling in a national point of view, is important for the purposes of a party. Many a great cause has suffered from the want of a small sum; and it is of much value to men like the Irish Catholics, engaged in an arduous struggle, to have even a limited fund from which the individuals singled out for persecution in violent times, can be succoured.

"The two leaders, though not the best or wisest of

men, are upon the whole, well qualified for the part they have to act in the drama. Persons of deeper and finer intellect would not succeed so well. Mr. O'Connell is bold, versatile, impetuous, indefatigable in action, and what is of great importance—inexhaustible in declamation. Sheil is less copious and fluent, but has a richer and more ornate style of eloquence. Both are dogmatical and intolerant, and occasionally rash and blundering; but even their extravagance and errors have a use, for they are of genuine Irish growth, and sometimes perhaps find an echo in the bosoms of their hearers, when genuine English sense would be rejected. Both leaders, indeed, are Irish to the core.

"But the Association would be a mere assemblage of idle spouters, without the Parish Priests, who are the sinews of the Catholic Union. Of these, including their assistants, there are, we believe, about 2,000; and their situation is extremely different from that of the Protestant Clergy on this side of the Channel. The absence of so many landlords, the existence of middle-men, the bad state of the laws, the practice of confession; perhaps we may add, the extreme ignorance of the people, have transferred to the Irish Priests the influence which in England belongs to the proprietors. It is admitted that they have often employed their power in repressing outrage and crime; and it does not detract from their merit, that they sympathise with the people in their wrongs, and use all legal and peaceable means to rescue their religion from insults and contumely. If they have become political functionaries, it is the vices of the Government that have made them such. While every officer, from the parish constable upwards, is a bigot or an Orangeman, to whom can the People look for counsel or aid but to the Priest? The Association is quite sensible

of the advantages which the common cause derives from their services; and has recommended the appointment of subordinate functionaries to assist them in their labours. They propose that two Church Wardens should be chosen annually in every parish; the one by the Priests, the other by the Parishioners. It is not disguised that they are to be political agents. On the one hand, they are to collect the "Catholic Rent," to *report monthly to the Association* on the state of the parish, the persecution of Forty-shilling freeholders, the proceedings of the Vestries (of the Episcopal Church), the amount of the Church Rates, &c. On the other hand, they are to be the medium through which the Association will make known its sentiments and plans to the people; and, for this purpose, every Church Warden is to be supplied with a Dublin newspaper, free of expense. It is thus that the Catholic leaders are extending and improving their organization step by step; and, in the face of acts passed to put them down, are establishing the most singular, perfect, and efficient *imperium in imperio* which ever existed.

"If this be a bad state of things, the blame rests with the Government, and not with Catholics. The Association is not the cause, but the creature of the popular discontent. That discontent is the consequence of centuries of oppression and mis-government; it is a gangrene for which concession and conciliation are the cure. Let us put away bigotry from our councils, and do impartial justice to all parties; this done, the troubles of Ireland will speedily cease. We have tried force, proscriptions, penal laws, for ages; and here we are in a worse condition than ever! The new PRIME MINISTER and his dragoons may ride over the country for the twentieth time; but after his great achievement is finished, human nature will still be human nature; the

injured will be discontented; the kicked will kick again; and the call for "measures of vigour," the everlasting resource of a wicked and tyrannical government, will be louder than ever."

The Catholics were beginning to feel their electoral strength. The country was organised. The Church Wardens, aided by the Clergy, were nobly discharging their duties. The freeholders, encouraged and protected by the Association, had thrown off the political thraldom in which they had been bound. All bid fair for a vast accession of power at the general election. Feeling this, the Catholics of Ireland, assembled in aggregate meeting at Dublin, in February, 1828, thus resolved:—

"That we will consider any Irish member an enemy to "the peace of Ireland, who shall not declare his determi- "nation not to support any administration who shall not "make Catholic Emancipation a Cabinet measure."

This was taking high and determined ground; and, as we shall shortly observe, it was acted on in Clare against VESEY FITZGERALD, who not only supported the new Government, but, as will be seen, shortly after accepted official employment. That resolution, proposed by Mr. DILLON, was the foundation of great events.

Notwithstanding this determined line of conduct, on the part of the Association, a feeling was beginning to exhibit itself far less hostile to the Government. The impression was abroad that some measure of justice was in contemplation. Mr. O'CONNELL, who governed his policy by the necessities of the moment, was most anxious to give the Duke of WELLINGTON'S government a fair trial. The manner in which the Duke acted, respecting the Test and Corporation Acts, showed that his opinions had undergone some change, and that his hostility to the principle of religious liberty was at least modified. Mr.

SHEIL, on the other hand, was not so easily convinced. He doubted the Duke's conversion to a liberal and enlightened policy; and felt, unless coerced by agitation to alter it, the Duke would persevere in the old miserable policy of doing nothing. The arrival indeed, as Viceroy, of the Marquess of ANGLESEY, with altered views on the Catholic question, was an indication that some better and wiser policy would for the future sway the Cabinet. Lord ANGLESEY was a man of high chivalrous bearing, straightforward and upright; when he entertained an opinion he fearlessly expressed it. It was that disposition which made him threaten us with his hussars, when the Catholic Association was first established. It was that disposition which induced him to retract the menace, and express regret for having uttered it. It was that disposition which led him to leave us as a legacy the celebrated advice to AGITATE—AGITATE—AGITATE! and that afterwards made him, in contradiction to that advice, threaten us with annihilation by THREE GUN BRIGS, if we made any attempt to Repeal the ACT OF UNION. The Irish people knew the impetuous honesty and sincerity of this nobleman, and coming to Ireland as the friend of Catholic Emancipation, he was hailed enthusiastically. Under his auspices the revival of Irish manufactures was attempted; and with zeal and earnestness he gave the movement every assistance. All his household were clad in the manufacture of this country. He pledged himself, should his regiment arrive in Ireland, to have it also clothed in the product of the Irish loom. He went further, and pledged himself to spend every farthing of his salary as Lord Lieutenant in this country. All this gave great satisfaction to the popular party, and their speeches of that day are filled with praises of this chivalrous nobleman.

Mr. LAMB, afterwards Lord MELBOURNE, was his Chief

Secretary. Judging from the speeches of O'CONNELL, and others in the Association, he was by no means popular. He foolishly got himself mixed up with the Kildare Street Society, which, of itself, was quite sufficient to destroy the popularity of any public man.

During the course of the year several discussions took place in the Association, and in the Society for the improvement of Ireland. From these discussions we discover that Mr. O'CONNELL was for a modified system of Poor Laws. He was not before an advocate for the introduction of such a system of relief to Ireland. This year, however, he admitted he was a convert to the principle of compulsory relief, so modified as not to interfere with private benevolence. We shall see, in 1835, what was his plan of Poor Laws.

It was in May of this year that the Catholic Question was introduced into Parliament. The Catholics, though they petitioned, felt very indifferent about the debate. They knew that the chances of success in the legislature were against them, and that their only hope of triumph was in themselves—in their organization and their unceasing perseverance. The aspect of the country and the very apathy exhibited as to the result of the debate, were looked upon with great apprehension in England. Notwithstanding this, the measure passed a first reading in the Commons by a bare majority of SIX. This majority, under all the circumstances of the times, the native hostility of the Orange faction, and the apathy of the Catholic Aristocracy, for whose special benefit the struggle was made—was considered satisfactory by Mr. O'CONNELL. However, he had occasion shortly to change his opinion, for the measure was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of FORTY FOUR; and the Catholics were cooly advised by the Duke of WELLINGTON to cease

from agitation, as the only chance of having their claims favourably considered.

An opportunity was soon presented for the Catholics to show if they adopted this advice. The East Retford disfranchisement Bill had caused the retirement of Mr. Huskisson, one of the great propse of the Government, one of the most enlightened statesmen of the day—the great Free Trade minister. There were two boroughs to be disfranchised for corruption, Penryn and East Retford. The Ministry determined that the representation of one should be transferred to a great town heretofore unrepresented, and of the other, to the adjoining hundred. The opposition pressed for the transference of both to great towns. A debate ensued, and Mr. Huskisson, in his speech, supporting the views of Government, declared, in a manner tantamount to a pledge, that if it were simply a question of one borough, he should vote for the transference to a great town— to Manchester—But where there were two, he would content himself with giving members to one city, and allow the representation of the other borough to be preserved, simply extending the privilege to the adjoining hundred. The Penryn disfranchisement bill, transferring the right of representation from that borough to Manchester, passed the Commons, and was moved in the Lords, where it was soon ascertained that it would be rejected. When the East Retford Bill came on for discussion in the Commons, Lord John Russell reminded Mr. Huskisson of his pledge, and called to on him to redeem it; inasmuch as the Penryn Bill would be thrown out in the Lords, and that, therefore, there remained in reality but one Borough to be disfranchised. Mr. Huskisson honorably admitted the pledge— He tried to get Peel to postpone the discussion. His object in this was, to resign before voting, and thus avoid embarrassing the Ministry. However, Peel persevered,

and HUSKISSON voted with the opposition for the transference of the Representation of EAST RETFORD to a large town. On returning home that evening, he wrote a private note to the DUKE of WELLINGTON, dated two o'clock in the morning, stating what occurred, and expressing a wish that he should in consequence not cause any embarrassment to the Government. WELLINGTON accepted this as a resignation, and no subsequent explanation from Mr. HUSKISSON, could persuade him that it was never so intended. The letter, though a private one, and merely a prelude to a formal interview with the DUKE, was taken to the KING. The result was, that HUSKISSON was, in point of fact, dismissed his MAJESTY'S service. This caused considerable changes in the Ministry; and, in the arrangements, Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD, the member for Clare, was appointed President of the Board of Trade, and of course had to go to his constituents for re-election. Mr. FITZGERALD was always a friend to Catholic Emancipation, and though he voted for the Algerine Act, the Sub-letting Act, and the Vestry Act, he was considered, for those days, a man of Liberal views, and was exceedingly popular in his county. WELLINGTON felt quite confident, and so did FITZGERALD, that, supported as he would be, by the O'BRIANS, of Dromoland, his return was secure. Major M'NAMARA, who at first consented to oppose him, retired from what was considered a hopeless contest, even for him, who was so deservedly popular in Clare.

Sir DAVID ROOSE, who had been high Sheriff of Dublin in the previous year, and a Tory in principles, save where O'CONNELL was personally in question; when for very solid reasons, his views were essentially modified, met P. V. FITZPATRICK, at 7 o'Clock on the morning of June 22, in Nassau Street, and started the idea that

O'Connell ought to offer himself for Clare. Roose was unquestionably the *first* suggester of this important movement, and Fitzpatrick the first to whom it was communicated.—It happened, by an extraordinary coincidence, that when about 20 years of age, Mr. Fitzpatrick frequently accompanied his Father, Mr. Hugh Fitzpatrick, so largely trusted, and so intimately acquainted with Catholic politics, to visit John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, who on these occasions, made it a point to impress upon Mr. Fitzpatrick his strong conviction that the return of one of their own body to Parliament was a condition precedent, that would be found almost indespensable to the achievement of Emancipation by the Catholics.—Keogh always pointed to a *Borough*—instancing Drogheda as probably the most attainable—as he did not conceive success as to a county possible—Keogh was in the habit of saying to, with reference to this subject, that "John Bull was very stupid and very bigoted, and considered Emancipation to mean liberty to burn him in Smithfield, and hence was ignorantly opposed to the proposition—That he was, however. markedly jealous of the Constitutional privileges of the subject; and if a man—Catholic though he might be—should be returned to Parliament, and refused the right to assume his seat, John Bull would look very accurately to the nature of the impediments, and his attention being then, for the first time, directed with proper effect to a short clause, in the oath of qualification, his constitutional feeling would cause him speedily to assent to an alteration of the oath *in favour of the Constituency*, whose chosen representative had been prevented from discharging his duty to them by the existence of the clause in question."

When Sir David Roose threw out the idea to Fitzpatrick, that O'Connell himself should stand for

Clare, KEOGH's reasoning, and the injunction he constantly laid on FITZPATRICK, to assist in working out his suggestion, presented itself anew and with prophetic force to his mind—He saw that O'CONNELL would win the county, and that KEOGH's sagacious recommendations would thus be acted upon, and tested in the most auspicious form.—He flew to O'CONNELL, and after communicating the commission, and the duty imposed on him by KEOGH, never ceased to urge on the future LIBERATOR, the necessity of his allowing himself to be put forward, until he at length succeeded in bringing him to the Office of the *Dublin Evening Post*, where on Tuesday, June the 24th, the address was written in his presence and that of FREDERICK WM. CONWAY, before ever the Catholic Association were made aware of it.

It was then O'CONNELL declared publicly, that if no other candidate would go forward, he would go himself. Five thousand pounds were voted by the Association, as a first instalment towards the expenses of the Election; and it being ascertained beyond question, that M'NAMARA declined the contest, O'CONNELL at once came forward amidst the utmost enthusiasm, and addressed the Electors of Clare.

Then it was that PATRICK V. FITZPATRICK undertook to collect a subscription, in addition to the Association money, which was the means of winning the election. He dined at Sir JOHN POWER's, a-day or two after O'CONNELL had published his address to the Electors of Clare; and in talking over the matter, Mr. JAMES POWER, the present member for Wexford, said, "I never was so excited in my life as by reading that address—the contest would, however, cost a great deal of money; but I shall give a subscription for it, and so will my father." Next day FITZPATRICK called on O'CONNELL, to urge him to

follow up the contest; for though he had issued his address, he was, up to this period, quite undecided as to whether he should go down in person and contest the election. In course of a conversation on the subject, he said, "FITZPATRICK, I am disposed to yield to these entreaties; but there is one formidable, and, I fear, almost insuperable impediment. The expense of such a contest would be many thousands of pounds. You know that so far from being in circumstances to meet that outlay from my own resources, I am incumbered with heavy liabilities beyond my power of discharging. You are the only person with whom I am acquainted, who knows intimately the Catholic aristocracy and men of wealth; would you undertake to sound them as to funds for the contest?" The voluntary offer of JAMES POWER, the previous evening, at once occurred to Mr. FITZPATRICK's mind. "I will undertake it, and I am confident of success." Accordingly, within an hour he got Sir JOHN POWER, Mr. CORNELIUS M'LOUGHLIN, and Mr. ANDREW ENNIS together, explained matters to them, and their reply was, "you have convinced us of the propriety of this movement, and we will act with you in it." They commenced by putting down their own names for £100 each; and it was arranged that the four should next day wait on the principal Catholics then in Dublin. They did so; and with such signal success, that £1,600 was obtained that day, in subscriptions of £100 each, from sixteen persons; and the country followed the example so liberally, that £14,000 was raised within a week, and money continued to flow in during the contest in great abundance. The supplies, however, were not equal to the enormous demand; and during the Election, were at one time entirely exhausted. Anticipating this, a messenger was despatched post-haste to Cork, to say how

things stood; and to the honor of the patriots of that City and that day, he returned in an incredibly short time, with a sum of £1,000 from JERRY MURPHY, Esq., of that City, who himself subscribed three hundred pounds; the remainder was had from its patriotic inhabitants. This seasonable supply was of incalculable advantage, and in a most material degree ontributed to the victory.

On the day of O'CONNELL's departure for Clare, his carriage and four horses drove into the east yard of the Four Courts, about 2 o'clock, and at this time he was engaged in an important law argument. On its being announced to him that his carriage was waiting, he stated that as soon as he had concluded he would start. Shortly after, having closed his address to the Judges, he proceeded to the Counsel's room, and having taken off his wig and gown, passed through the hall. The circumstance having created great excitement at the moment, he was followed by all the lawyers and persons in the Courts; so much so, that the Judges in the different Courts were totally deserted by the Counsel. He proceeded out into the yard, and having stepped into his open barouche, accompanied by PURCELL O'GORMAN, as Secretary of the Association, Mr. RICHARD SCOTT, Solicitor, and the Rev. Mr. MURPHY, the celebrated P.P. of Corrofin, he drove off amidst the cheers of the people, of the lawyers, and all present. Mr. O'CONNELL took off his hat, and gave three cheers for the successful Candidate, whoever he might be; which was responded to by the people saying "May God bless you—may you succeed."

His eldest son, MAURICE, was already in Clare—so were LAWLESS and O'GORMAN MAHON, and STEELE. The greatest possible excitement prevailed, not only in that county, but throughout the whole route along which

Mr. O'Connell passed. In Limerick, he was absolutely detained, *nolens volens*, by the people. At Nenagh, something of a similar demonstration took place. The enthusiasm spread throughout Ireland, and even extended to England. At Ennis, though he entered the town by day-break, the trades and inhabitants turned out in procession to meet him. The election commenced—the publicans came to a resolution not to sell a drop of whiskey during the election. The people acquiesced in the arrangement. The greatest excitement prevailed, yet no disturbance took place. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald behaved very well on the occasion. He felt he was sacrificed for a cause which he himself had always supported. The people, too, liked him; and yet where principle was involved they sacrificed all other considerations. The threats of their landlords had no terrors for them; the Forty-shilling freeholders of Clare nobly redeemed their character. Fitzgerald was as enthusiastically sustained by the aristocracy, as O'Connell was by the people. Five gentlemen alone of his committee subscribed four thousand pounds, towards the expenses of the election, and the fund would have soon reached ten thousand pounds had he not altogether refused the too generous contributions.

While speaking of the exertions made by the Aristocracy, in favor of Fitzgerald and against O'Connell, we may here introduce an anecdote of O'Connell's tact. He seldom, if ever, uttered an oath or imprecation; but now and again, in a hasty moment of political excitement, he would be betrayed into its expression. Pending the election, an old acquaintance of his, a well known character at the bar, Ned Hickman, who possessed a good estate in Clare, and was a high Tory, met O'Connell one day in the streets of Ennis, a brace of

pistols appearing out of his pocket. In a furious passion he exclaimed to him—"By G——, O'CONNELL, if you canvass one of my tenants, I'll shoot you."

"By G——," said O'CONNELL, "I'll canvass every one of them."

And so he did. The same day he was conducted by some of his friends to where a large body of them were assembled, and where their landlord was addressing them in accents of very unusual palaver. "Boys," he would say, "Am I not one of the best landlords in Clare? Have I ever distressed you? Don't I clothe the children of those poor fellows who can't afford it? Don't I educate them, &c., and will you now desert me?"

O'CONNELL addressed them, in the very teeth of HICKMAN, amid rapturous shouts. "Boys," said he, "all these things this excellent gentleman has said to you, I know to be true, as you do. He's a most estimable person, a good landlord, and he has told you a great deal of what is true; but he hasn't told you one thing—sure, boys, he's the greatest play actor in the world" (roars of laughter). HICKMAN was well known among his professional brethren, as one of the funniest fellows that could be got anywhere—in fact, just the man "to set the table in a roar." O'CONNELL continued—"And sure you all know what a play actor can do. He can pretend to be what he isn't at all. Now, that's what Mr. NED HICKMAN is about. He's well aware that every one of you is determined to vote for me, but he wants to keep square with Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD, and that's what makes him play off the farce."

The close of every sentence was followed by roars of applause; and HICKMAN, ferocious at the way in which he was bantered to his face, retired, quite discomfited, and left the field to O'CONNELL.

But all the exertions of the landlords, with Sir Edw. O'Brien at their head, were of no avail against the fixed resolve of the people. O'Connell was returned by an immense majority. Sheil's speech on the hustings, after the declaration of the Sheriff, was a master piece of eloquence. Every thing went off quietly; and to use Mr. O'Connell's own words, "As the experiment succeeded, it emancipated the Catholics."

Who was this High Sheriff? We shall describe him in the words of Sheil.—"His name was of a truly Hibernian character—Molony; yet, strange to say, he was transplanted from China, in order to preside at elections, and assist at Brunswick Clubs in Clare. This gentleman was educated in Canton, under the tuition of the East India Company; and having made a fortune in the packing of tea, returned to his native country, with a good deal of wealth, and a still greater augmentation of dignity. He became conspicuous at the last election. It was easy to perceive that he had contracted habits of Oriental bearing; and could not lay aside, at Ennis, the demeanour which he had acquired in Canton. He must needs have studied the aspect of some eminent Chinese functionary, and caught from a Mandarin of the first class, lessons in magisterial physiognomy, to which, in the spirit of a felicitous adaptation, he accommodated his features in the election of the County Clare—(Cheers and laughter)—Who that beheld him on that interesting occasion, would ever forget the look and the intonation with which he used to ejaculate 'I am the first man in the county?' Who of us that were in Clare, can ever forget his exclamation, when he on one occasion, suddenly starting up, said, 'I hear a noise; it is incumbent on me to arrest somebody, as the first man in the county?' He went forth with an air of importance into

the street, and having returned, he said, 'Oh, it is only Mr. O'CONNELL, who is making a speech; I protest, notwithstanding all I heard of him, he is an exceedingly civil gentleman, and paid me all the respect due 'to the first man in the county.' But if Mr. MOLONY borrowed his looks from Canton, he must have formed his notions of personal superiority at Calcutta. He was for a long time in Hindostan, and having been used to value himself upon his ascendancy over the natives, on his arrival in Ireland he readily substituted the Protestant for the European, and the Papist for the Hindoo; and regarded the seven millions in the West with as much contempt as he had been accustomed to entertain for the sixty millions in the East. There were many droll and fantastical incidents at the Clare election—but none struck me as more extraordinary than the odd combination of circumstances, by which a pupil of Asiatic despotism, was transferred from the suburbs of Canton, to crush an effort at liberty in the mountains of Clare."

But, to return, as a matter of course there was a chairing, and on a magnificent scale. On his return to Limerick, a similar compliment awaited him; and throughout his entire journey to Dublin, every demonstration of attachment was shewn him. In the mean time, his franks circulated in every direction. The greatest anxiety was evinced to get possession of them.

The moment the SHERIFF signed the return, a gentleman on the Hustings asked O'CONNELL for a frank. It was directed to a friend of the writer of this MEMOIR, residing in London. The day he received it, he happened to be in the House of Lords, engaged in an Appeal case. The frank went round amongst their Lordships—Some said it was impossible—that no Sheriff would sign a Catholic's return to Parliament—that it must be a forgery—others,

wiser in their generation,' saw in it the coming events; and when the writing on the frank was recogniesd, read in it as if in mystic character's the Act of Emancipation. The frank afterwards found its way to the KING's presence. The fact is, that for one month at least, it was to the possessor a most inconvenient property, from the intense anxiety of the sight loving Londoners to get a glimpse of it.

It was scarcely credible that the great Catholic Agitator was in reality an M.P.! Indeed, considerable doubts were expressed, whether he could have legally been put in nomination. But Mr. CHARLES BUTLER, the great Catholic Lawyer, published at the time a very strong opinion in favour of his absolute right to sit in the Imperial Parliament, under the terms of the Act of Union, which imposed no penalties, and allowed the laws as regard seats in Parliament, in each country respectively, to apply to a seat in the Imperial Parliament, and in as much as there was no Irish Statute to prevent a Catholic being Member of the Irish Parliament. Mr. O'CONNELL, as such, could not be excluded from the Imperial Legislature. It is clear Mr. BUTLER was mistaken in this view of the law. However, it is better not anticipate an argument afterwards so ably put forward by Mr. O'CONNELL himself.

A circumstance occurred during the Clare election, which suggests another topic of interest as connected with this year. The HIGH SHERIFF wanted to oblige Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON to remove a green sash, which, as one of the order of LIBERATORS, he wore on the Hustings. He refused to comply, and said, he should not be put down in this contest with the official. Mr. STEELE wore his also. The HIGH SHERIFF, on consulting the Assessor, found he had no authority to interfere, and the affair passed off quietly.

It will be remembered that two years before, Mr. O'CONNELL instituted this ORDER OF LIBERATORS; but it fell into abeyance, and it was not until June this year that he revived it. At a meeting of the Association, held on Saturday, the 14th June, he, in the course of a long speech, said "The time is come when the Order "of LIBERATORS should be established. I shall now "read to you the principles on which it is founded, and "which I mean to put into effect."

He then read the following document :—

"ORDER OF LIBERATORS.

"The Order of Liberators is a voluntary Association of Irishmen, for purposes legal, and useful to Ireland.

"The objects of 'The Order,' are these :—

"1. As a mode of expressing the gratitude and confidence of the People for past services.

"11. To form a society of persons who will consider it a duty to their country to effectuate the following purposes:

"No. 1. To prevent the formation or continuance in their respective vicinages, of any secret society or confederacy whatsoever. The greatest evil in Ireland, and that which has tended more to prevent the success of her efforts to meliorate the condition of the people, being secret societies. No person who is not deeply convinced of this truth, can belong to the Order of Liberators.

"No. 2. To conciliate all classes of Irishmen in one class of brotherhood and affection, so that all religious animosities may ever cease among Irishmen.

"No. 3. To bury in total and eternal oblivion all ancient animosities and reproaches, no matter by whom inflicted, or who may be the sufferer.

No. 4. To prevent the future occurrence of feuds and riots at markets, fairs, and patrons, and to reconcile the parties and factions which have hitherto disgraced many parts of Ireland.

"No. 5. To promote the collection of a national fund, for national purposes; as far as that can be done consistently with law.

"No. 6. To protect all persons possessed of the elective franchise, and especially the forty-shilling freeholders from all vindictive proceedings on account of the free exercise of such franchise.

"No. 7. To promote the acquisition of such franchise, and its due registry; to ascertain the number of votes in each county and city in Ireland, and the political bias of the voters generally.

"No. 8. To promote the system of dealing exclusively with the friends of civil and religious liberty.—Protestant and Catholic; with a selection, when a choice can be made, of Protestant friends, being the most disinterested of the two—and also to prevent, as much as possible, all dealing with the enemies of Ireland; whether Protestant Orangemen, or Orange Catholics, the worst of all Orangeists.

"No. 9. To promote the exclusive use of articles, the growth and manufacture of Ireland."

The policy of exclusive dealing was, soon found to operate against all professions, Catholics and Protestants, and was soon abandoned by the popular party; but it is maintained in practice to this very moment, by the Orangeists and their connexions. It was a rule that entered too intimately into the concerns of private life, to be perpetuated. Far better it had never been suggested. It contradicted rule No. 2, and instead of uniting, tended to rend society more and more asunder. Accordingly, at the meeting of the Chapter of the Order, held in Dublin, in July, no step whatever was taken to carry the eighth rule, though some other more useful resolutions were adopted.

The enthusiasm and joy of the people were strongly manifested all over Ireland, at the result of the Clare Election. They considered Emancipation already won; and though there arose on the opposite side of the water, great misgivings as to the consequences, judging from the determined character of the Duke of WELLINGTON, every person who witnessed the effect produced in Ireland, must have at once come to the conclusion that the Government should yield. Immediately after the election, the Catholic rent reached in one week, £2,704; in the next week it reached £1,427; and though it soon after fell to £500, still the weekly receipts, taken one with another, were an instructive and impressive index of the national feeling. The nation had assumed an attitude of bold defiance—of self-dependence; and it was no longer possible, by Algerine acts, to repress its spirit. EMANCIPATION WAS AT HAND.

Not content with the Association—with separate, or aggregate meetings of all Ireland, held in Dublin, or county or city meetings, or provincial assemblages, or dinners, or Orders of LIBERATORS, the people were determined to have "Liberal Clubs" in different localities. This new plan was the suggestion of Mr. WYSE, and was readily taken up by the Catholics. The Clubs were estatablished throughout the country, and undertook the same duties that, on a larger scale, were performed in the Association. Each Liberal Club had its own peculiar organization—its internal management—its different working Committees;—they subscribed for newspapers and periodicals, and systematically applied themselves to constant work. They were, on the other side, opposed by the Orangemen, who established throughout Ireland, what they called BRUNSWICK CLUBS; confederacies that concentrated in themselves the very essence of Orange-

ism. They were an emanation of the bitter spirit of a bad faction; and, thank God, its expiring effort. The Government could not shut their eyes to what was passing before them. They saw that such things could not be permitted to proceed much further. Coercion would not suppress the multiform evil—the heads of the Hydra were too numerous for excision. As O'Connell said, if they put down their associations, the Catholics would go into the streets and proclaim their wrongs;—if the expression were thus prohibited, they would sing or whistle the grievances of Ireland. If they were gagged, they would speak on their fingers the tyranny they suffered. Coercion was wholly unavailing; an opposite system must be tried, notwithstanding the impediments offered by the King. The Ministerial leanings towards the Catholic party, exasperated the Brunswickers; and the most violent tirades were pronounced in their Clubs against the renegades, Wellington and Peel. But it was the destiny of these statesmen to achieve great political changes, to which they had been themselves opposed, and to earn the obloquy and hatred of their former followers.

That the result of the Clare Election influenced decisively the course to be pursued by Government, there can be no doubt. They clearly saw the consequences of prolonged resistance;—the example was set; the majority of Irish members of the next general election would be Catholics. If for them there was no admission beyond the bar of the House of Commons, there was at least no penalty for their refusing to take the oaths. In point of fact, then, the Act of Union would be virtually abolished; for the majority of Ireland's representatives would not be permitted to sit in the United Parliament. An inevitable revolution must break out. Thus, in all likeli-

hood, reasoned, at least, WELLINGTON and PEEL. At all events there can be no doubt that, after July, 1828, a change came over their opinions. DAWSON, the brother-in-law of PEEL, and the friend of WELLINGTON, was sent forth as the "pilot balloon," to demonstrate the direction of public feeling. He asserted that, at the celebrated Derry manifestation, he spoke his own opinions, without concert or communication with any one. The assertion was never believed; and to this day, every one supposes he was at the time he spoke—August, 1828—perfectly well aware of the intentions entertained by Government. His speech on that occasion is part of Irish history; and as it was, at the period, the subject of much discussion, it deserves insertion here, as a truthful picture of the state of Ireland, when it was delivered. After dwelling for some time on a variety of topics, possessing no interest at the present day, he then, to the astonishment of his auditory, opened his mind on the state of parties in Ireland, as connected with the question of Catholic concession. He said—

"But with such advantages, and with such resources, there is one ingredient which poisons all our blessings, and which, it is in vain to deny it, meets us in every station, in every society, and in every undertaking—I mean the state of our religious and political dissensions; or, in other words, the Catholic Question. I have not staid here for a trifling object, such as to drink the 'Glorious Memory;' or cheer the 'Prentice Boys. It is my duty, as I am here, to state to the meeting my opinions with respect to that great question; and I beg the attention of this company to the description of the condition to which, in my opinion, this subject has reduced the country. In place of an exclusive devotion to the business of life, and an industrious pursuit of professional occupations, the only

certain road to wealth and eminence, this question has made every man, from the peer to the peasant, a politician—it is the absorbing topic of every man's discourse; and it is in consequence the fruitful parent of exaggerated fears, of unmeasured pretensions, of personal hatred, of religious fury, of political strife, of calumny, of abuse and persecution, such as is not to be found in any other part of the civilised world. No matter what your pursuits—no matter what your disposition may be, the subject pursues you in every part of the country. It is the prevailing topic of your breakfast table—of your dinner table, of your supper table; it is the subject of debate among men; it is the cause of alarm among women; it meets you at the Castle of Dublin; it meets you at the house of the country gentleman; it creeps into the Courts of Justice; it is to be found at the Grand Jury; it is to be seen at the markets and fairs; it is to be found even at our places of amusement—it meets you wherever you go. Would that the evil ended here!—but we may see what the mischief of such a state of things must be in the convulsed state of society, and the annihilation of all those ties upon which the well-being of society depends. The state of Ireland is an anomaly in the history of civilised nations—it has no parallel in ancient or modern history; and being contrary to the character of all civil institutions, it must terminate in general anarchy and confusion. It is true that we have a Government, to whom an outward obedience is shown, which is responsible to Parliament, and answerable to God for the manner of administering its functions; but it is equally true, that an immense majority of the people look up, not to the legitimate Government, but to an irresponsible and to a self-constituted Association, for the administration of the affairs of the country. The peace of Ireland depends not

upon the Government of the KING, but upon the dictation of the Catholic Association (Loud cries of more's the shame; why not put itdown ?)—It has defied the Government, and trampled upon the law of the land—and it is beyond contradiction, that the same power which banished a Cabinet Minister from the representation of his county, because he was a Minister of the KING, can maintain or disturb the peace of the country, just as it suits their caprice or ambition. The same danger impends over every institution established by law. The Church enjoys its dignity, and the Clergy enjoy their revenues by the law of the land ; but we know not how soon it may please the Catholic Association to issue their anathema against the payment of tithes ; and what man is hardy enough to say, that the Catholic will disobey its mandates. It depends upon the Catholic Association,—no man can deny it, whether the Clergy are to receive their incomes or not. (Uproar.) The condition of Landlords is not more consoling—already they have been robbed of their influence over their tenantry—already they are become but mere ciphers upon their estates—nay, in many places they are worse than ciphers; they have been forced to become the tools of their domineering masters, the Catholic Priesthood—and it depends upon a single breath, a single resolution of the Catholic Association, whether the Landlords are to be robbed of their rents or not.—So perfect a system of organisation was never yet achieved by any body not possessing the legitimate powers of Government ; it is powerful, it is arrogant, it derides, and it has triumphed over the enactments of the Legislature, and is filling its coffers from the voluntary contributions of the people. (Uproar, cries of no, they are not voluntary.)

"The CHAIRMAN here interfered, and said—You are

bound to hear every information that falls from a speaker. When the next gentleman rises to speak to the succeeding toast, he will, on his legs, have an opportunity of controverting the statements of my honorable friend. But surely, in an assemblage like the present—common courtesy demands that every gentleman should be heard to the end.

"Mr. DAWSON resumed and said—As far as I know this country, I did not think I should have required the interference of my friend, Sir GEORGE HILL, to procure me a hearing of what my views were of the present state of the country. What I say is, that the Catholic Association, by securing the voluntary contributions of the people, consolidates to itself a power from which it may supply the sinews of war, or undermine by endless litigation and persecution, the established institutions of the country. Such is the power of this new phenomenon and I will ask any man has it been slow to exercise its influence? In every place where the Catholic population predominates, it is all-powerful and irresistible—it has subdued two-thirds of Ireland by its denunciations, more completely than OLIVER CROMWELL, or King WILLIAM ever subdued the country by the sword. The aristocracy, the clergy, the gentry, are all prostrate before it.—In those devoted regions, a perfect abandonment of all the dignity and influence belonging to station and rank, seems to have taken place, or if a struggle be made, as in Clare, it is only to ensure the triumph of this daring Autocrat. In those parts of Ireland where the Protestant and Catholic population is pretty equally divided, the same influence is felt, if not in so aggravated a degree, at least so mischievously that comfort and security are alike uncertain. Amongst the two classes we see distrust and suspicion; a perfect alienation from each other in sen-

timent and habit, and an ill-suppressed desire to measure each others' strength by open warfare. The institutions of society are reviled, the predominance of authority is lost, the confidence of the people in the impartiality of the Courts of Justice is certainly much impaired, the magistracy is condemned or supported as it is supposed to lean to the Orangemen or the Roman Catholics, and even trade and barter are regulated by the same unhappy distinctions of Religious feeling. Such, Gentlemen, is really the true picture of this country ; a country possessing every material by the bounty of God and the intelligence of the natives, to become great, powerful, and wealthy; but in which every hope is blasted, and every exertion frustrated by the unhappy dissensions of its inhabitants. And now, gentlemen, it is time to ask ourselves the question, what must be the result of such a disordered state of things, and such a complete overthrow of all the relations of society ? Some gentlemen will say, rebellion—and the sooner it comes, the sooner we shall be able to crush it. (Loud cheers which lasted for several minutes.) Now, I entertain a very different opinion—it is not the interest, and I believe it is not the wish, of the Roman Catholic leaders to drive the people into rebellion. (Hisses.) We have the best security for the purity of their intentions (Hisses) in that respect, in the stake which they hold in the country, and in the moral conviction that they would be the first victims of a rebellion. (Loud cries from several voices, "no, no, we would be the first.") If a rebellion should take place, it will not be from the orders or example of the Roman Catholic leaders—(Hisses.)—but from the readiness of the two contending parties to come into conflict with each other, and from the total impossibility of checking the ebullition of popular phrenzy, if the two parties be

goaded and exasperated against each other by inflammatory speeches or exaggerated misrepresentations. But the result will be a state of society far worse than rebellion; it will be a revolution—a revolution—a revolution not effected by the sword, but by undermining the institutions of the country, and involving every establishment, civil, political, and religious. There never was a time when the whole Catholic body—(and it signifies very little whether their numbers be two millions or six millions)—there never was a time when the whole body was so completely roused and engrossed by political passions as the present. They have found out the value of union; they have put in practice the secret of combination; they feela confidence in the support of numbers; they have laid prostrate the pomp and power of wealth; they have contended against the influence of authority, and the decrees of the legislature; and they have enjoyed an easy triumph over both. At present there is a union of the clergy, the laity, and the people. The clergy and the laity, are the contrivers; but the people are the tools, by which this extraordinary power has been gained; but soon they will find their own force, and some audacious democrat will start up, who will spurn all restraints, civil, political and spiritual, and who will consign the whole power of Ireland to an absolute and senseless mob.—Now, Gentlemen, with such a state of things staring us in the face, (and I do not think that I have over charged the picture,) there comes the last question, what is to be done? The country confessedly contains great advantages; it has made a wonderful progress, notwithstanding all these drawbacks; it has confessedly the elements of wealth and prosperity within itself, but all is checked and counterbalanced by these unhappy discussions; and the invariable conclusion of every speculation on the state of Ireland

is, what is to be done? Can we go back to the penal laws? God forbid that such an experiment should be made; it is revolting to common sense—it is revolting to the dignity of man. Can we persevere in our present system? The statement which I have made, and the firm impression made upon my mind by an anxious attention to passing events, is, that we cannot remain in our present situation; something must be done; there is but one alternative, either to crush the Catholic Association—(Loud cheers, which continued for several minutes)—there is but one alternative, either to crush the Catholic Association, or to look at the Question with an intention to settle it. Let us exercise all our ingenuity—let us argue with all our subtlety—there is no other alternative; and with such a conviction upon my mind, I feel myself called upon to exhort my countrymen—men whom I have the honor of representing, to abstain from irritating harangues, to pause, and to weigh well the dangers of the country—to dismiss all personal bitterness from the contemplation of a whole nation's welfare, and to devise some means, with satisfaction to all parties, for restoring the predominance of established authority, and giving security to the recognised, the legal, the constitutional institutions of society. I speak here as a Member of Parliament, as a Member of the Government, and as a citizen of the world. Is it possible that I can look upon the degraded state of my Catholic countrymen? (loud hisses.) I cannot express too strongly the contempt I feel for the persons who thus attempt to put me down. If the Representation of the County depend upon the votes of those who interrupt me, I would not condescend to ask them, though their suffrages would secure my return. I must know, mixing as I do in the world, and holding the high situation I do, how the interests of Great Britain are

wrapped up in the safety of Ireland.—There is but one topic more, before I conclude an address already too long. A threat has been held out that the North of Ireland, and this county, in particular, is to be visited by some itinerant demagogues, to stir up the elements of discord. Let them undertake this task at their own peril. There never was a time when the Protestant Proprietary were more determined to rise as one man to resist such an invasion. The attempt will be hopeless, utterly hopeless; but let them pause well on the consequences. They will meet here a sturdy, a bold, a determined, and, if driven to retaliation, a fierce yeomanry—they will be answerable to God and man for the floods of blood that will flow from such an attempt; no power can control it, but upon them be the responsibility. Let their deluded victims also reflect upon the fate which will attend them. If once the kindly tie which binds them to the landlord be broken, the result will be, not a quiet submission of the landlords, but a transfer of their lands to Protestant tenants; thousands are to be found in this county who want such lands, and the force of numbers will no longer protect them, as it has hitherto done their deluded brethren in the South. I speak these words in kindness and in advice to them. With respect to myself, I shall be found at my post, and ready to make every sacrifice in defence of the rights of my country, the character of its gentry, and the support of the Constitution. The Hon. Gentleman then resumed his seat."

This remarkable speech, delivered in the very midst of Orangemen, and on an occasion when they were met to celebrate the "no surrender" principles of the 'Prentice boys of Derry, caused an extraordinary sensation; for it was totally unexpected from DERRY DAWSON, the great Champion of Ascendency. Then came the surmise, that he was commissioned to ascertain the temper of the Uls-

ter men, and the manner in which they would bear the measures in contemplation. The surmise was confirmed by two subsequent events; the first was the silence of PEEL, at a great banquet given at Manchester, on all political subjects, when he returned thanks for his health; but more particularly when he refused to speak to the toast of "Protestant Ascendency." The refusal plainly indicated the altered opinions of the Cabinet. After this, it soon oozed out, that an Emancipation Bill was actually prepared, and was, by direction of the Duke of WELLINGTON, submitted to the Catholic Bishops for their approval. The other event was, the letter of the PREMIER to the Catholic Primate of all Ireland, Dr. CURTIS; but as this letter was written towards the close of the year, we will not now more particularly refer to it.

What was the consequence of this Ministerial tergiversation? Why, the whole of Orange land burst into a blaze. North and South, East and West in Ireland—in England, the faction were enraged, and apparently determined, at all hazards, to act up to the spirit of their motto, "no surrender," and resist justice and concession to the death. Anti-Catholic Associations were established; and, as O'CONNELL well said, though they abused the Catholics for it—they followed their example in collecting "the rent," Brunswick or "Blood-hound" Clubs, as they were called, flourished everywhere; and the wildest enthusiasm took possession of men of high station and property in the country. In addition to this—the Clerical fanatics of the party, got up the project of a "second reformation;" for many of them absolutely imagined that the conversion of the Irish people to their religious views, was a practical undertaking. While political and religious madness was thus exhibiting itself amongst the Orange faction, the people were not idle.—

In the North and South the utmost excitement prevailed; the whole County of Tipperary, and a large portion of the neighbouring Counties, were in a state bordering on insurrection. O'Connell, always a friend of order and peace—a thoroughly constitutional reformer, and well aware that disturbance would injure the national cause, in the same degree that moral agitation would serve it—addressed the men of Tipperary, a powerful and truly eloquent admonitory remonstrance. It had the desired effect; though the "Black Hens," and "Mag pies," and the "Four year old Boys" of that day, continued to assemble, to show their physical strength, they always quietly dispersed, without the slightest riot, disturbance, or injury to life or property. Not so in the North.—There theOrangemen metin thousands; armed, too, and determined to shed blood. And blood was shed, under the auspices of men of title, of property, and influence. Every one has heard of the celebrated affray at Ballibay. Every one has read of Lawless's foolish incursion into Orange land—stirring up thereby,from its inmost depths, the worst passions at both sides, without any possible good result. Mr. Lawless went on the Northern mission, in behalf of civil and religious liberty. He succeeded admirably until he came near Ballibay. There the Orangemen determined to assail him, and a collision seemed inevitable. He approached, on his way to Carrickmacross, within a mile and a half of Ballibay, accompanied by two hundred and fifty thousand persons. He was anxious to avoid Ballibay and the Orangemen.—The people seemed determined that he should go through Ballibay, in spite of the armed Orangemen there assembled. This position of affairs became alarming, and Mr. Lawless, getting out of his carriage, mounted a swift horse, and galloped off, amidst the shouts of indignation

from the people. But this did not save the people from the collision. Blood was the consequence, and Mr. LAWLESS was generally condemned for causing the disaster. A Proclamation of the LORD LIEUTENANT speedily followed, prohibiting all such assemblages; and after his return to Dublin, Mr. LAWLESS was arrested, but was merely required to give moderate bail.

Such was the exasperated state of feeling in Ireland. All previously was mere child's play. The Orange party looked upon Catholic agitation hitherto as an innocuous, and vain pursuit. With a Parliament and Government opposed to concession, they feared nothing; and they reposed quietly under the shade of Protestant Ascendency. But when they discovered how the elective franchise was in future to be employed, and how ready were the Ministers to succumb, they were at once, like the 'Prentice boys of old, up and in arms. Nor, was the agitation confined to this country. It extended to England. There, too, Brunswick Clubs were formed, headed by the Duke of NEWCASTLE, Earl WINCHELSEA, and Lord KENYON. The latter even extended his intrusive advice to this side of the water; and called for an agitation that would enforce the abolition of the elective franchise, enjoyed by the Catholics. Ireland was on the brink of a revolution.

The No Popery cry was effectually raised in England. The conduct of the crowd at the celebrated Penenden Heath meeting, showed the rabid yet stolid hostility of the people. That meeting was intended to be a great Brunswick demonstration. To counteract its effects, the determination was come to, that some of the leading advocates of the Catholic cause, being freeholders of Kent, should go to the meeting. Several did attend; among others, the Earl DARNLEY, Mr. COBBETT, Mr. SHEIL, and

Mr. SHEE, now an eminent Sergeant at Law. But they were not listened to. A single incident occurred, as regards Mr. SHEIL's speech, which, though familiar to many, cannot be excluded. As has been said before, he was always in the habit of writing out his speeches, and committing them to memory—depending upon his ready talent to dovetail, with the proposed oration, any observations which the accidents of the moment drew forth.—On this occasion, he pursued the same course. When he arrived at the meeting, the Reporter from the *Sun* Newspaper, asked him for a copy of his intended address. He gave him the manuscript, stating that he must make it afterwards correspond with what he actually would say. Mr. SHEIL, in due time presented himself, but from the beginning to the end of his speech, the scene was one of uproar and interruption. He was not heard; he had to desist. The Reporter, caring nothing for this, published the speech, which Mr. SHEIL intended to make, *in extenso*. The circumstance became a topic for universal comment. The vilest and most ridiculous calumnies were uttered against Mr. SHEIL, and at a great dinner which was subsequently, and in consequence of this affair, given him in London, he was forced to explain the whole transaction. Attending at this Brunswick meeting, in a strange country, was a daring achievement of SHEIL's, and one that unquestionably served the Catholic cause. In reading the speech which he attempted to deliver, one is struck with the wonderful felicity of his arguments, and the prospective adaptation of his language to the audience; the reader rises from its perusal with the conviction, that had it been listened to, it must have produced, despite their prejudices, a decisive and lasting effect upon the people.

In the interval, in Ireland, the Catholic Association

was pursuing its course quietly and steadily. Under its guidance, the entire nation had but one mind and one determination. The Association resolved that every candidate for Parliamentary representation, should pledge himself not to support any Government that refused to make Catholic Emancipation a Cabinet measure. On that resolution the people determined to act, and elect no member who declined to take the Pledge. As delegation was not permitted by law, Liberal Clubs were made the medium through which the details of this general policy could be organised. The Clubs sprung up in every locality, and proved of the greatest service in the agitation, by keeping every man in readiness for the coming elections. Exclusive of these clubs, of the Association—of separate meetings for the redress of grievances —of aggregate meetings assembled in Dublin—there were continued, this year—the Provincial Assemblages,—one in Clonmel, one in Kilkenny, and one in Mullingar. These, bringing together, in each Province, wealth, influence, and respectability, in favor of civil and religious freedom, had a powerful effect. Mr. WYSE made an admirable speech at the Clonmel meeting, as did, in likemanner, Mr. O'CONNELL. The Mullingar meeting was rendered remarkable by being held under the presidency of the MARQUIS of WESTMEATH.

It was during this state of things that Mr. PIERCE MAHONY got up the celebrated "Leinster Declaration." So great was the apathy in Dublin, that though it lay at LATOUCHE'S Bank for two months, yet, with all Mr. MAHONY'S exertions, but forty-two names, within that period, were attached to it. But the moderate party were soon aroused by the alarming condition of society; for a civil war appeared near at hand. The affair at Ballybay, in which LAWLESS and SAM GRAY were

leaders of the respective parties; the Brunswick Clubs, on the one hand, and the Association on the other, sent forth indications of an approaching collision. Then the document rapidly received signatures. The following is the declaration:—

"We, the undersigned, being personally interested in the condition, and sincerely anxious for the happiness of Ireland, feel ourselves called upon, at the present juncture, to declare the conviction that we entertain, that the disqualifying laws which affect his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, are productive of consequences prejudicial in the highest degree to the interests of Ireland, and the Empire to which she is united. With respect to Ireland in particular, they are a primary cause of her poverty and wretchedness, and the source of those political discontents, and religious animosities, that distract the country—endanger the safety of all its Institutions, and are destructive alike of social happiness and national prosperity.

"We are further of opinion, that unless the wisdom of the Legislature shall speedily apply a remedy to these evils, they must, in their rapid progression, assume, at no distant period, such a character as must render their ultimate removal still more difficult, if not impossible.—We, therefore, deem it of paramount importance to the welfare of the empire at large, and of Ireland especially, that the whole subject should be taken into immediate consideration by Parliament, with a view to such a final conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of our National Institutions, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his Majesty's subjects."

The whole state of society in Ireland caused the utmost apprehension. Mr. Sheil himself, who was in the

centre of the excitement, and who so nobly contributed to keep alive the spirit of the people, admitted that he looked at the aspect of affairs with dismay. The pourtrayal of his feelings, and his vivid description of what was going on, are, without exception, the most splendid specimens of eloquence on record. A complete and corrected collection of SHEIL's speeches, during the Catholic agitation, would form a most valuable and instructive adjunct to the history of Ireland. Indeed our admiration of one speech scarcely subsides, when another equally powerful arrests our attention. Could anything be more truly eloquent, or in more admirable taste, than his great speech at the dinner given that year to Lord MORPETH, on the occasion of his visit to Ireland. The President of this great Banquet, was the Duke of LEINSTER—all the leading friends of civil and religious liberty, Protestant and Catholic, in and near Dublin, were present also. Mr. O'CONNELL of course took a conspicuous part in getting it up. Mr. SHEIL's appeal to the Duke of LEINSTER, on that occasion, to stand by Ireland in her hour of need, is one of the most eloquent and stirring passages we ever read, even in his speeches. The part Mr. SHEIL called on the Duke of LEINSTER to assume, was no more than was naturally to be expected, at this juncture, from the head of the FITZGERALDS—that noble house, which was ever considered even more Irish than the Irish themselves. The Protestants throughout the country, were then signing, pretty generally, the Declaration thus got up. At the top of the list was the Duke's name; and all that was necessary to obtain their more active co-operation, was, for Ireland's first Peer to lead a Protestant agitation in favor of his Catholic countrymen. Mr. SHEIL's appeal then was well-timed; but though it will endure for ever, as a piece of consummate eloquence, it was unhappily unavailing. Nothing could overcome.

the aristocratic fear of agitation by which the Duke was governed.

In this state of things it was, that the Duke of WELLINGTON addressed, towards the end of the year 1828, the following remarkable letter to the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. CURTIS.

"London, Dec. 11, 1828.

"My dear Sir,

"I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic question; which, by benefitting the State, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess that I see no prospect of such a settlement. Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately.

"If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides, (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy.

"Believe me, my dear sir,

"Ever your most faithful humble servant,

"WELLINGTON."

The venerable Archbishop was an old friend of the Duke's. He was in Spain, and had influence there; in Salamanca, if we recollect rightly—during the days of WELLINGTON'S hard struggles in that country, Doctor CURTIS was of service to the Commander-in-Chief on various occasions. Hence the terms of friendliness on which they stood—hence the civility of WELLINGTON.—Dr. CURTIS corresponded with the Duke on the state of the North, and on the state and disposition of the Catho-

lics in the army; for it was then well ascertained, during Mr. LAWLESS's visit to Ulster, how the army felt; how far it was to be depended on, and how many in the ranks were absolute contributors to the Catholic Rent. These friendly and confidential communications produced the announcement of the Duke's anxiety to settle the Question; and when it became known, which, by the way, it was never intended to be by him, the excitement was intense. As for stopping the agitation, after the publication of such a note; you might as well dream of forcing back the Ganges to its source. PEEL and WELLINGTON had taught Ireland too well the value of agitation, to succeed, at the eleventh hour, by a few honied words, in inducing the people to abandon the glorious instrument of Ireland's regeneration.

To the tact and unceasing perseverance of O'CONNELL, aided by the impassioned eloquence of SHEIL, success was due. As O'CONNELL himself said, in 1828, for five-and-twenty years he had persevered. Every now and then a kind friend would come up to him, and say, he was intemperate, vituperative; he was injuring the cause. He, however, continued, disregarding such well-intended interference, he never relaxed his exertions, and was seldom silent. He was in turns intemperate, sarcastic, moderate, conciliatory, as the cause of country required it. In such a struggle, self or persons were as nothing. On he went, and at last succeeded—governed by a single maxim—always to be right; or, if wrong, to become right speedily. Thus did he act with reference to the "Wings." Not only did he give up that project, but when afterwards convinced of it, he acknowledged that LAWLESS was right, that he was wrong; and that if these adjuncts had not been put to the Emancipation Bill of 1825, it would have then passed with an overwhelming majority.

And now, again, when a rumour of "Securities" was got up, he cut the matter short by declaring, that the Catholics would prefer living as they were, to endangering the stability of their Church by any compromise.

In the midst of this excitement, Mr. O'Connell found ample time to attend to his profession, from which he was deriving an income of at least seven thousand a-year. He was employed in almost every case of importance. The Orange Attornies rarely avoided him, and he did their business well. An extract from a short memoir of Thomas Wallace, the member for Yarmouth, a very distinguished Irish Barrister, will give the reader a notion of the estimation in which the writers of the day held O'Connell. With this extract we shall close the ever memorable year of 1828.

The following personal contrast, the reader will perceive, is instituted by one whose prejudices against O'Connell colour his criticism. But it will at least prove O'Connell's professional eminence:—

"In three of the Courts, the King's Bench, Exchequer, and Common Pleas, Mr. Wallace's business is only second to Mr. O'Connell's. In fact, they are the Broughams and Scarletts of Ireland; and if the one is engaged on the part of the plaintiff, you are almost sure to find the other retained for the defendant. Though Mr. O'Connell certainly has a deeper as well as a more practical acquaintance with his profession, than the subject of this sketch; though he has a sounder opinion, is a better criminal lawyer, a more accomplished draughtsman, a more dexterous pleader, and altogether a readier man; yet the Catholic advocate is by no means so finished, so nervous, so clear, or so classical a speaker as Mr. Wallace. At times, and indeed most frequently, O'Connell is more eloquent and spirit stirring, and more effective and persuasive with Irish juries, and, therefore, he is

more employed than Mr. WALLACE; but though he has a rich harvest of tears and sympathising sighs, on almost all occasions, yet he cannot so readily command the commendation of the critic. The orator of the Association is irregular, and seems to despise the precepts of the schools. His language is often coarse and over familiar; and his illustrations are, for the most part, drawn from low life; seldom or never from the rich source of the poets and orators of antiquity. Add to this, his taste is vicious in the extreme, delighting in glare and glitter. His language is often ungrammatical and barbarous, and sometimes inflated. Besides, there is a perpetual straining, and it is generally a failure—after the antithetical and inverted phrase, and the condensed and cutting sentences of GRATTAN; yet when O'CONNELL is roused by a grievous wrong, and identifies his proper person with the cause of his client—when he pleads for some forlorn Catholic, the victim of magisterial tyranny, or corporate oppression; or some priest, the object of a conspiracy, real or imaginary, all the orator's private wrongs seem superadded to those of his client; he flings his whole mind and muscular strength into the contest, and pours out a torrent of genuine feeling, personal, political, and unsophisticated, which it is impossible to resist. The true secret of his success, in this case, is rather to be found in his genuine honest feeling and sincere enthusiasm, than in any splendour of eloquence or diction.

"As to Mr. WALLACE, he has little feeling, and no enthusiasm. He is always clear, copious, classical, and correct, and not unfrequently, cold and didactic. *His* object is not to surprise or to persuade, but to convince; and while O'CONNELL obtains a mastery over the passions, WALLACE subdues the understanding, which becomes tributary to the harmony of good sense and moral feeling. If the one often dazzles and surprises, the

other never offends by any sin against good taste or correct diction. WALLACE's sentences flow on majestically and unbroken; he never commits a grammatical error, while his pronunciation is truly Attic, and his style equally pure, nervous, and English. If his very words were taken down *verbatim*, they would be found such as are used by BOLINGBROKE, HUME, SWIFT, and our best prose classics. Not so O'CONNELL, whose language is often loose, ungrammatical, and provincial; while his pronunciation is a fantastical mixture of French and Irish. Yet notwithstanding all this, if I were asked which I would employ as an advocate, I should unhesitatingly reply O'CONNELL. WALLACE is always heard with *pleasure*, but O'CONNELL with *delight*; and when I say that this is a word which could never properly be applied to the sensation created by the most elaborately finished pleadings of WALLACE, it will perhaps adequately explain my meaning.

"In the theory of cross-examination, Mr. WALLACE is a master; and in the practice he falls very little short of perfection. An admirable logician by nature, and metaphysical by habit, nothing can escape the subtlety of his scrutiny; but in knowledge of the Irish character, and particularly the lower and grosser part of it, WALLACE is inferior to Mr. O'CONNELL. The demagogue, too, as he is very unjustly called, has infinitely more mirth and humour, if not wit, added to a fine animal presence, and pleasant cheerful temper; while Mr. WALLACE is stiff and austere in manner, choleric in temper, and often rude in demeanour. Perhaps this epithet, rudeness, should be qualified, by calling it blunt honesty; but I have seen Mr. WALLACE as vehemently reprove the Solicitor who employed him, as a refractory witness under his lash. O'CONNELL, however, knows too much of

human life, to act in this way; and accordingly he is full of amenity and gentle condescension. Mr. WALLACE has more moral force than his rival, and I have seen him keep the Bench in awe, when O'CONNELL would fail to do so. Old NORBURY hated O'CONNELL, but he feared WALLACE; and as to the Chief Baron O'GRADY; whatever attempts he may have made to sneer down Mr. O'CONNELL, he never ventured to try these experiments on Mr. WALLACE."

The eventful year 1829, now opened. Though there were rumours abroad of favorable intentions on the part of Government, with respect to Emancipation, Mr. O'CONNELL determined to act with as much vigor and activity as if the Government were hostile. He announced his determination to proceed at once to London, and he called upon the Counties of three Provinces to redeem their pledges, given at the Provincial meetings, and to send each a representative to accompany him to London; not for the purpose of intimidation, but to give more importance and weight to the most extraordinary movement, connected with the history of the agitation. Notwithstanding these rumours of a Ministerial measure, enough was known to cause doubts in the mind of an experienced politican. It was said that negociations, in defiance of a *præmunire*, were opened with the POPE, for a *concordat*, granting a *Vet* to the English Government. Besides this, there was the far more suspicious circumstance of the sudden and unexpected removal of the Marquess of ANGLESEY—the most popular Viceroy that ever previously governed Ireland. When the Catholic Archbishop, Dr. CURTIS, received the DUKE's letter, he communicated its contents, with other information as to the condition of affairs in the North, to Lord ANGLESEY. To his communication, the LORD LIEUTENANT returned the following reply:—

"Phœnix Park, Dec. 23d, 1828.

"MOST REVEREND SIR.—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d, covering that which you received from the Duke of WELLINGTON, of the 11th inst., together with a copy of your answer to it.

"I thank you for the confidence you have reposed in me.

"Your letter gives me information upon a subject of the highest interest. I did not know the precise sentiment of the Duke of WELLINGTON upon the present state of the Catholic question.

"Knowing it, I shall venture to offer my opinion upon the course that it behoves the Catholics to pursue.

"Perfectly convinced that the final and cordial settlement of this great question can alone give peace, harmony and prosperity to *all* classes of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom, I must acknowledge my disappointment on learning that there is no prospect of its being effected during the ensuing Session of Parliament. I, however, derive some consolation from observing that his Grace is not wholly adverse to the measure; for if *he* can be induced to promote it, *he*, of all men, will have the greatest facility in carrying it into effect.

"If I am correct in this opinion, it is obviously most important that the Duke of WELLINGTON should be propitiated; that no obstacle that can by possibility be avoided, should be thrown in his way; that all personal and offensive insinuations should be suppressed; and that ample allowance should be made for the difficulties of his situation.

"Difficult it certainly is; for he has to overcome the very strong prejudices, and the interested motives of many persons of the highest influence, as well as to allay the real alarms of many of the more ignorant Protestants.

"I differ from the opinion of the Duke, that an attempt should be made to "bury in oblivion" the question for a short time. First, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, because, if the thing were possible, I fear that advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction, and by proclaiming that if the Government at once and peremptorily decided against concession—the Catholics would cease to agitate, and then all the miseries of the last years of Ireland will be to be re-acted.

"What I do recommend is, that the measure should not be for a moment lost sight of—that anxiety should continue to be manifested—that all *constitutional* (in contradistinction to *merely legal*) means should be resorted to, to forward the cause; but that at the same time, the most patient forbearance, the most submissive obedience to the laws should be inculcated; that no personal and offensive language should be held towards those who oppose the claims.

"Personality offers no advantage; it effects no good; on the contrary, it offends, and confirms predisposed aversion. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause—to the growing liberality of mankind. Unfortunately, he has lost some friends, and fortified his enemies, within the last six months, by unmeasured and unnecessary violence. He will soonest recover from the present stagnation of his fortunes, by showing temper, and by trusting to the legislature for redress.

"Brute force, he should be assured, can effect nothing. It is the legislature that must decide this great question; and my greatest anxiety is that it should be met by the Parliament under the most favourable circumstances, and that the opposers of Catholic Emancipation shall be disarmed by the patient forbearance, as well as by the unwearied perseverance of its advocates.

"My warm anxiety to promote the general interests of this country, is the motive that has induced me to give an opinion and to offer advice.

"I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) "ANGLESEY."

"To the Most Rev. Dr. CURTIS, &c. &c.

This letter, though marked "private and confidential," and franked not by the Marquess, but by the Secretary, became public, and of course caused much annoyance at the other side of the water. This was not all. O'GORMAN MAHON and Mr. STEELE were both Magistrates of the County Clare. The High Sheriff of that County, whose character, drawn by Mr. SHEIL, is already before the reader, organised a Brunswick meeting in Ennis, and several Magistrates attended. Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON and Mr. STEELE attempted to enter the meeting, but were prevented by the military; who, being in attendance, were ordered by the High Sheriff to protect this Brunswick meeting. O'GORMAN MAHON, a gentleman of high and daring spirit, in a moment of excitement, addressed some threatening language to the Officer in command. His words were duly reported, and they reached the ears of WELLINGTON, who instantly demanded that these two gentlemen should be deprived of the Commission of the Peace. To this Lord ANGLESEY demurred. The result of various misunderstandings of this kind, crowned by the letter to Dr. CURTIS, was, the Marquess of ANGLESEY's recall. As the correspondence connected with this transaction, affords an insight into the then state of things in Ireland, we give it at full length. On the 21st April, 1828, the Marquess wrote to Lord F. LEVESON GOWER, the Chief Secretary of Ireland, in the following terms :—

"I believe the final success of the Catholics is inevitable,

that no power under Heaven can avert its progres. There may be rebellion—you may put to death thousands—you may suppress it, but it will only be to put off the day of compromise; and in the mean time, the country will be impoverished, the people still more alienated, and ruinous expense entailed upon the empire. Things are bad; they must get worse; and I see no possible means of improving them, but by taking Messrs. O'CONNELL and SHEIL from the Association, and placing them in the House of Commons. But supposing the whole evil was concentrated in the Association, where is the man who can tell how to suppress it? Many cry out that the Government is supine; but all are mute when asked how we are to get rid of the nuisance."

Again, on July 4.—"There is a reasonable hope that peace may be preserved. This is satisfactory. But the power that is exhibited in effecting the object, shows the danger that is to be apprehended in leaving things as they are."

On the 11th of June, he wrote thus to Mr. PEEL:—

"I continue to feel confident that tranquillity will not be disturbed. You will have time to deliberate; but I repeat that we must not long attempt to remain as we are. I have already watched the proceedings of the agitators: they are very daring and insulting. I have often appealed to the law authorities as to the practicability and policy of prosecution, for acts committed or words spoken; but I have been always assured that nothing had occurred that could be laid hold of. I took the opportunity of the presence of Mr. FITZGERALD, to have the opinion of the Attorney-General upon all these points, and he then repeated what he had said before."

Again, on July 16—"I have no desire; on the contrary, I should object, to be armed with any power beyond that which the Government already possess.

"I am desirous that the whole of my letter to Lord F. L. Gower of the 11th instant, should be seen by your colleagues; because it expressed my sentiments upon the state of Ireland, as far as it is affected by the Catholic Question; the mischiefs with which it is threatened, and the only means that have occurred to me of averting them. I am desirous of this, because when the King and the Ministers of his Majesty became thus fully acquainted with my opinion, they would judge of my fitness to carry into effect the measures they might decide upon adopting.

"The sum, I believe, of what I have written from time to time upon this subject, amounts to this—That I do not apprehend the tranquillity of the country will be immediately endangered. That there is no necessity for new laws to strengthen the arm of Government. That no coercive legislative measures will get rid of existing evils, unaccompanied by concession.

"That such an attempt would produce infinite irritation, and might create a crisis, the actual existence of which, would alone justify their adoption.

"That if the rebellion were to break out, there is sufficient force to meet its first attempts, and probably to quell it. That then, and not till then, coercive laws might be called for; and if called for, nothing short of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, would put down the Association, and curb the power of the Priests —That such a measure would only produce temporary tranquillity.

"That at this moment there is no ground to justify an application for a coercive law; and that if it existed I could not use it. That the King's servants may depend on my being watchful and ready to make full, vigorous, yet prudent use of the power I now possess, if

unfortunately there should occur any tangible infringement of the laws."

"Again, on July 30,—the noble Marquess wrote, I have placed your letter, together with that you wrote to the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals of England, in the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals of Ireland, desiring their opinion. I inclose it.—My attention has been already called to the speeches delivered at the Catholic Association of the 12th, and in a letter I wrote to Lord F. L. GOWER on the 14th, I desired that he would read a particular speech. It struck me as being clever, ingenious, and remarkably mischievous; but that the speaker had artfully guarded himself against prosecution. This opinion is confirmed by the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals; and there, I conceive, ends the question."

On July 25, his Excellency wrote to Mr. PEEL to inform him that "Mr. O'CONNELL had asked for an audience, ostensibly to engage him to send a commission of inquiry for a case of murder, committed in a rencontre of Orangemen and Catholics on the 12th. "I give you," his EXCELLENCY goes on to say, "the information in advance, as I am aware this circumstance will be commented upon. You will, I am sure, appreciate the motives that engage me to revert again to the great Question. Few, even of the Orangemen, dispute the necessity of an adjustment. I conjure you to take the state of Ireland into consideration before the meeting of Parliament."

On the 27th he again wrote—"O'CONNELL came to me this morning, and our interview took place in the presence of Lord FORBES. The object was what I have already stated."

On the 29th—"As I foresaw, the interview I granted Mr. O'CONNELL, has been the subject of much vituperation."

On July 31st,—"I know the country to be in a very disturbed state. I can do nothing more than I have done. I think if the first moment of calm is not seized to declare for an adjustment, the Government must expect very serious disturbances. On the Duke of WELLINGTON'S intentions, my own course must depend. I will exert myself to keep the country quiet, and put down rebellion under any circumstances; but I will not consent to govern this country much longer under existing laws."

On September 8th —"It seems agreed on all sides, that the public feeling was never at so high a pitch of excitement as at present. The language of both parties is violent in the extreme, and both appear ripe for action. The organization of the Catholics is very complete. They carry banners. They form and they march by word of command, and in good order; but they commit no outrage; and I discourage interference or display both of the military and the constabulary. The carrying party flags is illegal. Put them down, and what do you gain by it? The law will be obeyed; the flags will disappear; but the Meetings, the great mischief of all, will continue; and in suppressing the minor evil, you will increase irritation and bad feelings for the laws. The speakers continue to be inflammatory. Expressions might possibly be noted that would admit of prosecution, but in general the language is nicely measured, and so equivocal, as to admit of an explanation that might be strained into an excess of loyalty, and a nervous warning to the State, of the danger to which it is exposed. I have yet heard of nothing that might lead to a favourable verdict. I make use of the terms "Brunswickers" and "Agitators," but I beg to be understood as not intending to give offence to any one.

"The Brunswickers are rivalling the Association in violence and in rent. Two Associations and two Rents are rather formidable.

"The Brunswick establishment is not very flattering to the King or his Ministers, or to the Army; since it deems it necessary to take the whole under its especial protection. This is a most distressing state of things; and I defy any one to pronounce upon the result—but this, I know, that things must not remain long as they are.

"I cannot see far before me. I can only guess at what is likely to happen for a few months. I calculate upon a quiet winter in acts, but not in language.

"I ground my opinion upon this. The Catholics are persuaded that the Brunswickers will bring on collision if they can, with the view of committing the Government against them.

"This is what the leaders will endeavour to avoid; and with the power they possess over the minds of the multitude, possibly they may succeed; and then there will be probably even less crime and nightly outrage than has been usual.

"Even if there be any project of insurrection, which I do not believe, the winter would not be the chosen season. I can imagine nothing less inviting than a rebel bivouac during a long dreary winter's night. Therefore, it appears to me probable that you will have time to legislate before we begin to fight."

Again, on September 2nd, his Excellency wrote to Mr. PEEL—"I think we must soon have recourse to some vigorous measures. You may trust to my delaying the crisis as long as possible, as I foresee its destructive consequences; but there is a point beyond which forbearance cannot go, and I am inclined to believe we are approaching it rapidly."

And again, on September 26th—"In case the meetings are persevered in, and serious disturbances occur, I shall not hesitate to issue a Proclamation, upon my own responsibility, if pressed for time, and if I cannot assemble a respectable Privy Council; and if I issue one, rest assured I'll enforce it."

On the 1st of October—"I cannot persuade myself we shall want any more help. The proclamation is issued. A requisition is made for two battalions from England. Mr. LAWLESS's case is under consideration."

On October 2d—"My incessant care shall be to avoid collision. Two additional battalions, and a regiment of cavalry, with a couple of guns, if they could be conveniently spared, to place along the line of Tipperary, Limerick, and Clare, would prevent much of the usual winter excesses; and if the leaders of the Brunswickers would be prevailed upon to set their faces against the assembling and the organization of the Protestants—if they would trust to the power of the Government, to the wisdom of the King's Ministers, and to the judgment of Parliament, instead of attempting to dictate to all—then this unhappy country might hope for comparative rest."

The last letter on this subject is to the Duke of WELLINGTON, dated November 6.

"I must say you do not do things by halves. Why, you have placed at my disposal troops enough to control the Brunswickers, and the Association, even if they should coalesce and combine to make war upon me.

"I have very reluctantly sent for two battalions. We might have dispensed with them; but certainly the effect of their arrival simultaneously at Belfast and at Waterford, will be good; and I hope and believe that I need not draw upon you for another man."

On the 11th of October, he wrote:—"I shall take

upon myself the responsibility of arresting Mr. LAWLESS on Thursday, if I do not hear from you again by that day."

It was evident from the foregoing that his EXCELLENCY was by no means disposed to adopt the coercive policy. Conciliation, and civil and religious liberty, were his maxims of government. So feeling, he did not concur in the suggestion to withdraw the Commission of the Peace from O'GORMAN MAHON and Mr. STEELE. His refusal produced the following correspondence:—

"London, Nov. 11, 1828.

"MY DEAR LORD ANGLESEY—I have been very much disappointed by the decision to which you had come, not to take any steps to remove Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON and Mr. STEELE, from the Commission of the Peace for the County of Clare; or from that of any other County in which those gentlemen may be Justices of the Peace.

"They both appeared in Ennis on a day on which a riot was expected, and preparations were made by the High Sheriff and by other Magistrates to prevent it, or to mitigate it, decorated with green ribbands, known to be the insignia of an order established by the Roman Catholic Association, and followed by a mob. Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON is stated to have held language to the Officer commanding the troops in Ennis that day, in presence of the troops, in respect to the conduct of the High Sheriff for bringing these troops to Ennis, which appears, to say the least of it, quite inconsistent with discretion or any sense of propriety; and as those facts appear to be alleged, not only by the High Sheriff, but by sixteen Magistrates, who were that day present in Ennis; and since, as we understand upon oath, by the officer commanding the troops, I must say, that although these gentlemen possibly have not been guilty of any crime for

which they can be indicted in a Court of Law, with the prospect of conviction and punishment, they have, in their conduct on this occasion, manifested such a disposition to disturb the public peace, and so much indiscretion and such omission of respect to the High Sheriff of the County of Clare, and to the other Magistrates acting in concert with that Officer, that the Government ought to have brought their conduct distinctly under the view of the LORD CHANCELLOR, with a view to his Lordship striking their names out of the Commission of the Peace in each of the Counties in Ireland in which they may be Justices.

" Mr. STEELE is, if I am not mistaken, the gentleman who lately adjured the people in Limerick, by their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Association, to be tranquil.

" I cannot express to you adequately the extent of the difficulties which these and other occurrences in Ireland create in all discussions with his Majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is violated every day with impunity, by those whose duty it is to preserve it; and that a formidable conspiracy exists; and that the supposed principal conspirators, those whose language and conduct point them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country, are admitted to the presence of his Majesty's Representative in Ireland, and equally well received with the King's most loyal subjects.

" I will not conceal from you, likewise, that your visit and those of the LORD CHANCELLOR to Lord CLONCURRY, and the attendance of Lord CLONCURRY at the Roman Catholic Association, immediately subsequent to the period at which he had the honour of receiving the King's Representative in his house, are not circumstances calculated to give satisfaction to the King, and to the public in general.

"The doubts which are entertained respecting the legality of the Roman Catholic Association; the language which has been held there respecting the King himself, his Royal Family, the members of his Government, your colleagues in office, and respecting nearly every respectable member of society, and the unanimously expressed detestation of the violence of the Association, might be deemed reasons for omitting to encourage any of its members by the countenance or favour of the King's Representative.

"But, I assure you, that the circumstances which are the subject of this letter, augment the difficulties of the times to a degree which is quite incalculable, and have induced me most unwillingly to trouble you on the subject. Believe me, my dear Lord ANGLESEY, ever your's most sincerely,

(Signed) "WELLINGTON.

"His Excellency the Most Noble the
Marquess of ANGLESEY, K.G."

To this letter the Marquess of ANGLESEY replied on November 14:—

(Copy) "Phœnix Park, Nov. 14, 1828.

"MY DEAR DUKE OF WELLINGTON—I have received your letter of the 11th; nothing can give me greater distress than to learn that my conduct in carrying on the Government of Ireland is displeasing to the King, and embarrassing to his Majesty's Ministers.

"Deeply as I deplore it, I nevertheless rejoice in being made acquainted, now for the first time, with the view that is taken of it. Up to this moment, I have been left entirely in ignorance, not only as to your intentions in regard to this country, but also as to your sentiments in regard to my policy. They are now developed, and I shall know how to act.

"If my general line of conduct has been displeasing to his Majesty, and embarrassing to his Majesty's servants, I reply that I deeply deplore it; but I can affirm that I have misled, I have deceived no one; for before my departure from England, I took every means within my power, respectfully to make known to the King, the only system upon which I could conscientiously undertake to fill the high and honourable situation of his Majesty's Representative; and I also made an explicit declaration before you, and Mr. PEEL, and Lord MELBOURNE, of the view I took of the great question which agitated this country, and of the course that I should deem it expedient to steer, in regard to political and religious parties; and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that I have scrupulously acted in the spirit of that declaration.

"I will now enter upon the charges made against me; and I will afterwards treat of the best manner of getting rid of the distressing dilemma in which I am stated to have placed the King's Ministers.

"I take the case of Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON. Mr. MAHON went to Ennis, where a meeting, called by the High Sheriff of the county of Clare, and attended by a considerable number of Magistrates, had assembled for the purpose of forming a Brunswick Club.

"Mr. MAHON's intention (as I have been told) was to appear at the meeting and to oppose the project. He presented himself at the door, and was refused admittance.

"The High Sheriff and the Magistrates having apprehended that their meeting might create disturbance, called in a military force.

"One subaltern, three sergeants, and thirty-three rank and file, moved from Clare Castle, distant about three miles. One captain, one subaltern, two sergeants, one

drummer, and thirty rank and file, marched from Tulla, distant about twelve miles.

"No riot ensued; the detachments were dismissed, and whilst they were filing into the goal yard at Ennis, the conversation took place between Mr. MAHON and the officer commanding the detachments, upon which the affidavits were founded, and with which you are, I believe, acquainted.

"It seems you disapprove of my not having directed the Chancellor to dismiss Mr. MAHON from the Magistracy, in consequence of his indecorous conduct on this occasion. Indecorous it certainly was; but I deem that if I had visited it with the severity of dismissal, I should have been guilty of an act of unjustifiable harshness.

"It was the opinion of the law officers that this breach of decorum was not indictable. It was that of the Chancellor, that if the deposition upon oath had been sent to him, he could not legally have acted upon it Upon what ground, then, would the Lord Lieutenant have stood —if, in opposition to these opinions, he should have determined upon the dismissal of Mr. MAHON?

"I beg leave here to quote a case somewhat in point.

"During the Government of the Marquess WELLESLEY, the Law Officers gave an opinion that processions, and meetings, such as those of Orangemen, were illegal.— This opinion was communicated to the Magistrates.— There was an Orange meeting in the county of Monaghan afterwards. A Magistrate of the name of JOHNSTONE, rode up to the multitude with an orange ribbon in his button-hole; he was received with cheers; a complaint was made against him; he stated that his object was to get the people to disperse. The matter was referred by the Lord LIEUTENANT to the Chancellor (MANNERS), and it was not thought a case for removal.

A motion was made upon the subject in the House of Commons, in 1827, by Mr. BROWNLOW, and the (then) ATTORNEY GENERAL defended the CHANCELLOR, it being a case entirely for his discretion.

"To return to Mr. MAHON—If his conduct were censurable, what was that of the High Sheriff and of the other Magistrates; and how were they to be dealt with?

"Is it legal to call a meeting for a political purpose that is so far likely to endanger a breach of the peace, that the very Sheriff who calls it, and who presides at it, feels it necessary to protect himself with the KING'S troops?

"After the most mature deliberation and consultation, I could not bring myself to exert such an act of authority as the dismissal of Mr. MAHON; and upon further reflection, I do not now repent of the decision to which I came. I think it was just, and I am sure it was expedient.

"I cannot think it would tend to the honour of the KING'S crown and dignity, that the Representative should espouse the cause of a Sheriff against a Magistrate, however culpable the latter may be, when the very error into which he was led was produced, if not by an illegal, at all events by a very equivocal act of the Sheriff himself. The meeting was, in fact, called for a purpose not known to the Constitution.

"Of Mr. STEELE, I know nothing, but by common report. I do not doubt that upon some occasion he used the words imputed to him, 'That he abjured the auditors, by their allegiance to the Catholic Association, to be tranquil!'

"That neither he nor Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON, are fit characters for the Magisterial Bench, I am inclined to believe; but up to this period, there is no fact against them

that would justify the Lord Chancellor in removing them from it.

"The imputation against Mr. STEELE, to which you allude, has, I should observe, never been deposed to.

"You say, 'I cannot express to you adequately the extent of the difficulties which these, and other occurrences in Ireland, create in all discussions with his Majesty. He feels that in Ireland the public peace is violated every day, with impunity, by those whose duty it is to preserve it; and that the supposed principal conspirators; those whose language points them out as the avowed principal agitators of the country, are admitted to the presence of his Majesty's representative in Ireland, and equally well received with the KING's most loyal subjects.'

"It is certainly the duty of Magistrates to preserve, not to violate the peace. Would to God, they all acted upon this principle! Mr. MAHON and Mr. STEELE are, no doubt, unfit Magistrates. No man of violent, political and religious prejudices, can be considered as an impartial Justice of the peace; but I really do not know of these persons as conspirators, nor am I at all aware of the formidable conspiracy of which you speak.

"I never saw these gentlemen in my life; and peremptorily deny that the avowed principal agitators, or that any agitators whatever of the country, 'are admitted into my presence, and equally well received with the King's most loyal subjects.' But to whom can you possibly allude? I positively am unable to guess at your meaning. Is it of Messrs. O'CONNELL, SHEIL, LAWLESS, O'GORMAN MAHON, and STEELE, of whom you speak?—These I can easily dispose of. Mr. SHEIL and the two latter, I have never seen; Mr. O'CONNELL once asked for an audience—it was granted. I mentioned the circumstance to Mr. PEEL, even before it occurred;

and I afterwards informed him of the business upon which he came, and never met him since. I have seen Mr. LAWLESS three times. Upon the first occasion, he came with a deputation of manufacturers, within a few days after my arrival. I next met him at a ball at the Rotunda, and bowed to him, as I invariably do, to all persons who make me an acknowledgment. It was in a very crowded room, at King's-town, that I met him a third time; when observing him and Sir HARCOURT LEES squeezed together, and unable to pass on, I jokingly said, 'That I was glad to observe such characters could breathe in the same atmosphere.' My next and last communication with that gentleman, was sending to have him arrested.

"Through what channel his Majesty can have obtained the information mentioned by you, I am at a loss to guess.

"To show how entirely his Majesty has been misinformed, I have deemed it right to enter into an explanation of occurrences, that I should otherwise have considered too trivial to notice.

"The next subject of reproof is, that I, together with the Lord CHANCELLOR, paid a visit to the Lord CLONCURRY. When I went to his house, all I knew of him, was, that he was an active and intelligent Magistrate, an ardent lover of Ireland, an indefatigable supporter of her interests, and a zealous friend to Catholic Emancipation.

"During the time I was at Lyons, (his residence,) I learned his earlier history:—That he had been strongly suspected of Jacobinism, at the commencement of the French Revolution; that he had been arrested upon suspicion of being implicated in O'CONNOR's treason; that he had been liberated for want of proof; but that he had

subsequently been sent to the tower, upon the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; from whence he had been again liberated without trial, and therefore, I have a right to suppose, without guilt.

"Lord CLONCURRY has, within a few days, attended the Catholic Association. This is the first time he has done so since my arrival; and so little is he in the habit of attending, that I positively did not know, until I saw his speech, that he belonged to the Association. But, with what view did he go there upon a late occasion?—To suppress, if possible, one of those pernicious resolutions, that could have been passed, and that the law could not touch—I mean the non-intercourse system. Unable wholly to succeed, he, however, effected the postponement of the question, and is using his endeavours to have it set aside. I am desirous that you should notice the drift of his observations.

"From all I can learn, and from all I have seen, I believe Lord CLONCURRY to be a sedate, loyal subject; and one of the best and most impartial Magistrates in Ireland.

"If those who arraign my conduct will obtain information from an untainted source, I feel the most perfect confidence that I shall obtain the applause of my Sovereign, and the good will and good opinion of his Majesty's Ministers with whom I serve.

"I am willing, and, indeed extremely anxious, to put my measures to any test; being fully satisfied that the more they are investigated, the more favourably they will be judged; and I have the strongest conviction upon my mind, that the course I have pursued is that alone which could have kept this country in the state of tranquillity it now enjoys.

"There is a cry that the Government has lost its power, that the laws are set at defiance, that the Catholic Association has usurped the reins of Government.

"I deny the facts. I assert that the law is in full vigour; that there is nothing within the law that may not at this moment be effected with perfect facility.

"Let it be shown that the law authorises, and that expediency demands the suppression of the Catholic Association, and of the Brunswick Clubs; aye, and the disarming the yeomanry at the same time, and I will undertake to effect it, almost without the loss of life.

"I assert, that the power of the Government is unimpaired, notwithstanding the insidious efforts that are not only publicly but privately making, to undervalue and undermine it, for very sinister purposes.

"I have stated what I conceive the power of the Government to be; but I am not prepared to say that it would be expedient to exert it at this moment. On the contrary, my policy has been, and will continue to be, whilst I am left here, to avoid the collision of parties, by every possible means short of compromising the honour of Government.

"I deprecate the teazing system of attacking every minor offence, of which the issue upon trial would be doubtful, and which is liable to produce irritation, without effecting a salutary lesson and permanent good.

"I would not recommend any attempt to put down the Catholic Association under the existing law; because that body has been tolerated for many years (part of that time, even during the existence of a law passed for the express purpose of its suppression), when no recent weighty offence can be urged against its proceedings, which has not heretofore occurred, and been overlooked.

"It remains for me only to add, that I have no object in holding my present post, but that of pleasing my KING, and serving my country.

"If in my zealous and unwearied efforts to effect the

latter, I shall incur the displeasure of the KING, and lose the confidence of his Majesty's servants, there cannot be a doubt that I ought not to remain in Ireland.

"To whatever decision the KING and his MAJESTY'S Ministers may come, with respect to the policy to be adopted in future, towards this country, his MAJESTY may possibly feel the expediency of making a change in the Government of Ireland; I therefore request that you will offer to his MAJESTY my humble and dutiful assurances that in such an event, it will be my most anxious wish to facilitate this measure, by meeting his MAJESTY'S wishes in the manner the least embarrassing, both as to time, to manner, and to circumstance. But if, on the contrary, it should be his Royal pleasure that I should have the honor of remaining as his representative, I will faithfully and zealously continue my exertions to maintain the honour, the dignity, and the stability of the Government which has been entrusted to me.

"I am, my dear Duke of WELLINGTON,

"Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) "ANGLESEY."

"To his Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON,

&c. &c. &c.

"London, Nov. 19, 1828.

"MY DEAR LORD ANGLESEY—I did not receive till yesterday your letter of the 14th, in answer to mine of the 11th. You tell me that you have up to this moment been left entirely in ignorance, as to my intentions in regard to your policy.'

"I thought that since your appointment to the Government of Ireland, there had been the most unreserved communication of the opinion of the KING'S servants, as to the practical course to be pursued under the various contingencies that have arisen; assurance given of

the most cordial support, throughout any difficulties that might occur, and of a willingness to bear the full share of my responsibility.

"Putting out of the question your sentiments upon the Roman Catholic Question, which have no connexion with discussions arising out of your administration of the Government, I beg to remind you that I did write to you some time ago on that subject.

"Whatever may be the determination of the King and his servants upon that subject, it is the duty of the Government of Ireland to enforce the existing laws; and there can be no intention in respect to legislation, nor any state of circumstances in Ireland, to which the observations in my letter to you of the 11th instant, would not be applicable.

"I perfectly recollect that you did declare that you meant to administer the laws with the strictest impartiality; and that the fullest assent was given by those who heard you, and is still given to that principle of Government in the administration of affairs in Ireland. You are quite mistaken, if you suppose that you are the first Lord Lieutenant who has governed Ireland with an impartial hand.

"Admitting, as I do fully, that the Government of Ireland ought to be administered with impartiality, I assert, that there is not a line in my letter to you of the 11th inst. which is inconsistent with such admission; nor are my opinions, as to the conduct of Mr. O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele, and the expediency of removing those gentlemen from the office of Justice of the Peace; nor those which I expressed upon other matters, rather more of personal conduct, at variance with the opinion which I expressed in February last, and still most decidedly express, that the law in Ireland ought to be resolutely and impartially administered.

"In respect to Mr. MAHON, you say that it would not tend to the honour of the King's Crown, that his representative in Ireland should espouse the cause of the Sheriff against a Magistrate, however culpable the latter might be.

"I don't defend the cause of the Sheriff and of the Magistrates assembled at Ennis. Their conduct may have been very unwise; but was Mr. MAHON justified in taking upon himself to correct others in authority? Was it decorous conduct in him, (bearing the King's commission) to address himself as he did to the officers of the army, in the presence of the troops, in abuse of the conduct of the High Sheriff, for calling them from their quarters? I am the more confident in my own opinion upon this subject, because it agrees with that held by the Irish Government. They received the written report of the conduct of Mr. MAHON, and instead of their deciding that it would best tend to the honor of the King's Crown, that the King's Representative should espouse the cause of the Sheriff, they called for depositions upon oath. For what! Because the affair appeared to them, as it did, and does now to me, to be of importance. But when the sworn depositions confirmed the written reports, it was found that the Sheriff had not acted wisely, and that Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON ought to be supported in his conduct in that affair. I cannot consider this to be the policy to which I assented.

"But the papers which I have read upon this subject, transmitted by the Government of Ireland, inform us that Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON and Mr. STEELE appeared that day in Ennis, decorated, by the order of the Roman Catholic Association, in green ribbands, and followed by a mob. The occasion was one on which, wisely or otherwise, the High Sheriff and other Magistrates had assembled at Ennis, to form a Brunswick Club, and the

troops had been brought to the town to prevent a riot.—Was this conduct in Mr. O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele, that of men in whose judgment and discretion, as Justices of the Peace, the Lord Lieutenant or the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, can place any reliance?

"You have not noticed this fact in your answer to my letter.

"In respect to Mr. Steele, in addition to his conduct in Ennis and that with which I see he has since been charged—viz., marching with a mob at his heels through the most disturbed districts of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, from chapel to chapel, to harangue the people, he had been charged with the act of conjuring a mob, by all their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Association, to remain tranquil Is the fact true or otherwise? If there is doubt, inquiry ought to be made either by the Lord Chancellor or the Government; and if the case turn out to be true, I am convinced that there is no man who will say that Mr. Steele's name ought to continue in the commission of the peace; whether his conduct be attributed to folly, insanity, or disaffection; or that the King's representative, can be accused of partiality, for urging the Lord Chancellor to remove him.

"It never has been the practice in Ireland, to confine removals from the commission of the peace, to cases in which indictable offences have been committed. The utmost danger to the peace of the country might be the consequence of its being understood that justices of the peace were irremovable, do what acts and hold what language they may, provided only that they steer clear of an indictable offence.

"I contend, then, that it cannot be deemed inconsistent with the most strictly impartial administration of the Government of Ireland, to notify to persons who have con-

ducted themselves as Mr. O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. Steele have, for the last months, that the King had no farther occasion for their services as Justices of the Peace.

"In respect to Lord Cloncurry, I did not advert to his former history—only to his being a member of the Roman Catholic Association, and to having attended the Association shortly after the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor had honoured him with a visit. In answer, you tell me that he went there for the purpose of discouraging the system proposed of not dealing with Protestants. His object in going there is very little to the purpose; but having referred to the newspaper report, I see that it expressly states that Lord Cloncurry retired from the meeting before the discussion about dealing with Protestants came up. He made a speech, however, in the Association that day; one which, to say the least of it, is worthy of an agitator and of a partizan; but quite unworthy of a Nobleman who deserves the honour of receiving the Lord Lieutenant at his house—a Lord Lieutenant and Lord Chancellor presiding over an important system of Government.

"But I am still of opinion that, considering the condition of the Association, the speeches which have been made there, and the doubts entertained of the legality of such assembly, (to say the least of it), the members are not exactly the persons to be encouraged by the Government of Ireland, which intends to conduct its administration impartially.

"I will not now enter farther into the discussion of the legality of the Roman Catholic Association, or whether there is not a conspiracy in Ireland. Upon the first point, I hope we shall soon have the opinion of the law officers of the Crown in Ireland, called for some time ago.

I admit that there is but little legal proof of the existence of a conspiracy; but there is much of moral proof, which, I cannot but think, deserves the attention of Government.

"It is perfectly true, that until I had occasion to write to you on the 11th inst., respecting Mr. MAHON and Mr. STEELE, I did not mention to you the KING'S feelings upon affairs in Ireland. I did not do so, because I was in hopes that in the progress of events, the KING might see reason to change his opinions; and because it is really painful to notice matters which would be of a private nature, if they had no bearing upon public affairs. I might have, at an earlier period, expressed the pain I felt at the attendance of gentlemen of your household, and even of your family, at the Roman Catholic Association. I could not but feel that such attendance must expose your Government to misconstruction. But I was silent, because it is painful to notice such things; but I have always felt, that if these impressions upon the KING'S mind should remain—and I must say that recent transactions have given fresh cause for them—I could not avoid to mention them to you in a private communication, and to let you know the embarrassment which they occasion. I may be blamed for not communicating sooner that they existed; but considering their continued existence, and the renewed cause for them, I should be more blamed if I did not mention them at all.

"Ever, my dear Lord ANGLESEY, yours most sincerely,

(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

"Phœnix Park, Nov. 23, 1828.

"MY DEAR DUKE OF WELLINGTON—I have received your letter of the 19th. It is not necessary that I should reply to it at great length; for after very carefully examining and comparing it with the letter of the 11th, I

find little in it beyond a repetition of accusations already amply answered and refuted.

"I have also attentively read the copy of my letter of the 14th, and there is not in it a sentiment expressed, or a word written, to which I do not strictly adhere. I will merely observe that, in representing my ignorance of your intentions in regard to Ireland, I could only allude to your future policy, by a knowledge of which I might have been mainly assisted; for, although it is quite clear that a country must be governed by existing laws, yet it may be well thought to be a question of expediency, to what extent they are to be exercised; and here the Governor becomes responsible, and I have not been at all desirous of shrinking from the responsibility.

"To all topics, then, that are treated of in your first letter, and which are repeated in that of the 19th, it would be superfluous to reply.

"I now proceed to the new matter contained in your last letter.

"You say, that I am mistaken, if I suppose that I am the first LORD LIEUTENANT who has governed Ireland with an impartial hand.

"I really suppose no such thing; and I am sure there is not an expression in my letter that will bear that construction.

"In truth, I need only go back to the last Administration of Ireland—to the Government of the Marquess WELLESLEY—to discover that 'mine is not a novel mode of governing.'

"I observe in every public act of Lord WELLESLEY, not, merely, the intention but the fulfilment of that principle of governing.

"In answer to what you observe regarding the conduct of the Irish Government, upon the affair of Mr. O'Gor-

MAN MAHON, at Ennis, I can only say that it seems to me to have been entirely inconsistent.

"The report of his conduct first reached it through the ordinary channels of communication. It was thought of sufficient consequence to require a deposition upon oath.—This was furnished. It was deliberately considered; and in concurrence with the opinion of the Lord CHANCELLOR, I did not think fit to take any measure upon it. The propriety of this decision is matter of opinion; I retain mine.

"That the mere circumstance of Mr. MAHON and Mr. STEELE riding about the country in green ribands, is to be considered sufficient to justify their dismissal from the Magistracy, I cannot admit. Have they appeared upon the seat of justice with these party colours? No. When they do, the CHANCELLOR will know how to deal with them.

"In the cased I quote of Mr. JOHNSTONE, who, decorated with an orange ribband, actually harangued a mob (and that immediately after the passing of the Act, now extinct, in which party badges were forbidden.) the Chancellor, MANNERS, did not feel himself justified in taking any step.

"In regard to Mr. STEELE, there is no doubt that he had been attending various chapels, and haranguing the congregations. I have directed a particular inquiry to be made, for the purpose of obtaining authentic information as to the expressions to which you allude; and the attention of the law officers will be called to the subject, when I shall consider and confer, as I did in the case of Mr. MAHON, and inform you of the result of my decision.

"I have little to add to what I have already said concerning Lord CLONCURRY. I believe him to be a loyal

subject, a good man, and an exemplary magistrate: and I cannot consent to abandon the exercise of my own discretion, in selecting those with whom I may deem it expedient and prudent to hold an intercourse. But even if I were mistaken in the character of my Lord CLONCURRY, and that he is not what I suppose him to be, I am sure I shall not be thought arrogant, in expressing a conviction that there is something in my own character, and in my well-known devoted and affectionate attachment to the KING, which ought to shield me from the imputation of having selected and encouraged as acquaintances, those who are ill-affected to his MAJESTY'S person and Government.

"I have, in fact, been most anxious to imitate, so far as my humble faculties would permit, the example of his MAJESTY himself, during his visit to Ireland; and have scrupulously attended to the KING'S benign and paternal admonition, when his MAJESTY quitted this kingdom—to inculcate good fellowship and cordiality amongst all classes, and to promote conciliation.

"Your observation upon the circumstance of my son, and of some of the Officers of my Staff, visiting the Catholic Association, has hurt and surprised me.

"A short time after my arrival, three or four of them strayed into their debating room from curiosity. They were unexpected, and they imagined they were unobserved. They were, however, recognised. The occurrence was mischievously commented upon. I admonished them not to repeat their visit, and to avoid all clubs or meetings of a political character, and it cost them nothing to obey the injunction. Yet this is remarked upon as a stain upon me, as if I had sanctioned the measure.

"The letter I wrote to Mr. LAMB upon the occasion would show sufficiently that I disapproved of it; although

I certainly did not attach that importance to it you appear to think it deserved.

" I observe that you consider our late painful correspondence as private, yet the subjects are chiefly of a public character.

" You certainly have the power of considering it so or not; but I must reserve to myself the same liberty, if it should hereafter become necessary for my justification;—and I sincerely believe that I can justify every act—nay, I will even go farther, and express my conviction, that if the King had the same opportunity that I have of witnessing the present state of the country, his Majesty would be satisfied that a sound and prudent policy had been exercised.

" Believe me, my dear Duke of WELLINGTON,

" Very sincerely your's,

" ANGLESEY."

" To his Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON, &c."

Upon this letter, which was read with the preceding extracts, by the Marquess of ANGLESEY himself, in the House of Lords, he commented in the following terms, and then proceeded, in the course of an explanation of his official acts in Ireland, to quote and comment upon some additional letters, forming part of the correspondence between him and members of the Government:—

" To this, my Lords, I should add one thing with respect to my Lord CLONCURRY, which probably was not known to the noble DUKE, now at the head of His MAJESTY's Administration; and that is, that when the KING was in Ireland, Lord CLONCURRY was in constant attendance on His MAJESTY, and sat at his table (Hear, hear.) The fact was, my Lords, that Lord CLONCURRY thought himself very ill used in the time of his late Majesty, having been confined twice on two charges, of

which no proof could be adduced; and he had been on both occasions discharged without being brought to trial. In consequence of this, he had determined, when the KING visited Ireland, not to approach his MAJESTY; and the KING on hearing this, caused Lord CLONCURRY to be sent for.—His Lordship then came, and was very well received by His MAJESTY, and attended upon him, and sat at his table. Then, one word as to my unfortunate son and some of my Staff, visiting the Catholic Association. I may state that it was no more than some of the Staff of my illustrious predecessor had done. The truth is, my Lords, that the Catholic Association was considered in Dublin as a lion, and the strangers went to visit it as they went to the Corn Exchange, or to Exeter 'Change, to see the wild beasts—(Hear, and a laugh.) Now when I received the first letter from the noble DUKE, the impression on my mind decidedly was that I would be re-called; and the second confirmed me in that opinion;—and yet I thought, and others agreed with me in that notion, that probably the whole of the circumstances might have been re-considered; and we certainly did hope that, upon that consideration, the state of affairs in Ireland and all the circumstances, would have been more duly appreciated; and that the conduct of the Irish Administration would be found not to deserve so much censure as it had been imagined to deserve. On that head, I was undeceived by the letter from the noble DUKE of the 28th December, from which I was very sensible that the relation between me, as LORD LIEUTENANT, and the KING's Ministers, could not longer exist.

That letter was as follows:—

'London, December 28, 1828.

'MY DEAR LORD ANGLESEY—I have been very sensible, since I received your last letter, that the correspon-

dence which that letter terminated had left us in a relation towards each other which ought not to exist between the Lord Lieutenant and the King's Minister; and could not continue to exist without great inconvenience and injury to the King's service. I refrained from acting upon this feeling till I should be able to consult with my colleagues, and I took the earliest opportunity, which the return to town of those who were absent afforded, to obtain their opinion, which concurred with my own. Under these circumstances, having taken the King's pleasure upon the subject, his Majesty has desired me to inform you, that he intends to relieve you from the Government of Ireland. I will shortly notify the arrangements which will become necessary in consequence.

'Believe me ever your's most sincerely,

(Signed) 'WELLINGTON.

'His Excellency the Marquess of ANGLESEY, K.G."

"In answer I wrote this letter of date the 30th December, to the Noble Duke at the head of the Administration:

(Copy) 'Phœnix Park, 30th Dec 1828.

'My Dear Duke of WELLINGTON—I have received your letter of the 28th, informing me of the King's intention to relieve me from the Government of Ireland.

'I will hold myself in readiness to obey his Majesty's commands the moment I shall receive them.

'Believe me your's most sincerely,

(Signed) 'ANGLESEY.

'To his Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON, K.G., &c.'

"If the matter had terminated here, this House would never have been troubled with the subject; as his Majesty unquestionably had a right to recall his Lord Lieutenant, whenever he pleased, whatever might be the reasons; and, therefore, although I would have been disappointed that the state of Ireland, and the circumstances in which

I was placed, did not meet with a closer investigation, I should have felt it my duty to have been silent about the matter. But as all this was followed by a stronger reproof than was, perhaps, ever given to a public officer, I thought it right to bring the whole matter before this House, as far as I had the opportunity to do so. I received this letter, dated the 19th January, 1829, from the Home Secretary:—

(Copy) 'Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1829.

'My Lord—It is my duty to acquaint your Excellency that his Majesty's Government have taken into their consideration a letter which has been published in the newspapers, purporting to have been addressed by your Excellency to the Rev. Dr. Curtis, of the authenticity of which there can be no question. It appears to his Majesty's Government, that in addressing that letter to Dr. Curtis, your Excellency acted in a manner inconsistent with your duty as his Majesty's Representative in Ireland; and they have advised his Majesty to signify his pleasure to your Excellency, that you should return to England, placing the Government of Ireland for the present in the hands of Lord Justices.

'I enclose his Majesty's warrant, authorising your Excellency to constitute the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, and the Commander of the Troops in Ireland, to be his Majesty's Justices in your Excellency's absence, or until his Majesty's further pleasure be signified; and I am to convey to your Excellency his Majesty's command, that their appointment may take place accordingly. I have the honor to be, with great truth and regard, my Lord,

(Signed) 'ROBERT PEEL.

'To his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, K.G. &c.'

"To this I replied by the following letter, dated January, 14, 1829.

(Copy.) 'Phœnix Park, Jan. 14, 1829.

'Sir—I have received your letter of the 10th January, notifying to me, that his Majesty's Government had taken into their consideration a letter which had been published in the newspapers, purporting to have been addressed by me to the Rev. Dr. CURTIS; that it appeared to his Government, that in writing that letter to Dr. CURTIS, I had acted in a manner inconsistent with my duty as his Majesty's Representative in Ireland; and that they had advised his Majesty to signify his pleasure to me, that I should return to England, placing the Government of Ireland, for the present, in the hands of the Lord Justices; and enclosing to me his Majesty's warrant, authorising me to constitute the Lord Primate, the Lord Chancellor, and the Commander of the Troops to be his Majesty's Justices in my absence, or until his Majesty's further pleasure be signified.

'In consequence of the Duke of WELLINGTON's letter to me of the 28th December, informing me that he was sensible that a correspondence which had taken place between his Grace and me had left us in a relation toward each other, which ought not to exist between the Lord Lieutenant and the King's Minister, and that his colleagues concurred in that opinion; and that having taken his MAJESTY's pleasure upon the subject, his MAJESTY had desired his Grace to inform me, that he intended to relieve me from the Government of Ireland; I informed his Grace, by my letter of the 30th of December, that I would hold myself in readiness to obey his Majesty's commands the moment I should receive them.

'It is therefore only necessary for me now to state, for the information of his Majesty's Government, that I have

given the necessary directions for the appointment of Lords Justices, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, and that I shall forthwith repair to England.

'I have the honor to be, with truth and regard,

'Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) 'ANGLESEY.

'To the Right Hon. ROBERT PEEL.'

Such were the circumstances under which this popular nobleman was recalled, and it was not to be wondered at that with such a fact before them, the popular Leaders began to have their misgivings as to the rumours propagated, and even the correctness of the information they had themselves received. To try the question of Catholic admissibility to the House of Commons, in his own person, became then Mr. O'CONNELL's determination. In the mean time, the excitement at the recall of the Marquess of ANGLESEY, was universal amongst the Catholics. He had proved himself a chivalrous friend of the country. The very disposition that prompted him, before he ever saw Ireland, to speak of the agitation in the harsh language he adopted, now when he knew the people and saw their condition, made him enthusiastic in their behalf. The grief caused by the news of his removal was unbounded. In the Association, SHEIL and O'CONNELL spoke in the most eloquent terms of his Government and disposition. On the 19th January, 1829, the noble-minded ANGLESEY quitted Ireland. With the exception of the demonstration on GEORGE the FOURTH's departure, there was nothing comparable to the concourse that met the Viceroy, at the Castle gates, and accompanied him to the Pier at Kingstown. It was a magnificent display; full of cordial feeling—of enthusiasm and gratitude. Alas! for the fickleness of human affairs! we will shortly witness the same noble-

man again Lord Lieutenant, and then one of the most unpopular of men.

He was succeeded by the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, a well meaning man—a recent convert to the necessity of Emancipation ; but without much capability for the task of Government. His great wealth and elevated rank were his principal recommendations ; and if the spirit of ascendency, which then swayed the councils of the Irish Executive, would have sanctioned a quiescent policy, and the substitution of large personal expenditure, for factious misrule, the appointment of this Tory magnate would, in the state of Ireland, have been judicious. But the old system of governing for a party, and through a party, was too firmly rooted in Dublin Castle, to be eradicated by such a statesman as NORTHUMBERLAND. He was carried on in the old track, and though his administration was not distinguished by official severity, still there was nothing in his measures or his conduct to satisfy the great body of the people.

After the departure of ANGLESEY, there was much speculation as to the intentions of Government. Their treatment of this popular Lord Lieutenant, did not indicate much promise for Ireland. Still, that something would be done, there was no question. The direct negociations with the POPE proved that concessions were in contemplation. His Holiness refused to enter into any terms until Emancipation was first granted, and thus the overtures ended. But the failure left on the minds of the Irish, an apprehension, that the old stumbling block of "securities," was to interfere with the attainment of their rights. In this state of uncertainty, O'CONNELL determined to claim, in person, his right to sit in Parliament, as member for Clare, without taking the oaths of Supremacy, &c. He had determined to put his right to the

test, on the first day of the Session. But in consequence of the gross calumnies which were circulated against the Catholic clergy in Clare, respecting their interference in the election, he was requested by them to take no step for fourteen days after the meeting in Parliament—the time allowed by law for presenting a petition against his return—in order to give his opponents an opportunity of doing so, and thus afford the clergy means of repelling the slanderous imputations against them. Mr. O'CONNELL, of course, consented; but he had scarcely done so, when he received intimation from the Brunswick party, that they simply intended to oppose him, on the ground of personal disqualification as a Catholic. Thus, after propagating the most virulent imputations against the Catholic Clergy, they were afraid of undergoing the ordeal of a Committee of the House of Commons, and they gave Mr. O'CONNELL notice of their intention to abandon that part of their petition. This was quite sufficient proof of the exaggerations which were so industriously circulated. On the personal, or rather religious, disqualification, Mr. O'CONNELL seemed to have no fears. Mr. CHARLES BUTLER gave a decided opinion, that no member returned from Ireland, was bound to take the oath of supremacy; because there was no Irish statute requiring it to be taken; and the Act of Union expressly required that no oaths should be necessary to qualify an Irish member to sit in the Imperial Parliament, which were not required to be taken theretofore, according to the statutes enacted, in each country respectively. Now, though there were *English laws* on this subjet, in respect to members of the Irish Parliament, there was no Irish statute; and had FLOOD's declaratory act been passed, ordaining that England had not, and never had any power to make laws binding upon Ireland, there would be no doubt re-

maining on the subject. The simple question was, did the *English* Law, requiring the oath of supremacy to be taken in the Irish Parliament, by Irish members, hold in force against Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, when the Act of Union provided no oaths should be taken but those heretofore required by the statute law of each of the United Kingdoms. O'Connell clearly proved in his answer to Mr. Sugden's pamphlet, denying his right to enter the House of Commons without first taking the oath of supremacy, in the Lord Steward's office, that there was no law obliging him to take the oath before he entered the House; and as there was no penalty, under the Act of Union, for his refusal, and no statute law obliging him, he could continue to sit and act as a member, without taking that oath; for where the statute did not interfere, then, the usages of Parliament, which are based on the statute law, could not deprive him of his right as representative of the people. Mr. O'Connell felt confident of the correctness of his views on this subject. It was to try this question, involving the Act of Union, that he was anxious to take his seat, or attempt to do so; independently of any contemplated measure of Emancipation. However, when he arrived in London, the provisions of the Catholic Relief Bill were already known. His friends, and the friends of the Catholic cause, had a consultation, and it was determined that he should defer taking his seat until the fate of the measure was decided. Meanwhile, the utmost activity was exerted in Ireland; not only by the Catholics, but also by a large section of the Protestant people, in favour of the Catholic claims. The great meeting in January, at the Rotunda, of the friends of civil and religious liberty, under the presidency of the Duke of Leinster, had a decisive effect.

While the "Leinster Declaration" was being urged in the provinces, Mr. Pierce Mahony, with indefatigable

industry, was making arrangements for a meeting of the friends of Emancipation, to be held in January, at the Rotunda. By him, the resolutions and petitions were drawn up, and the whole machinery for this great meeting set in motion. The entire programme of the proceedings, at the meeting, was sent, in print, to each requisitionist, before the day of meeting. The requisition was signed by a vast number who could not attend, but who stated by letter their sentiments. These letters were all published. The meeting took place. It was one of the most imposing demonstrations which was ever beheld in Ireland. The platform was filled with noblemen and gentlemen. The speeches were most effective. O'Connell and Sheil both spoke. The meeting produced a profound sensation. It was said to be what ultimately determined Wellington and Peel to press on the King to grant Emancipation. Certain it is, that a few days after the meeting, the Duke had a long audience with his Majesty at Windsor. The Post which left London the evening of this interview, conveyed to Ireland a letter from the Duke's private Secretary, to a gentleman now high in office, that the Emancipation Bill was to be brought in by Government, at the commencement of the Session. The letter set forth the nature of the proposed measure, and attributed the altered councils of the Cabinet a good deal to the impression made on the Government by the Rotunda meeting. The information contained in this letter was communicated to Sheil and O'Connell; and it was agreed that the Catholic Association should announce its intention of dissolving, in the event of Emancipation being granted; and thus anticipate the intention of the legislature to suppress it.

When Mr. O'Connell ascertained that Emancipation was at hand, he sent a message by Mr. Pierce Mahony

to Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD, stating that after it passed, he would give up his seat for Clare, and address the electors in his favor. The communication was made accordingly; but it was not well received, and the offer was rejected in a hostile and angry spirit.

Mr. O'CONNELL afterwards said that the Rotunda Meeting confirmed the Ministry in carrying the plans they projected. The Catholic Association, too, continued its energetic exertions, up to the moment that the measures of Government became known. It was then determined to dissolve. At first, Mr. O'CONNELL intended that this dissolution should not take place until after Emancipation had been granted. But in a short time after, Mr. SHEIL, with the concurrence of the Catholic Bishops, and following up the parting advice of Lord ANGLESEY, proposed an immediate dissolution. His reasoning was so conclusive, that he carried with him the Association; though the body were first averse to such a proceeding. The dissolution was previously suspended in order to have, out of respect to him, Mr. O'CONNELL's opinion on the subject. In the course recommended by Mr. SHEIL, Mr. O'CONNELL, who was then in London, fully concurred; and the Association dissolved of itself, without waiting for its suppression by the Government.

It has been often said, that at the time of Emancipation, a pledge was given by O'CONNELL, on the part of the Catholics, to cease agitation after religious equality was granted. To show how utterly unfounded was this statement, we give here rather a remarkable passage, in the very last speech he delivered in the Catholic Association. It sets at rest for ever the allegation, that he concealed his future intentions, with reference to Repeal, until Emancipation was obtained. Speaking of the dissolution of the Association he said:—

"The moment there shall be a repeal of oppressive laws, on account of religion, the Association shall be extinguished, and Catholics shall mingle indiscriminately with the rest of their fellow-citizens. But the attention to national interests—the intelligence, the hatred of oppression, and the love of justice, which have been generated by our lengthened and all-absorbing controversy, shall still survive; and although by the abolition of distinctions, on account of religion, Catholics shall no more be heard of as separate political advocates, that spirit has grown up amongst the people, which shall inspire them to new and glorious efforts of patriotism, until Ireland become what God and nature intended her. Her regeneration will not be the work of Catholics alone—it will be the contest of Irishmen, when every sect and denomination shall be united in one grand amalgamation. Unless that amalgamation take place, we never can procure the Repeal of that odious and abominable measure, the Union, which struck down our national independence and prosperity, and reduced the country to a pitiful and abject province."

This is conclusive on the point. Indeed, so late as the 14th of January, 1829, he repeated, in the Catholic Association, the declaration which he had made in 1840: "That in order to accomplish Repeal, he would give up "Emancipation, and every other measure; and that his "exertions for such an object would meet with the co-"operation of all sects and parties."

The anxiety of the nation, in the beginning of February, was raised to the highest pitch. The KING's speech called upon the Parliament to consider the laws affecting the Catholics, with a view to their repeal. It was understood that the measure was not to be of a stinted character, and that "Securities" were not to be required.

The object was to tranquillise the Irish nation; to satisfy the just demands of the Catholics, and to avoid civil war; of which the Duke of WELLINGTON professed so soldier-like a horror. Giving Emancipation to elevate the wealthy, while the clergy and people were rendered doubly discontented at interference with their religion, was no way to effect these purposes; and therefore it was wisely determined to avoid the VETO question altogether, and seek for "Securities" after some other fashion. A Bill for the suppression of "dangerous associations" was brought in. The provisions of this act applied to the Catholic Association; but, as already stated, that body did not wait for suppression; it dissolved of itself. One of the "Wings" of 1825, was again brought forward—the forty-shilling freeholders' franchise was in future to be abolished; the rights of the existing holders of that franchise being preserved. The Catholic Clergy were not to be paid by the State; but in lieu of this "Wing," a miserable, paltry enactment, directed against all monastic institutions, and other religious communities, was introduced into the Emancipation Act. This provision—which required a registry of the existing members of these establishments, in the United Kingdom, and prohibited, on pain of transportation, any new members to be received therein—has been hitherto a dead letter. It was never intended to be acted on. It cannot be put in operation without the sanction of the Attorney-General; and as it is well understood that the sole object in framing these clauses was, to soothe the bigotry of the opponents of the measure, the law officer takes no notice of the daily disregard of the enactment by these religious communities. However, so long as it continues on the statute book, it will ever be considered by the Catholics of Ireland, as a stigma on their religion; and, though torpid, a tyranny.

Both these "Wings," or conditions to Emancipation, created a great ferment at the time; and a very determined agitation, on the subject, was commenced by Mr. O'CONNELL, in London, calling on the people to reject *in toto*, the measure for their relief, rather than accept it clogged with the disfranchisement of 300,000 freeholders. This he distinctly proclaimed at the next meeting of the thatched House Tavern; and, though he was at the very time accused by HUNT, the celebrated English Radical, of remaining idle, while his honest supporters were sacrificed, he was in reality organising a strong opposition against the disfranchisement bill; and had drawn up and carried a very strong petition against it. It was a sacrifice of no trifling amount, to give up those honest fellows, the forty-shilling freeholders, who at Clare and Waterford so nobly did their duty in the face of the most determined persecution. These were the men who, after all, assisted mainly in obtaining religious freedom for their country, and was it well to sacrifice them? After this fashion, O'CONNELL and his followers, in England and Ireland, argued at the different meetings, held both in London and in Dublin. But, on the other hand, why, it was said by such influential friends of popular rights as Lord CLONCURRY—why subject these humble men, who are so dependent on their landlords, to continued persecution? Is it not better to obtain for them, or for men of their class, a more independent franchise—namely, a ten pound beneficial interest franchise, which being acquired by a lease, could be held free from the control of landlords? Above all, is it not better, to accept this altered franchise, when it is made a condition of Catholic Emancipation; and as for the penal enactments against monastic orders, it was intended as a mere "sop to CERBERUS," and would be inoperative. Thus reasoned

the Catholic leaders, who were for accepting the terms proposed. There can be now no doubt that if Government had not then succeeded with the KING, the question would have been thrown back; we should not have succeeded for years, and in all probability, not without the miseries of a national convulsion. It is now well known, that GEORGE the FOURTH gave his consent with the greatest reluctance. For four and twenty hours—after the measure was absolutely launched in Parliament, there was no Ministry; the WELLINGTON Ministry were dismissed, and it was only when he reflected on the difficulty of forming another administration, that the KING gave his reluctant consent, and recalled WELLINGTON and PEEL. To the KING and the Anti-Catholic Party in England, it was absolutely necessary to make concessions. The sacrifice of the forty-shilling freeholders, who had so triumphantly returned O'CONNELL to Parliament, and the sacrifice of O'CONNELL himself, as a legislator, were resolved on, to soothe the personal antipathy and political feelings of GEORGE the FOURTH; and the other provisions against the Jesuits and other religious orders, were introduced to diminish the holy hatred of the Evangelical and new Reformation party.

On the whole, then, seeing how much was accomplished, and how little was lost, that could not be afterwards restored; and above all, how dangerous at such a crisis was delay, we are disposed to think the Catholics acted prudently; while the Government, by keeping alive an irritable and jealous feeling in the minds of the Irish people, acted unwisely; for they fostered the germs of that agitation, which afterwards seriously embarrassed themselves. The feeling of the industrial class in England was now decidedly in favour of civil and religious liberty. This was manifested in a very marked manner

by the reception Mr. O'CONNELL met with in his progress through England. At Liverpool, Birmingham, Coventry, and London, his reception was most flattering. He had always advocated Emancipation, on the broad principle that conscience should be free. He was, besides, a radical Reformer; a description of politician at last becoming popular in England. He was, therefore, apart from his fame as a great orator, becoming a favourite with the middle and dissenting class in England. His advocacy of Catholic claims went far to soften down the existing opposition to Emancipation. Hence, his reception in the "sister" kingdom, on this occasion; hence, in some degree, the altered feelings with respect to Catholics. The upper and rural classes, and the Clergy, however, were more violent than ever. PEEL, knowing the feeling of his constituents of the University of Oxford, at once resigned his seat for that centre of learned bigotry. Of course, when he went to a new election, he was defeated. This was his first sacrifice to his sense of duty. It is impossible to overrate the personal sacrifices, nobly and generously made by this Statesman, at this eventful crisis. His father was a man of strong anti-Catholic feelings, and it is said he threatened to disinherit him for the part he took. There can be no doubt there was a long coolness between them. When his inheritance, amounting to fifty thousand a year, was in jeopardy, it is easy to see the personal sacrifices he was ready to make. His friends also shunned him, because they considered he acted the traitor to them and to his own principles. In fact, it is not possible to conceive a more heroic and self-sacrificing effort, than that made by PEEL in 1829, The one on the Corn question, in 1846, was but a trifle to it. It may be said, and it was said, why did he not resign, and leave the measure to be car-

ried by those who were always its advocates? The simple answer to this is, that with a Tory House of Lords, and an obstinate Sovereign—no Whig Ministry could ever have carried Emancipation.

During the progress through Parliament of the Relief measure, the greatest excitement prevailed on both sides:—the excitement of joy on the part of Catholics, and of disappointment and chagrin among the Brunswickers. The Orange Aristocracy were prominently rabid. The Duke of NEWCASTLE, claiming his privilege as a Peer, intruded on the privacy of the KING, to remonstrate with his Sovereign; but he was courteously repulsed. Lord WINCHELSEA, too, the foremost man amongst the Brunswickers, insulted, in the grossest manner, the Duke of WELLINGTON. The consequence was, an hostile meeting. As this is a transaction, which caused much discussion at the time, and will be memorable in after times, in consequence of the part the great Captain felt himself called upon to take, we are induced to transcribe, from the *Courier* newspaper, the correspondence, which ended in both these noblemen going to the ground. The Earl of WINCHELSEA discharged his pistol in the air. For this honourable conduct he deserved every credit. Having given offence, and refused an unconditional apology, he had no other course; and it certainly would have been a bold proceeding, under the circumstances, to fire at, and, it may be, kill the Hero of Waterloo.

The *Courier* of the 21st of March, thus introduces the transaction and correspondence:—

"It is our duty to announce to the public an event which, thank GOD! has not been attended with fatal consequences to the personages concerned in it. A meeting took place this morning in Battersea fields, between the Duke of WELLINGTON and the Earl of WINCHEL-

SEA. The Duke was attended by Sir HENRY HARDINGE as his second. They proceeded on horse-back to the appointed place, at eight o'clock this morning.

" The Earl of WINCHELSEA, attended by the Earl of FALMOUTH, arrived in a carriage and four, in a few minutes afterwards.

"After the necessary preliminaries had been settled, the parties took their ground. The Duke of WELLINGTON fired first, but without effect. The Earl of WINCHELSEA then discharged his pistol in the air.

" In order to make the subject referred to in the subjoined correspondence perfectly intelligible, we preface it by extracts from a letter addressed by Lord WINCHELSEA to Mr. COLERIDGE, Secretary to the Committee for establishing the King's College, London, dated, March 14, 1826 :—

" I was one of those who, at first, thought the proposed plan might be practical, and prove an antidote to the principles of the London University ; I was not however, very sanguine in my expectations, seeing many difficulties likely to arise in the execution of the suggested arrangement ; and I confess that I felt rather doubtful as to the sincerity of the motives which had actuated some of the prime movers in this undertaking, when I considered that the Noble Duke at the head of his Majesty's Government had been induced, on this occasion, to assume a new character, and to step forward himself as the public advocate of religion and morality.

" Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party ; that the Noble Duke, who had, for some time previous to that period, determined upon 'breaking in upon the Constitution of 1688,' might the more effectually, under the cloak of some out-

ward show of zeal for the Protestant religion, carry on his insidious designs for the infringement of our liberties, and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State.

'TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER.

'SIR—I request your publication of the accompanying Correspondence. I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

'HENRY HARDINGE.'

(1.)—From the Duke of WELLINGTON to Lord WINCHELSEA.

'London, March 16, 1829.

'MY LORD—I have just now perused in the *Standard* newspaper of this day, a letter addressed to HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE, Esq., dated Eastwell Park, March 14, 1829, signed WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM; and I shall be very much obliged to your Lordship, if you will let me know whether that letter was written by you, and published by your authority.—I have, &c.

(Signed) 'WELLINGTON.

'Earl of WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM.'

(2.)—From the same to the same.

'London, March 18, 1829.

'My LORD,—I wrote to your Lordship, on the 16th, a letter, of which I inclose the duplicate; as, not having yet received an answer from your Lordship, I am apprehensive that the original may not have reached you, although I directed it to your house in Suffolk-street.

'I am just going to Windsor to attend his Majesty, but I shall be in town this night.—I have, &c.

(Signed) 'WELLINGTON.

'The Earl of WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM.'

(3)—From Lord WINCHELSEA to the Duke of WELLINGTON.

'Eastwell Park, March 18, 1829.

'MY LORD—The inclosed is a copy of the answer which I returned, by this day's post, to your Grace's letter, which only reached *me this morning*. I intend leaving this place for London to-morrow morning, and expect to be at No. 7, Suffolk-street, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon.—I have, &c.

(Signed) 'WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM.'

'His Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON.'

(4.)—From the same to the same.

'Eastwell Park, Ashford, March 18, 1829.

'MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter of the 16th instant, and I beg to inform you, that the letter addressed to H. N. COLERIDGE, Esq., was inserted in the *Standard* by my authority. As I had publicly given my approbation and sanction to the establishment of the King's College, London, last year, by his Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON becoming a subscriber to it, I thought it incumbent upon me, in withdrawing my name, also publicly to state my reasons for so doing.—I have, &c. (Signed)

'WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM.'

(5.)—From the Duke of WELLINGTON to the Earl of WINCHELSEA.

'London, March 18, 1829.

'My Lord,—I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 18th instant.

'Your Lordship is certainly the best judge of the mode to be adopted of withdrawing your name from the list of subscribers to the King's College.

'In doing so, however, it does not appear necessary to impute to me, in no measured terms, disgraceful and cri-

minal motives for my conduct in the part which I took in the establishment of the College.

'No man has a right, whether in public or in private, by speech or in writing, or in print, to insult another by attributing to him motives for his conduct, public or private, which disgrace or criminate him.

'If a Gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly, in the heat of debate, or in a moment of party violence, he is always ready to make reparation to him whom he may thus have injured.

'I am convinced that your Lordship will, upon reflection, be anxious to relieve yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you, I have, &c. (Signed) 'WELLINGTON.'

'The Earl of WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM.'

'Sir HENRY HARDINGE delivered the letter No. 5, to the Earl of WINCHELSEA, and was referred by his Lordship to the Earl of FALMOUTH. The following memorandum, No. 6, contains the substance of the communication made by Sir H. HARDINGE to Lord FALMOUTH.

(6.)—Memorandum of Sir H. HARDINGE.

'March 19, Eight o'Clock, Evening.

'Lord FALMOUTH having expressed a desire to know the extent of reparation that would be expected, two suggestions of what appeared to Sir HENRY HARDINGE to be the most natural mode of reparation were drawn; but upon the distinct understanding that they were not made with a view to confine Lord WINCHELSEA's explanation either as to the terms or manner therein stated—but as suggestions as to the course which might be pursued in bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

'Sir HENRY HARDINGE, therefore, on the part of the Duke of WELLINGTON, expects *one* of the *two* following alternatives:—

'Either that Lord WINCHELSEA should forthwith write to the Secretary of the King's College, and express his desire to withdraw his public letter, as one which attributed motives highly offensive to the Duke of WELLINGTON; and stating also that, upon reflection, he was not justified in attributing such motives to his Grace, and therefore expresses his regret at having done so; or,

'That Lord WINCHELSEA should write directly to the Duke of WELLINGTON himself, and make the same acknowledgments to his Grace, with a similar expression of his regret for having attributed motives highly offensive to his Grace, relating to the occasion of his Grace having presided at the Meeting of the King's College in —— last—

['Which motives he is now sensible he was not justified in imputing to his Grace*.']

'In either case, it is expected that a letter, so written, should be published by the Secretary of the London College, in the *Standard*, being the same paper as that which contained Lord W.'s original letter.

'Thursday, half-past Nine o'clock, Evening.'

* 'Friday Morning, March 20—The paragraph within crotchets [ ] was not desired to be retained, in the last interview with Lord FALMOUTH last night. 'H. H.'

(7)—Memorandum of Earl WINCHELSEA.

'March 19.

'Whether I may determine to give an explanation of my letter, published in the *Standard*, on Monday last, will depend upon the correctness of my belief that I had grounds for the opinions complained of by the Noble Duke therein expressed.

'I am ready to allow that I was mistaken in my view of the Noble Duke's conduct, as expressed in my public letter to Mr. COLERIDGE, on the 14th inst., and state my

regret at having so expressed it, provided the Noble Duke will state on his part that at the time he came forward to preside at the meeting for the establishment of King's College, London, he did not contemplate the measures which are now in progress for Roman Catholic Emancipation—or, to use Mr. PEEL's words, 'for breaking in upon the Constitution of 1688, but without some statement to that effect from the Noble Duke, I cannot withdraw the expressions contained in the above letter.

(Signed) 'WINCHELSEA.'

(8)—Memorandum of the Duke of WELLINGTON.

'London, March 20th, 1829, in the Morning.

'Sir HENRY HARDINGE has read me a memorandum written by Lord WINCHELSEA, and delivered to him by Lord FALMOUTH, from which it appears that his Lordship is anxious that I should justify myself from the charges against me, contained in his Lordship's address to Mr. COLERIDGE, published in the *Standard* newspaper.

'I may lament that a Nobleman, for whom I feel the highest respect, entertained a bad opinion of me. But I don't complain as long as that opinion is not brought before me.

'I cannot admit that any man has a right to call me before him, to justify myself from the charges which his fancy may suggest.

'That of which I complain of is, that the Earl of WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM should have published an opinion that I was actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives, in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago.

'His Lordship, unprovoked, has insulted me, by stating in writing, and authorising the publication of this opinion. For this insult, I believed, and am not willing to part with

the belief, that his Lordship will be anxious to give me reparation. (Signed,) 'W.'

(9)—Memorandum of Sir HENRY HARDINGE.

'Friday, March 20.

'Sir HENRY HARDINGE delivered to Lord FALMOUTH a Memorandum on the 28th of March, from the Duke of WELLINGTON, in reply to one from Lord WINCHELSEA last night; in the latter of which it was proposed, as a preliminary to any explanation, that the Duke of WELLINGTON should disclaim having contemplated the intentions attributed to his Grace by Lord WINCHELSEA, which mode of reparation was considered inadmissible.

'In the Memorandum of the Duke of WELLINGTON, his Grace states that his cause of complaint is in the publication of opinions highly offensive to him. Whenever, therefore, any terms or mode of reparation, which Lord WINCHELSEA may be disposed to offer, are communicated to Sir HENRY HARDINGE, he will make them known to the Duke of WELLINGTON, and inform Lord FALMOUTH whether they are satisfactory or not,

'HENRY HARDINGE.'

'N.B.—The original of this delivered to Lord FALMOUTH.'

(10)—Memorandum of the Earl of FALMOUTH.

'Out of respect for the Duke of WELLINGTON, Lord FALMOUTH has taken to Lord WINCHELSEA, the Duke of WELLINGTON's Memorandum, put into his hands by Sir HENRY HARDINGE, this morning, at the War-office, with Sir HENRY's own note thereon.

'In reply, Lord WINCHELSEA does not feel himself in a situation to comply with the expectation therein expressed, as to the withdrawal of his public letter. Lord

WINCHELSEA, therefore, desires that Lord FALMOUTH will decline so doing on his (Lord W.s') behalf.

'WINCHELSEA.'

(11.)—Memorandum of Sir H. HARDINGE.

'21st of March, Two o'Clock.

'My Lord,—I feel it to be my duty, before I make a final communication to your Lordship, to ascertain beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Lord WINCHELSEA declines to give the reparation which the Duke of WELLINGTON considers himself entitled to receive.

'I am, my Lord, your obedient Servant.

'HENRY HARDINGE.'

'The Earl of Falmouth.'

(12)—From LORD FALMOUTH to SIR H. HARDINGE.

'London, March 20, 1829, Half-past 3, p.m.

'SIR,—In reply to your note, stating that you wish to ascertain positively whether Lord WINCHELSEA declines to give the reparation which the Duke of WELLINGTON considers himself entitled to receive, I feel myself unable to say more than to refer you to the note which I delivered to you, as signed by him, in answer to the Duke of WELLINGTON's memorandum this day; and that if by the word "reparation," any withdrawal of Lord WINCHELSEA's public letter, or expression of regret for its contents, be expected, he does not feel himself in a situation to comply with such expectation.

'I am, sir,

'Your obedient humble servant,

'To Sir HENRY HARDINGE.' 'FALMOUTH.

(13)—From SIR H. HARDINGE to the EARL OF FALMOUTH.

'11, Whitehall Place, March 20, 1829.

'MY LORD,—I send your Lordship a letter from the Duke of WELLINGTON to Lord WINCHELSEA, commu-

nicating to his Grace, the note of 8 p.m. ; declining, on Lord W's part, to make any reparation or give any explanation, &c. of his Lordship's conduct towards the Duke of W. ; and in order to avoid the possibility of any mistake, I repeat what has already been verbally arranged between us, that the Duke of W. will be at the place appointed at eight o'clock to-morrow morning.

'H. HARDINGE.'

'To the Earl of FALMOUTH'

(14)—From the Duke of WELLINGTON to the Earl WINCHELSEA.

'London, March 20, half-past six, P.M.

'MY LORD—Sir HENRY HARDINGE has communicated to me the Memorandum signed by your Lordship, dated one P.M., and a note from Lord FALMOUTH, dated three, P.M.

'Since the insult, unprovoked on my part, and not denied by your Lordship, I have done every thing in my power to induce your Lordship to make me reparation—but in vain. Instead of apologising for your own conduct, your Lordship has called upon me to explain mine.

'The question for me NOW to decide is this—Is a Gentleman, who happens to be the KING's Minister, to submit to be insulted by any Gentleman, who thinks proper to attribute to him disgraceful or criminal motives for his conduct as an individual. I cannot doubt of the decision which I ought to make on this question. Your Lordship is alone responsible for the consequences.

'I now call upon your Lordship to give me that satisfaction for your conduct, which a Gentleman has a right to require, and which a Gentleman never refuses to give.

'I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) 'WELLINGTON.

'The Earl of WINCHELSEA and NOTTINGHAM.'

(15)—From Lord FALMOUTH to Sir H. HARDINGE.

'London, March 20, 1829, half-past 11, p.m.

'SIR,—When I received the favour of your note, with its inclosure, soon after 8 o'clock this evening, I had just sat down to dinner; and being in company, I could not read it, without exciting suspicion, till some time afterwards. I had then to find Lord WINCHELSEA—all which I mention in excuse for delay, in case you should think it of importance; but I apprehend that after an arrangement made before 5 o'clock this afternoon, his Grace's letter to Lord WINCHELSEA, calling upon him for satisfaction in the usual way, was meant merely as a customary form on such occasions. All matters will take place, of course, to-morrow morning, at 8 o'clock, according to that arrangement. I have the honor to be,

'To Sir H. HARDINGE.' 'FALMOUTH.

(16)— From Lord WINCHELSEA to the Duke of WELLINGTON.

'Suffolk-street, Friday Night, 11, p.m.

'My LORD,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's note.

'I have already had occasion to communicate to your Grace, that under existing circumstances, I did not feel myself in a situation to comply with what was required of me, in regard to my public letter.

'The satisfaction which your Grace has demanded, it is, of course, impossible for me to decline.

'I have the honor to be,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

'WINCHELSEA.'

'To his Grace the Duke of WELLINGTON.'

"The Duke of WELLINGTON and Lord WINCHELSEA met at the place appointed this morning, (March 21).

The parties having taken their ground, Lord WINCHELSEA received the Duke of WELLINGTON's fire—and fired in the air. After some discussion, the accompanying Memorandum was delivered by Lord FALMOUTH to Sir HENRY HARDINGE, and accepted by Sir HENRY HARDINGE, as a satisfactory reparation to the Duke of WELLINGTON.

(17.)—Memorandum above referred to.

'March 21, 1829.

'Having given the Duke of WELLINGTON satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received from me, through my public letter of Monday last, and having thus placed myself in a different situation from that in which I stood when his Grace communicated with me, through Sir HENRY HARDINGE and Lord FALMOUTH, on the subject of that letter, before the meeting took place; I do not now hesitate to declare, of my own accord, that, in apology, I regret having unadvisedly published an opinion, which, the Noble Duke states, in his Memorandum of yesterday, to have charged him with disgraceful and criminal motives, in a certain transaction which took place nearly a year ago. I also declare, that I will cause this expression of regret to be inserted in the *Standard* newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter was given to the public."

While the anti-Catholic faction were thus displaying their rage and disappointment, the popular party were evincing their gratitude to their great Leader, by munificent subscriptions, as a testimonial for his long services and sacrifices in their cause. Mr. CORNELIUS O'LOUGHLIN, of Dublin, subscribed five hundred pounds; Mr. JEREMIAH MURPHY, of Cork, three hundred; the Earl of SHREWSBURY, subscribed one thousand guineas; and the Duke of NORFOLK, the comparatively small sum of

one hundred pounds. The collection of the testimonial was organised in every district throughout Ireland, and a sum amounting to fifty thousand pounds sterling was collected. This was a munificent proof of the national gratitude; but not greater than O'CONNELL deserved. He had toiled incessantly and disinterestedly for over five-and-twenty years. He had not only devoted his time, which to him was money, to the Catholic cause, but had opened his purse without reserve; while the finances were low, and the expences heavy, his money or his credit was always readily given to sustain the movement during any temporary depression; and the rent for the Corn Exchange was always discharged by him, when funds from the public were not forthcoming. The national annuity paid O'CONNELL was creditable to both parties. It was an enduring evidence of the generous and patriotic spirit of the people; it was the highest testimony that could be afforded, of not only their grateful attachment to the LIBERATOR, but also of their appreciation of the value of his future services to Ireland. All felt that his own interest was utterly and altogether neglected by him, in his political career; while, at the same time, no one man, relying on moral power alone, ever achieved for a country advantages so many and so great. The Irish people knew this, and they acted towards the National Benefactor in the manner he deserved.

On the 13th April, 1829, after passing through the House of Lords, with the triumphant majorities of ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHT, on the second reading, and ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR, on the third, the Emancipation Bill received the Royal Assent; and the Catholics were no longer proscribed because of their religion.

O'CONNELL had remained in Ireland. He was retained specially for Down-Patrick Assizes, and was there enter-

tained at a public dinner. Everywhere the utmost anxiety was evinced to testify to him the national gratitude and affection. Soon after the Act of Emancipation was passed, he repaired to London.

The KING's conduct during the entire of these transactions betrayed his unmitigated hostility to the Catholics. When he had given his Royal assent to the Bill for the suppression of the Association, he wanted to stop short at that point, and throw the Emancipation Bill overboard. The consequence was, that the Duke of WELLINGTON and his cabinet resigned; and until the draft of the bill reached the Duke, with the KING's fiat of approbation, there existed no Government. The Bill, so endorsed, passed both Houses of Parliament, without any amendment.

There is, in HORACE TWISS's life of Lord ELDON, a most interesting memorandum of interviews between the KING and his ex-Chancellor, in reference to the Emancipation Bill. In these interviews, his Majesty complains of the manner in which his Ministers coerced him to consent to that measure. He represented himself as in the state of a person with a pistol presented to his breast; that his Ministers threatened to resign, if the measure were not proceeded with; and that having none to fall back upon, he was forced to say to them "Go on." He declares he was most harshly treated by PEEL and WELLINGTON; and he appears to have retained, long after the Act passed, vindictive feelings towards all who assisted in carrying it. It is a singular coincidence, that the Election Committee appointed to consider the petition against O'CONNELL's return for Clare, reported that he was duly returned a member of the legislature, on the very night that PEEL laid his Emancipation Bill before the House of Commons; thus suggesting the re-

flection, that the Clare Election and the Emancipation Bill were cause and consequence.

It is deeply to be deplored, for the fame of the Ministers who so nobly did their duty on this occasion, that O'Connell's election for Clare was not recognised in the Emancipation Bill; and that the words "thereafter to be elected," should have been inserted purposely to prevent him from taking his seat. It is deeply to be deplored that so great a measure should have been tarnished by so paltry a provision, directed specially against the great man, to whom was due the credit of conceiving the liberation from bondage, and working out with unrivalled ability and, unrelaxing zeal, the civil and religious freedom of an enslaved, dispirited, and divided people. To legislate against an individual, was unworthy of the British Senate—and, against the great Catholic advocate, a mean, vindictive, and discreditable deed. It is, however, but justice to say, that the Duke of Wellington and Peel, both regretted the necessity incumbent upon them. The truth is, they had to yield something to the dogged bigotry and factious spirit of the King, whom they found most difficult to lead or to control. As a pacificatory concession, they consented to the clause which prevented O'Connell taking his seat immediately on the passing of the Act. He would not allow personal considerations to interfere, in a matter of such immense national importance: and he requested the present Lord Monteagle to state as much in the House of Commons. After the passing of the Emancipation Act, O'Connell still persevered in his desire to give up the representation of Clare, to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, and go into parliament for a borough. He absolutely offered, through his Solicitor, Mr. Pierce Mahony, three thousand guineas to Sir Edward Denny, for a seat during the remainder

of the session, as member for Tralee. That borough belonged, according to the old *regime*, to the DENNY family. It was regularly sold; and was, in point of fact, assigned as a fortune, under a marriage settlement. The negociation, in which O'CONNELL was thus concerned, came to nothing; and it then became necessary for him to take immediate steps for demanding his seat as member for Clare. He at once made arrangements for that purpose. The opinion of some of the most eminent lawyers in England was, that no penalty attached to a Catholic Irish member, for sitting in the Imperial Parliament, without taking the oaths. They were required both in the English Parliament and in the Irish, before the Union; but it was considered that these laws did not apply under the circumstances to the Imperial Parliament. Acting on this opinion, O'CONNELL determined to try his right to sit, without taking the oaths. Some of his friends advised him to be cautious; because, in their opinion, not only did pecuniary penalties attach to the attempt, but, as they held, the individual rendered himself liable, in like manner, to perpetual exclusion, if he persisted in the effort to sit against the decision of the House.

In order to ascertain the intentions of Government, Mr. PIERCE MAHONY, as Mr. O'CONNELL's friend, went, during the Easter recess, to Hatfield House, the residence of the Marquess of SALISBURY, with whom Mr. PEEL and the Duke of WELLINGTON were on a visit. He was there informed, that the Government regretted Mr. O'CONNELL's position: and, as a Government, would take no part against him; but would be guided by the eminent constitutional Lawyers in the House of Commons. On Mr. MAHONY's return, from Hatfield House, it was arranged that he should immediately appear before the Commons. Finally, the 15th of May was the day fixed

for this remarkable event. In the course of an hour, the heads of his speech were arranged and written on a small card. The books of authority were sent down to the House. He then went to take a bath, and at half-past four, accompanied by Mr. MAHONY, he took a seat assigned to him under the gallery, and next the Sergeant-at Arms. The House was crowded to excess. At five o'clock, the Speaker called on any new member desiring to be sworn, to come to the table.

O'CONNELL, accordingly, presented himself at the table of the House of Commons, introduced, as usual, by two members—namely, by Lord EBRINGTON, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whose declaration against Repeal, caused so much annoyance to the Irish nation—and by Lord DUNCANNON, the late Lord BESBOROUGH; between whom and O'CONNELL, there always existed mutual confidence and esteem. The sensation Mr. O'CONNELL's appearance caused, was intense; the House was crowded, and when he entered, all rose, thro' a feeling of curiosity, to catch a glimpse of the renowned member for Clare. Mr. O'CONNELL remained, amidst the profound silence of the House, some moments at the table, pointing out the oaths he was ready to take, and those to which he felt objection. He was willing to take the oaths required by the Relief Act; but, being a Catholic, he refused to take the Protestant oaths of Supremacy and Abjuration. His refusal was reported formally to the SPEAKER, whereupon he was ordered to withdraw, and he then resumed his seat under the gallery. Mr. BROUGHAM proposed that Mr. O'CONNELL should forthwith be heard at the bar, to account for his refusal to take the necessary oaths; namely, those required to be taken by all members returned to serve in Parliament *previous* to the Act of Emancipation. The consideration

of the question was postponed, *nem. con.*, on the motion of Mr. PEEL, to Monday, the 18th May. The comments of the London Press, upon this affair, will throw considerable light upon it; and we shall append to a report of what occurred, a few extracts from some of the Journals.

A correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, writes in these terms:—

"Yesterday the Hon. Member for Clare, was at the House of Commons, as early as one o'clock; and from that time till the meeting of the House, he was engaged in giving evidence before the Select Committee, on the Irish Miscellaneous and Education Estimates; and after that in the Commons' Library, consulting the Journals. The Hon. Member's intention to present himself, for the purpose of claiming his seat, and that, too, under the new Act, soon became known, and consequently, by half-past three o'clock, some time even before the Speaker's arrival, the House was amazingly crowded with Members: there could not be fewer than 300 Members present; and by the time that the Speaker arrived, the Members' side galleries were crowded. Under the gallery also was thronged, chiefly by Peers; amongst them were the Duke of NORFOLK, Earl FITZWILLIAM, the Marquess of ANGLESEY, the Marquess of SALISBURY, Lord BERESFORD, &c. In the roof of the House there were several ladies. The Ministerial benches were attended by Mr. G. DAWSON, Mr. CALCRAFT, Sir GEO. HILL, &c. Mr. PEEL did not enter till the Speaker had taken the Chair: he had been absent for several days on account of ill-health, and was evidently labouring under indisposition. Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD (the ex-Member for Clare) was not present; at least he did not appear on the Treasury bench. On the Opposition bench were Mr. BROUGHAM, Sir J. MACINTOSH, Lord ALTHORP, Mr. TIERNEY, &c.; most of

them being provided with copies of the New Act, and busily engaged in coming over its clauses. Mr. O'Connell entered the House before the arrival of the Speaker; but in his way thither, though the avenues and lobby were crowded, there were no marks of applause indulged in. He took his seat under the gallery, introduced by Lords Duncannon and Ebrington, and went there according to the etiquette in cases of Members waiting to be sworn. The Honorable Member was provided with the certificate from the Commissioners acting for the Lord High Steward, setting forth that he had taken the preliminary oaths of allegiance (as provided by the *old* law) before them: he did that on Thursday, in Mr. Dorrington's office.

"The Speaker having taken the chair, inquired whether there was any Member to be sworn.

"Mr. O'Connell, with Lord Duncannon on his right and Lord Ebrington on his left hand, to introduce him in the customory forms, forthwith passed the bar of the House, and proceeded towards the table.

"Mr. Ley, the Chief Clerk of the House, then left his seat, proceeded to the lower end of the table, and there met Mr. O'Connell. Mr. O'Connell handed in the certificate from the Commissioners of the Lord High Steward, his return, and his qualification.

"The Clerk, having examined these documents, and found that they were all perfectly correct, immediately opened the large box, in which are kept various official forms, &c. and took out the old oaths affixed to paste boards, and handed them to Mr. O'Connell, together with the New Testament, on which to swear him. Mr. O'Connell took the Testament, but on the oaths being presented to him, he said in effect to Mr. Ley, the Clerk, (the conversation was not addressed to the Speaker of

the House, and, of course, it was not heard in the gallery) "I apply to take my seat under the new Act. I am ready to take the oath directed to be taken by Roman Catholic Members. I do not feel that I am bound to take those oaths (passing his hand over the Oaths of Supremacy, &c., to point out which he meant.) Perhaps, Sir, you will state that fact to the Speaker for me—that I do not consider I ought to be called on to take other than the oath named in the *new* Act?"

"Mr. LEY, the Clerk, then went to the SPEAKER, and made the required communication; taking the old oaths with him, and pointing out the exceptions made by Mr. O'CONNELL.

"The SPEAKER thereupon immediately rose, and stated—that if the old oaths were not taken, he must desire the Hon. Member, Mr. O'CONNELL, to withdraw.

"Mr. O'CONNELL bowed to the SPEAKER, but neither attempted to speak nor to withdraw; he remained standing at the table, and facing the SPEAKER.

"Mr. BROUGHAM rose, but

"The SPEAKER prevented him from speaking by calling out "Order, order!" thereby intimating that he could not proceed till Mr. O'CONNELL had withdrawn. Then again, addressing Mr. O'CONNELL, he said the Hon. Member must "withdraw."

"Mr. O'CONNELL once more bowed, and then withdrew, but without uttering, or attempting to utter, one word.

"Mr. BROUGHAM remained on his legs, and when Mr. O'C. had withdrawn (Mr. O'C. resumed his seat under the gallery) Mr. B. proceeded, and moved that Mr. O'CONNELL be heard at the table, to state his reasons why he refused to take the old oaths. After much discussion, Mr. PEEL's motion, to adjourn the debate till Monday, was adopted.

"Mr. O'Connell had prepared himself to commence his case *instanter*. He had ten or eleven volumes of the Journals of the House, besides several volumes of law books, &c., which were all stationed in the door-way ready for use, had the House determined to hear the Hon. Member for Clare."

The *Times* thus writes :—

"The attempt was made by Mr. O'Connell last night to take his seat in the House of Commons, and the narrative of the proceeding will be read with interest in our Parliamentary report. Yet that can convey but an imperfect idea of the silent, the almost breathless attention with which he was received in the house, advancing to and retiring from the table. The benches were filled in an unusual degree with Members, and there is no recollection of so large a number of Peers brought by curiosity into the House of Commons. The Hon. Gentleman was introduced by Lords Duncannon and Ebrington; a perfect stillness ensued. By his action he evidently declined the first oath which was tendered to him—that of supremacy and allegiance—and required the oath prescribed by the late Act. The explanation by the Speaker to the House, of what had taken place, was clear; his expression of countenance and manner towards the Hon. Gentleman, on whom he fixed his regards, extremely courteous, and his declaration that "he must withdraw," firm and authoritative.—Mr. O'Connell for a moment looked round, as one who had reason to expect support, and this failing, he bowed most respectfully and withdrew. After his departure, Mr. Brougham spoke, but in a somewhat subdued tone; some discussion followed, but the debate on the subject is fixed for Monday next."

The following are the comments of the *Sun* and *Globe* :—

"We cannot but think that Mr. O'CONNELL has been hardly dealt with. When he entered the House last night, in the expectation that he would have been enabled to take his seat; or at any rate, to be heard at the bar of the House, should obstacles be thrown in his way; he was informed by the SPEAKER that he must withdraw; and this upon the subtle and quibbling point that he had been elected previously to the passing of the late Act in favour of the Catholics. On this—we repeat the phrase—quibbling point, he was desired to take the former oaths—those very oaths, the injustice of which have caused their repeal, and which for any active purposes are therefore no longer in existence. Of course, Mr. O'CONNELL refused to comply with such terms, and was in consequence ordered to withdraw. Now without entering into the small technicalities of the case; without nicely balancing the forms and ceremonies of the House, on a question, which from the peculiar circumstances connected with it, it is next to impossible can ever form a precedent, we shall look at it in a more enlarged point of view, as a matter of common sense and good feeling. When Mr. PEEL first brought forward his Bill for the Emancipation of the Catholics, he laid particular stress on the generous and manly spirit that dictated it. This part of his argument for which, in common with the majority, we gave him great credit at the time, he elaborated with considerable effect. The Catholics, he said, demanded justice; they deserved it; and should be paid twenty shillings in the pound.—Such, though not, perhaps, in the same words, was the tenor of his famous conciliation speech; such too was the spirit of his reply. But how has this been followed up? Why, by—we must say it—an ungenerous attempt to strangle in the petty meshes of the law, a question which should be decided only by common sense. To emanci-

pate the Catholics, yet still seek to protract the slavery of the very man, to whom, in a great measure, such Emancipation has been owing, seems to us almost to neutralise the courteous and lofty spirit of the boon. In our view of the case, it carries an air of personality along with it. The leaven of a vindictive spirit seems mixed up with it—the cloven foot is manifest. Mr. O'Connell has forced us to emancipate the Catholics; he has brought us to that dreadful pass, that we have all but lost our places,—nay, more, he has compelled us to separate from our old allies, the Ultra Tories; and we will therefore avenge our own embarrassments, and the tears of John Lord Eldon, on his obnoxious person. Such are the sentiments which, should he, Mr. O'Connell, be sent back to be re-elected for Clare, will, we fear, be said by the more reflective portion of the public, to have influenced the conduct of Government. On a technical point of law, they may, perhaps—though even this is doubtful—be defensible; but such technicality should not be suffered for an instant to interfere with, or cloud the glory of an Act like that of Catholic Emancipation; by, which, in after ages, it will be the chief boast of the nineteenth century to have been distinguished."

Again—from the *Globe*:—

"As some incorrect statements have been made of the circumstances under which Mr. O'Connell withdrew from the House of Commons, on his being desired to do so a second time by the Speaker, we are happy to be able to communicate the real facts. It is required by the statute that every Knight of the Shire, returned to serve in Parliament, shall take an oath of qualification, declaring that he possesses a landed estate of £600 per annum.—Mr. O'Connell went into the House prepared with his qualification paper; and when the Clerk refused to admi-

nister the relief oath, on the application of Mr. O'Connell, the Hon. Member requested that he would at least administer the qualification oath. This, however, he refused to do, or to communicate the wish of Mr. O'Connell to the Speaker. Upon this refusal alone, Mr. O'Connell was induced to quit the House : had the oath been administered he would have felt it his duty, respectfully, to have addressed the Speaker, and enforced upon him and upon the House his claims to his seat."

On Monday, the 18th May, O'Connell took his seat under the gallery. The House was crowded to overflowing. Never before were there in the House so many strangers, peers, or members. The adjourned debate was resumed, and it was resolved that Mr. O'Connell should be heard at the bar. To the bar, he, accompanied by Mr. Pierce Mahony, advanced.—The scene was most exciting. During his speech, Mr. Mahony supplied him with the authorities which had been previously prepared. His speech on that occasion was one of the most remarkable he ever delivered. It was closely argumentative, and he sustained his great reputation, in the opinion of the most eminent barristers in the House. It was, however, of no avail. His case was prejudged; precedent was against him; and when he refused to take the oath of supremacy, a new writ was immediately issued for a new election for Clare.

A remarkable incident occurred on this occasion, which deserves to be recorded. When Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Mahony retired from the bar, they found their places under the gallery occupied by two gentlemen—one old—the other young—and the other benches under the gallery, which during the early part of the evening were empty, were now filled by the suite of the French embassy. Room was made by the two gentlemen for O'Connell

and his friend. O'CONNELL sat between the Sergeant at Arms and the old gentleman—Mr. MAHONY between both the strangers. They entered into conversation familiarly with O'CONNELL, and spoke English like natives. These strangers were no other than the present LOUIS PHILIPPE, King of the French, and his son, the late Duke of ORLEANS, who were present to witness the struggle for civil and religious liberty.

Thus terminated this memorable transaction; thus was the man who won Emancipation, driven to a new election on a pettyfogging quibble. It was unworthy of the Government to frame the Act purposely to exclude him. It was beneath the dignity of the House of Commons, to lend its sanction to the indulgence of personal, even though Regal, hostility. Mr. O'CONNELL, however, was nothing daunted. He immediately addressed the Electors of Clare. He returned to Dublin, where he was received in the most enthusiastic manner. From Kingstown to Dublin, thousands surrounded his carriage; and at the time he reached Merrion-square, an immense multitude filled the area before his house. At his earnest request they listened to him from his balcony, without noise; and after hearing an address from him, full of point and humour—the vast mass dispersed. On the following day, a meeting was held to do him honour, and to make arrangements for ensuring his return for Clare. At that meeting, Mr. O'CONNELL made a brilliant speech; but the most remarkable was the one delivered by Mr. SHEIL; as it is a truly eloquent testimony to the services of the LIBERATOR, we cannot withhold it from the reader:—

"If we are free—if Ireland has arisen from her prostration—if her prison-house has been flung open, and her manacles have been thrown off—if she has burst through

bondage, and the hand of dishonour has been effaced from her forehead—if that odious disparity which imparted insolence to one class, and stamped debasement upon the other, be gone—if we are all placed upon the great level of equal citizenship; and, if equality, tranquillity, and peace, and friendly feeling, and national brotherhood, be introduced amongst us—if the vast endowments conferred by nature upon our country, are now capable of being turned to a magnificent account—if our country has been rendered capable of felicity, and with the extinction of its contentions, not only its and our happiness has been secured, but the stability and the consolidation of the whole empire has been effected—if all this, and much more than all this, has been accomplished, let it be remembered; but how can it ever be forgotten, that this great and most noble work—this achievement which is attended with equal usefulness and glory, is to be mainly attributed to the man, whose name shall remain for ever in the records of our history, as the peerless benefactor of Ireland? I have put two questions; Am I free? and to whom am I indebted for that, without which existence becomes degradation, and it is dishonourable to live? To those questions I have given an answer. But another question remains to be put, and to that question an answer remains to be returned. If DANIEL O'CONNELL be the great author, the founder of your liberty, what should be his recompence? What should be given in exchange for freedom? What is it worth? Let there be an account of debtor and creditor instituted between DANIEL O'CONNELL and his country. Liberty stands as the first item against you. What shall we write down to your credit? It requires some large equivalent to balance the account. Catholics of Ireland, not so much for the sake of Mr. O'CONNELL as for your own; in order

that it may not be said that slavery had so debased you, that you were not grateful for its extinction, come forward; and if you cannot wholly liquidate this national debt, still give a proof that for your freedom, and that of your children, you have the virtue to make no mean and insignificant return. Let it not be for a moment thought that this country is making a donation to Mr. O'Connell. Thirty years of public service; thirty years of indefatigable labour, of indomitable energy, and of unquenchable zeal; thirty years of exertion, which has at last been crowned with the consummations of a surpassing success; thirty years, in which he has dedicated his fortune, his faculties, and all his large and ample heart to his country, give him a title, which it is impossible for patriotism to dispute. But it is not only with reference to the past; it is in anticipation of the future, that you should furnish him with the means of continuing his career of national utility. You want him still; and how can you expect that he shall be able to substract himself from his profession, and deprive his family and himself of its vast emoluments, unless he finds some compensation, not in the country, but in the justice and wisdom of his country? I repeat it—you want him still, and you must needs know that the field in which your rights are to be asserted by him is changed, and that it is in the House of Commons that Mr. O'Connell, at an immense loss to himself, will have, henceforward, to bear your standard. Shall Daniel O'Connell be member of Clare? Aye—If there be one touch of good emotion—one throb of generous feeling—one pulse of gratitude left in the heart of Ireland. For this, (an object in which the interest and honour of every Roman Catholic is involved,) everything that devoted zeal, that united energy, and that the enthusiasm of seven millions of the people can effect, shall be accom-

plished. But shall the Catholic rent be applied for this purpose? How should the Catholic rent be applied? In my judgment, after the discharge of the incumbrances upon it; after payment of what is due to that excellent establishment, "the Model School," it should be laid out in the advancement of national education, in controlling the efforts of injudicious proselytism, in the endowment of the Catholic University of Maynooth, in the building of houses of worship, for the decent performance of the rights of religion, and in making a provision for the thousands of wretches whom the disfranchisement bill and the sub-letting act have thrown upon the world. These are certainly great and multifarious objects, and it will be asked of me—what vast treasure has been accumulated—what immense stores of gold have been hoarded—what rich mines have been opened, which will enable us to accomplish this costly variety of benefit? I answer—there are but thirteen thousand pounds of the Catholic rent remaining; and after the payment of our debts, there will be a residue of about ten thousand; and yet, with that sum, comparatively insignificant, all that I have mentioned may be accomplished. How can this be? What! you will exclaim, with so small a fund beat fanaticism down—repeal the vestry act—liberate the people from the uncertainties of a capricious ecclesiastical taxation—raise up the altars of religion—enlarge and enrich the great seminary of Catholic education—rescue the people from starvation and from exile, and give a whole nation bread! How can all this be done? I still reply—it may be effected with the Catholic rent. Put into Parliament the men who will dedicate all their faculties to the attainment of these objects, and you will thus have taken the most effectual means for their achievement. Put men into Parliament, who will call upon Englishmen, in the language of fearless adjuration,

to complete the great work of justice to Ireland. Put men into Parliament, who will call upon the Minister, in the name of their country, (and the Minister will attend to men who are maintained by their country) to make an impartial allocation of the public money to the education of the people—to extinguish the jobs of fanaticism—to render Maynooth College the seat of arts and letters, which it ought to be—to build temples for the religious necessities of the many, and not for the religious luxuries of the few, and to modify the village ascendency of the vestry bill ; and above all, not to permit thousands of wretches, who are expelled from their hovels by the heartless spirit of experimental legislation, to perish upon the public way. You thus see that I am not so visionary, when I suggest that the Catholic Rent, if properly applied, can accomplish these multitudinous varieties of amelioration. Put DANIEL O'CONNELL, and put men who will sustain him and co-operate with him, into Parliament—and you will soon see that the men, who out of Parliament acted so powerfully upon public opinion, will not be wholly destitute of opinion within it. With what a strength of adjuration will DANIEL O'CONNELL appeal to the feelings and magnanimity of Englishmen, and on behalf of Ireland demand fair dealing with her? With his perfect knowledge of detail, his vast and minute information upon Ireland, his vehement eloquence ; and, above all, the people of Ireland at his back, what may he not effect for his country? Let us then, to a man, become his abettors in this great struggle. Were he to lose his election in the county Clare, it would be a reproach and an humiliation to every one of us. We are all engaged, almost as much as himself, in this noble undertaking, and it will be proved to the Minister, I trust, that there still is left a body of yeomanry in this country, which, with the

remnant of the elective franchise, like a broken sword, will be enabled to encounter the columns of the aristocracy, and give the rural despots battle. Yes! DANIEL O'CONNELL will be thrown back upon the Minister by the country! He will, I trust, appear a second time in Parliament, with a new impression of public confidence stamped upon his name; and when he rises to address that senate, at whose bar he has already given such evidence of his powers, he will stand up the peculiar representative of his country.—And what may we not expect that he will achieve? He, that for so many years worked the great engine of public opinion, and "wielded the wild democracy" with such a gigantic arm, will exhibit the same efficiency; for if ever there was a man with a mind peculiarly flexible, and which readily accommodates itself to its auditory, it is DANIEL O'CONNELL. Let us then arise in his behalf—let every nerve be strained—let every energy be put forth—let the seven millions be put into movement in his cause. Rally, fellow-citizens, round the man, that in public despair never ceased to hope—that was never weary when all others fainted—that never stopped when all others fell. The man, who by his perseverance, his energy, his indefatigable labour, his indomitable spirit, his dauntless courage, and his chivalrous intrepidity; and, above all, by his superior and heart-stirring eloquence, contributed more than any one that lives, to disenthral his country from her bondage, to rescue her from discord, from oppression, and from shame—to introduce peace and union, and genuine loyalty amongst us—to banish alienation and discontent, to bind every Irishman by the ties of a grateful allegiance to the State, to make us good subjects and true citizens; and by the happy alliance of our interest with our duty, to impart to every one of

us an equal concern in the prosperity and in the glory of the British empire."

The time for the Clare Election now approached; and Mr. O'Connell left Dublin, on the first of June for Ennis. He had scarcely emerged from the suburbs into the country, when he was recognized, and the first shout raised was re-echoed, from stage to stage, until he reached the county of which he was speedily to be again the representative. The towns of Naas, Kildare, Monastereven, Maryborough, Montrath, Roscrea, were, as he entered each, in a state of the greatest excitement. Green boughs were hung from every window. The enthusiasm of 1843, did not surpass that of 1829. At Nenagh he arrived at night, and instantly the town was illuminated. He reached Limerick at an early hour in the morning; yet, even then there were thousands assembled to greet him. Having travelled all night, he retired to bed, and was not visible until about two o'clock: yet during the whole time, from his arrival to that hour, the street near his Hotel was crowded by the people, anxious to catch a glimpse of their Liberator. A large tree was planted opposite his Hotel, and musicians were placed on different branches, and played during the day various stirring national airs, appropriate to the occasion. At two o'clock, Mr. O'Connell appeared on the box of his travelling carriage, and having, on the topics of the day, in his usual happy strain, addressed the dense thousands, who were listening with rapture to every word he uttered, he proceeded on his way to Ennis. Here his reception was enthusiastic beyond description. The Limerick trades, with their flags, and the banners belonging to each society, proceeded in procession, until they reached Meelick Turnpike—there they filed to each side of the road, and transferred the honor of escorting their illustrious Liberator,

to the freeholders of Clare. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of this moment. In his varied and stirring existence, he never experienced such unbounded fervor. On he journeyed, until he approached Ennis—where he was met by the Trades of that town, who turned out to receive him, in the most creditable manner. A triumphal car was prepared for him; and thus, with all the accompaniments of a Roman Conqueror, he entered Ennis; thus terminating a journey of the most extraordinary kind. His way from Dublin was one scene of excitement. He made over twenty speeches to the assembled people, and was surrounded during his progress with nearly a million of persons. Nor did his labours end on his arrival at Ennis. On the contrary; there were yet very nearly two months before the election. The constituency of ten pound freeholders, under the New Act, had yet to be formed. The patriotism of the people was to be fostered; for the most influential of the Aristocarcy were against him. Sir EDWARD O'BRIEN, father of Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN, and the leading man of Clare, was a violent opponent. Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN, influenced by his father, appeared in print against O'CONNELL; addressing the electors of Clare against his pretensions, and stating that the whole of the gentry of Clare went against him at the former election. Mr. O'CONNELL and Mr. STEELE, both in characteristic letters, replied to this address. This transaction is matter of history, and, therefore, could not be omitted here; but we may be permitted to say, from a personal acquaintance with Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN, that, in our opinion, a more straightforward or determined friend of popular rights, does not exist; however mistaken we may think him in some of his views. However, in 1829, he was decidedly opposed to the people; though it is right to

observe, that he and another were, in 1828, the only members of Parliament in the Catholic Association. His address set forth, in addition to what we have already stated, that the Electors were led away from their Landlords by false pretences. This produced a rejoinder from Mr. STEELE, addressed to the London paper, the *Globe and Traveller*, and couched in such strong language, that many of his expressions were omitted by the Editor, and asterisks substituted. A letter of this nature could not be overlooked; and accordingly, a duel between Mr. STEELE and Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN was the consequence; the preliminaries to which we find set forth in the following correspondence in the newspapers of the day:—

"Athenæum Club House,
"Sunday evening, 7 o'clock.

"SIR—In consequence of a mutilated letter, to which your name is attached, appearing in the *Globe and Traveller* newspaper, of the 27th of June, I am requested by my friend, Mr. WILLIAM S. O'BRIEN, to ask if you acknowledge having written that letter; and if so, I must request you will have the kindness to fill up those passages which are at present terminated by asterisks, particularly that sentence which commences as follows—'As Mr. W. S. O'BRIEN has presumed to use language so strong as this, I give it the only answer which can be given on such an occasion.' I feel myself bound to make this request, as all those unfinished sentences, and in particular the one quoted, are liable to the most disagreeable interpretation. And, as I am led to believe, from the friendly terms on which you have ever been with Mr. W. S. O'BRIEN, that no intention existed on your part to hurt his feelings, I flatter myself that your answer may be such as will cause a favourable and satisfactory

termination of this buisness.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

" WORONZOW GREIG.

" T. STEELE, Esq."

" P.S.—I shall wait for your answer at Lord ARRAN's, 40, Dover-street, 'till ten o'clock ; after that time, any communications may be left at the Athenæum Club House."

" Holmes's Hotel, Sunday Evening
" Half-past 10 o'Clock.

" SIR—I have this moment been honoured by the receipt of your letter of this evening ; and I beg to say that I distinctly acknowledge myself to be the writer of the letter in the *Globe and Traveller*, which bears my signature; and which appeared in a mutilated form, in consequence of the refusal of the Editor to publish those expressions for which asterisks have been substituted.

" As the friend and seconder of O'CONNELL, and the friend of O'GORMAN MAHON, his proposer—as the kinsman of Captain BRIDGEMAN, and the friend of every one of the Catholic Clergy and Catholic Gentry who exerted their influence for the election of the LIBERATOR —I used the very strongest form of expression which our language affords, in contradiction of the assertion of Mr. WM. O'BRIEN, that Mr. O'CONNELL was returned ' in opposition to the *unanimous* wish of the gentry of *the County, and that the people had been deluded by false pretences.*'

" As you express a desire to know the particular expression, it was that which it is so painful to be obliged to use: I said the assertion of Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN was '*a lie, and that he knew it to be so.*'

" The term ' blackguardism,' is the one for which the asterisks are substituted, after the words ' now has the'

—and the words 'gross nonsense, personal impertinence, audacious falsehood, and political baseness and ingratitude, I have read for the last years,' are the words for which asterisks have been substituted in my description of the letter.

'Permit me to say, that if you should be inclined to favour me with any farther communication on this subject, my friend O'GORMAN MAHON has been authorised by me to receive it; and I shall be ready, at a moment's notice, to act in whatever manner he may think it right to direct. His address is Batt's Hotel, Dover-street.—

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"THOMAS STEELE.

"W. GREIG, Esq."

"In consequence of this letter, Mr. WORONZOW GREIG had an interview next morning with O'GORMAN MAHON, after which the latter received the following letter—

"Athenæum Club House, Monday, June 29, 1829, 1 o'Clock.

"SIR—After mature consideration upon the conversation which took place between us this morning, I am led to hope, from the sentiments you expressed on that occasion, that the affair in which we are so unpleasantly engaged may be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. I naturally feel most anxious that no unpleasant consequences should result from *a mere political* dispute. I therefore sincerely hope you will see the propriety of Mr. STEELE'S apologising for the PERSONAL expressions contained in his letter:—'*The assertion of Mr. W. O'Brien is a lie, and that he knew it to be so.*' Also for the terms '*blackguardism*' and '*audacious falsehood*'—words which I trust must have been unintentionally written in an

unguarded moment, and in the heat of political excitation.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"WORONZOW GREIG.

"O'GORMAN MAHON, Esq."

"Athenæum, Monday, half past 6 o'clock.

"SIR—As I have not yet received any answer to my note of this morning, I fear that some misunderstanding must have arisen as to the place at which communications directed to me are to be left; I therefore beg to inform you, that in future all letters and messages left for me at the Athenæum Club-house, will either find me there, or be immediately forwarded to me.

"I remain, &c.

"WORONZOW GREIG.

"O'GORMAN MAHON, Esq."

"Batt's Hotel, Monday night, 12 o'clock.

"SIR—Having yourself appointed two o'clock this afternoon to meet me, I was punctual in my attendance; and conceiving that some accident may have occurred to prevent your being equally so, I prolonged my stay, here, in expectation of seeing you, more than hour, until half past three P.M., at which period an engagement, previously formed, required my presence elsewhere. I returned scarcely in time to prepare for dinner, and was engaged in dressing when you called, at seven o'clock, and left your note, mentioning where communications for you were to be sent. During my absence to-day, your letter marked, 1 o'clock, was delivered here.

"I am but this moment returned home from dinner, and hastening to reply, I beg to assure you that no language can express the extent of the satisfaction I derive from finding, on reading your letter, that all further allu-

sion to Mr. STEELE's public letter is inexpedient, and that our attention is to be exclusively devoted to the phrases cited by you; for as these were extorted by your letter to my friend, and have never been published, I foresee no difficulty in having them disposed of in the mode suggested by me this morning; the only practicable one as yet devised, and which was then fortunate enough not to meet your disapproval. By any deviation from it now you would impede rather than facilitate the adjustment I have at heart, and which I trust is also your only object, an amicable termination of this affair.

"Filling the situation we do, (at all times infinitely more responsible and irksome than that of *principals*) we should not be too fastidious in making mutual concessions, to ensure so laudable an end as that of effecting reconciliation. It is true, we may subject ourselves to the charge of being over liberal in our anxiety to adjust this matter without hostile collision; but such observations generally emanate from those who have themselves least taste for fighting; and when the lives of two such men as our friends are at stake, we shall be sustained by the approbation of all sensible and honourable men, and be, moreover, rewarded by just self-approval, resulting from a consciousness of having preserved to society two gentlemen, who may live to emulate each other in exertions for their country's weal—a consummation infinitely more creditable and satisfactory, than that of permitting them to shed each other's blood. Such an event, terminating fatally to even only one of the parties, would entail anguish and misery on numberless friends and relations.

"I know it is not fashionable to recur to such recollections in cases of this nature; but, for myself, I am ready to encounter any proportion of the aspersions that

may be levelled against us, for endeavouring to avert such a calamity as I have alluded to.

"Allow me here to express my sense of obligation for the early recognition conveyed in your letter of the conciliatory disposition evinced by me, in an interview this morning; and permit me, in conclusion, to add, that, in the same spirit, it will afford me unmixed pleasure to see you whenever you may deem it desirable to meet.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"O'GORMAN MAHON.

"WORONZOW GREIG, Esq., Athenæum Club-house."

"Athenæum, Tuesday, Twelve o'Clock.

"SIR—I have just received your letter of twelve o'clock last night, and I loose no time in sending you my answer; as I think that the sooner an affair of this nature is brought to a conclusion the better. My note of yesterday, dated one o'clock, was delivered into the hands of your own servant, by the person who now takes this, at least half an hour before two o'clock. You judge most truly of the motives which induced me to take an active part in this affair, when you ascribe to me as an object the desire of bringing it to an amicable termination; but to effect this object with honour, I must again direct your attention to the expressions admitted by Mr. STEELE to have been made use of by him in the letter which he sent to the Editor of the *Globe* and *Traveller* newspaper, and must again express my anxious hope that you will see the propriety of a public apology being made by that gentleman. I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"WORONZOW GREIG.

"P.S.—I wait for an early reply at the Athenæum."

"Batt's Hotel, Half-past Two, P.M.

"SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this day, of one o'clock, delivered to me at a quarter to two.

"Your messenger deceived, if he informed you that he gave your note of yesterday, dated one o'clock, to my servant at half-past one. On being confronted with the waiters and my servant, your messenger, in my presence, admitted that he did not arrive at my hotel until half-past three.

"With reference to your demand of a public apology from my friend, I trust that, on a re-perusal of the extraordinary address of Mr. W. S. O'BRIEN, to which Mr. STEELE's letter was a reply, you will perceive that what you seek is inadmissible: at the same time, permit me to draw your attention to the commencement of your last note, and allow me to say that I fully concur in your opinion that 'the sooner a matter of this sort is brought to a conclusion the better.'

"But I still retain the same desire I have already expressed, that such termination should be an amicable one.

"I have the honour, &c.

"O'GORMAN MAHON.

"WORONZOW GREIG, Esq."

"Athenæum, Tuesday, Four o'Clock.

"SIR—In consequence of the receipt of your note, dated half-past two o'clock, containing a positive refusal on your part to admit of any apology being made by Mr. STEELE, for the insulting terms he made use of to Mr. O'BRIEN, I feel it my duty, for the last time, to demand a public apology. Should you still decline this on the part of Mr. STEELE, I request you will favour me with the earliest possible answer, appointing an interview to

make those arrangements which I still earnestly hope will not be necessary.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"WORONZOW GREIG.

"O'GORMAN MAHON, Esq."

"Batt's Hotel, half-past 4 o'clock, P.M.

"SIR—I have this instant been honoured by your note, dated 4 o'clock. My reply to the first part of it is contained in my former communications, both written and verbal; to which I once again implore your serious consideration. To the second part, my only answer can be, after the tone in which you addressed me last, that I will not leave my hotel for an hour.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

"O'GORMAN MAHON.

"WORONZOW GREIG, Esq."

"In consequence of this, an interview took place at half past 5 o'clock that evening, between these two gentlemen; when Mr. GREIG handed the following note, which Mr. O'G. MAHON could not refrain from denominating, after what had taken place, a work of supererogation:—

"SIR—Understanding that Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON has declined on your behalf to make an apology for the offensive expressions used by you, respecting me, in a letter sent to the Editor of the *Globe* paper, in order to prevent the possibility of a mistake, I now again call upon you to make a public apology, or to afford me the reparation used among gentlemen in such cases.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"June 30. "WM. S. O'BRIEN.

"To THOMAS STEELE."

"Mr. WORONZOW GREIG suggested that the meeting should take place next morning; but Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON decided that, as there was no other alternative, the parties should be on the ground within an hour.

"These are the only authentic documents relating to the affair in which we have been engaged, and we now declare the business to be terminated for ever.

"WORONZOW GREIG,
"O'GORMAN MAHON."

"To the Editor of the Courier.

"Batt's, Dover-street, July 2, 1829.

"SIR—As many unfounded reports have obtained circulation, relative to the communication made by me to Mr. W. S. O'BRIEN, on the part of Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON, I deem it but justice to both these gentlemen to state the facts.

"In consequence of a verbal inaccuracy in Mr. O'BRIEN's address to the Electors of Clare, it appeared as if he denied that Mr. O'CONNELL had obtained on the late election, the support of any of the gentry of that county; I therefore demanded an explanation on the subject, on the part of Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON and his two brothers, (the one being in Paris and the other in the county Clare) strictly confining myself to them, and in no way interfering with the expression of Mr. O'BRIEN's feelings, either on the general question or with reference to any other supporters of Mr. O'CONNELL. The required explanation he most willingly gave me, both verbally and in writing, satisfying me that the inaccuracy with respect to Mr. O'GORMAN MAHON and his brothers, was purely accidental; and I forwarded forthwith the necessary correction of that inaccuracy, authenticated by his signature, to the Editor of the Paper in which his address appeared.

"Nothing but a desire to prevent misstatement, should induce me to occupy your space, and your readers' time, with a subject of this nature.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JOHN R. OTTIWELL."

In consequence of the amount of Aristocratic opposition he experienced, Mr. O'CONNELL had to canvass, locally, the County. He managed, with great tact, to keep alive the agitation, until the Election arrived. Every compliment the people could offer was enthusiastically paid him. Public dinners, processions—monster-meetings—took place; every preparation was made to win the battle—and it was won, without even a struggle; for, without a contest, Mr. O'CONNELL was, at the close of July, re-elected. With reference to this election, the *Times* Newspaper of that day, thus writes:—

"Our Irish letters will be found more than commonly interesting to those who look beyond the surface. It seems that doubts are entertained respecting the issue of the contest for Clare, if its representation should be now contested; but that the excitement throughout that and the neighbouring counties is, if possible, more furious on behalf of Mr. O'CONNELL than during the former struggle. We have all along deprecated that clause in the Emancipation Bill, of which the intelligible purpose was to deprive an individual—however obnoxious in certain quarters—of its benefits. Considering that clause as it regarded Mr. O'CONNELL personally, the character of it approached to meanness. We wholly acquit the Duke of WELLINGTON of any the slightest participation in those feelings, from which alone a condition so little congenial to the spirit of a "Relief Bill" could have resulted.—But the crisis was perilous—the stake played for was tremendous; too stubborn a resistance to "partial

evil," might have rendered inaccessible "the universal good;" and a powerful and manly mind was fain to accept this one, amongst other compromises, as not the least vexatious purchase money, of a blessing with which no amount of secondary sacrifices could for a moment compare. Looking, however, at the consequences of this perverse and unworthy penalty (for such was its design), inflicted on an individual Catholic, whose crime was his successful activity in wringing reparation for intolerable injuries from the hands which had committed them;—looking, we say, at its political and more extensive consequences, we can imagine few public measures more unfortunate; because more subversive of those objects which constituted the sole value of Emancipation. To send back Mr. O'Connell to the freeholders of Clare, with the chance of a new election, was to raise again the exorcised spirit of enmity to the Protestants, to the State, and to Great Britain. It was to recall into action the demagogue, the agitator, the redoubted priest —to re-harness the multitude to O'Connell's car, and to present him, whom they had almost worshipped, the champion of Ireland, in the exasperated form of an unfairly oppressed and selected victim. If any thing could aggravate the impolicy of such a course, it would be the compelling O'Connell, not merely to rouse again the half-slumbering emotions of a mercurial people, by the necessary ceremony of an appeal to their privileges, in favour of the idol of their recollections, but to fight again a *real battle* for the recovery of the seat in Parliament from which he had been dismissed, by setting up or threatening him with a rival candidate, and converting a display of speeches into an array of *force*, which must be now inseparable from any actual contest. If this unhappy combination could be further aggravated, it would be by

the appearance of one of an emancipation Ministry, as the antagonist of Mr. O'CONNELL; an ominous and fatal key this must prove to the motive, the genuine spirit, and purpose of the clause by which that learned gentleman had been excluded. If any thing could crown the manifold aggravations of the policy pursued towards Mr. O'CONNELL in this instance, it would be the sending him to a new election for Clare, with the freehold qualifications of the County so modified, under the official construction of the Disfranchisement Bill, as to render his present success problematical to nearly the same degree, in which his defeat at the bar of the House of Commons had previously been made certain, by a provision of the law of "Emancipation." Mr. O'CONNELL's expulsion from the House was an unworthiness, against which even the manly portion or the regular anti-Catholics exclaim.—His exposure to a new election contest is a serious danger to the public peace. His defeat, if he should suffer one, from the remodelling of the franchise, prolongs indefinitely the agitation of Ireland; and therefore frustrates, indefinitely also, the natural blessings of Emancipation. But there appears to be a revolution brought about in Ireland by the working of the new franchise, which could hardly have been contemplated by the boldest of its advocates, and which we are bound to say affects us with no small apprehension of evil. The constituency of the kingdom, if we can believe what we read, is so reduced in numbers as to become but the mockery of an elective power.

"When it is stated positively that the two great counties of Antrim and Down—the latter being the most densely peopled, the most industrious, independent, intelligent, Protestant, and important of the whole island—will muster no more than two hundred £10 freeholders

each, instead of more than twice as many thousands of forty-shilling freeholders—we submit that there is much reason for believing, either that the law has been construed, or that it has been framed in a temper as inconsistent with political wisdom as dangerous to the national tranquillity. It was the wish of every sober-minded man, that turbulent and desperate poverty should be stripped of a power which it could not rationally wield; but was scarcely within the meditation of such men, that intelligence and respectability should not be vested with the power which they might fairly exercise. It will be a fearful ending of the crisis through which we have struggled, if the same gulf be henceforth interposed between rich and poor, as formerly separated the classes of Protestant and Catholic—it will be to marshal and provoke against each other, the elements of Jacobinism and Oligarchy; nick-naming it a purgation of the "elective franchise."

Before his re-election, O'Connell came to Dublin, where his presence was much required, on a matter connected with Catholic affairs and the Clare election. At this period he was subject to those annoyances, too often consequent upon his public position. On account of some observations on the state of things at Clare, and which he let fall at a great meeting in Dublin, on his return from that county; he was threatened to be shot "through his white liver, without touching his black heart," by a wild Attorney, of the name of Toby Glascock, whom, with too much daring and truth, he had called a maniac. The threats were so circumstantial and precise, that Mr. O'Connell felt called upon, after much hesitation, to bind him over to the peace.

O'Connell, in making the application, said, half jeeringly, he understood that Mr. Glascock did not intend to honor him by a personal assault, but that he had threaten-

ed to get his servant, to flog him! When it came to Mr. GLASCOCK's turn to speak, he said, "My Lords, this statement of my learned adversary, will set the face of Europe on the grin. The Colossus, through whose legs we, small creatures, have to peep about to find ourselves dishonourable graves, affects to be frightened from his propriety, not by *my* threatening to beat him, which, taking into account my Lilliputian dimensions, (he was a miserably puny creature,) could not be a very serious matter; but he alleges that my servant was to perpetrate an assault upon him. How likely *that* is to be adventured, my Lords, I'll enable you to judge for yourselves, and that *instanter;* for my servant shall appear in *propria persona*, before you." Stooping down under the table, he lifted up his attorney's bag, the mouth downwards, and shook out its contents on the table; when out dropped a diminutive little servant, or "tiger," regularly dressed up in green livery, and handsomely turned out for the occasion. The Court was, of course, convulsed with laughter; while O'CONNELL was observed not to relish the joke of his crack-brained tormentor, who followed up his defence by adding, "This, my Lords, is my servant, who has caused so much alarm to the great Agitator—Look at him,

'With whip of cricket bone, and lash of film;'

and now, may it please the Court, I hope I have satisfactorily 'shewed cause' why no criminal information should issue against me."

So the matter dropped, but the laugh was against O'CONNELL for a long time after.

We mention this transaction, not because of the noise it made at the time, but to illustrate the violence of feeling which existed against the LIBERATOR, amongst what may be called the *shoneen* class in Ireland; and which occasion-

ally broke out into such rancorous exhibitions as the one just noticed. The truth is, O'Connell often gave insignificant persons a fictitious importance, by bringing their names before the public. His sarcasms raised them in the esteem of their own party, and gave them a title to retaliate.

There was a little after this a similar affair, in which an Orangeman, named Cass, figured. We need not dwell on such madmen's vagaries. It is, however, wonderful how, during the prevailing excitement of the day, Mr. O'Connell escaped assassination. His destiny was not fulfilled. He was reserved to give the nation, aye and nations, additional instruction in the great principles of moral force agitation.

The day of election was drawing near. His celebrated address to the electors of Clare is too lengthened a document to introduce. It attracted universal notice, and left a deep impression. Almost each succeeding paragraph began with the terms—"Send me to parliament, and I will," &c. It was, in consequence, jestingly called—"the address of the hundred promises." It was written off with great rapidity—and as he finished sheet after sheet, he threw them on the floor. As he wrote, they were read by a friend, who, though a warm advocate of Irish rights, was a decided Anti-Repealer. He had not gone far in the perusal, when he found that O'Connell announced his intention to raise the Repeal cry. His friend remonstrated on a step of that alarming nature, at that moment—so soon after the Catholic agitation had ceased. He remonstrated in vain. The Knight of Kerry and the late Earl of Besnorough also interfered, but without success. At last the Marquess of Anglesey's opinion was sought, and the draft of the address submitted to him. The Marquess read it over carefully, and struck out, with his

pencil, the passages respecting Repeal. He also remonstrated against the language applied to the Government, for inserting the retroactive clause in the Emancipation Act; and thus compelling O'CONNELL to undergo the ordeal of a second election. But, knowing how justly indignant O'CONNELL was with the ignoble malevolence he experienced, Lord ANGLESEY thought the animadversions on the course pursued were almost justified; though, at the same time, every one knew it was not with WELLINGTON or PEEL the personal wrong originated. It was at the instance of the KING, acted on by the back-stairs influence of VESEY FITZGERALD, that the obnoxious personal provision was made part and parcel of the Emancipation Act. O'CONNELL adopted the address, as it was altered by the Marquess of ANGLESEY, excluding all reference to Repeal. But the fact that, *mero motu*, he was even then about to announce his purpose of seeking Legislative Independence, is another proof, if any be now necessary, of his early and sincere resolution to obtain that great measure for his country. Mr. O'CONNELL left Dublin for Ennis, in the last week of July. His progress through the country was marked by the same exuberant outpourings of joy with which he was greeted a few weeks before. The country was at the same time perfectly peaceable. It was understood that there would be no opposition. Thus excitement was allayed. All was joyousness and triumph, and on the 30th of July, he was a second time returned member for Clare, without opposition. His speech on that occasion proves how deeply the project of repealing the act of Union, was then influencing his mind. Indeed, from that very time, it will be seen that he was revolving plans for arousing the attention of the united people to this cherished measure for the regeneration of his country. Alas! there were then no

hopes of the coveted union, without which Repeal could not be acquired. The North of Ireland was in a state bordering on insurrection, because of Catholic Emancipation. The Orange faction, headed by the Duke of CUMBERLAND, were driven to madness by the recent law which placed their Catholic countrymen on a constitutional equality with themselves. The people, harrassed by the tithe system, and by the oppressive exactions of land owners, were by no means in a mood for conciliation. The two religious parties—the two principles, Democracy and Aristocracy, were as irreconcilable as ever. It was no moment to hope for national union, in order to obtain a great national object.

The popular Leaders, it is true, were most anxious for a fusion of all creeds and orders. Mr. SHEIL before Emancipation, had refused a retainer to act as Counsel for Lord GEORGE BERESFORD; because the contest was then for religious liberty; and he felt justified in merging the duty of advocate in the higher one of patriot. But, after the Relief Act passed, he accepted a retainer of three hundred guineas, from the same Nobleman, in the contest between him and VILLIERS STUART. For this he was much censured at the time; but he defended the act on the ground that conciliation, and not division, should for the future be the object of every lover of his country; and that it was only by a forgetfulness of past feuds, that Ireland would reap the advantages of the recent measure. There was nothing in the political aspect of the times, to justify the hope, or the belief, of so happy a consummation. But we will have occasion to discuss this matter more at length hereafter.

The second election in Clare was celebrated in Limerick, in Tralee, and Cork, by public dinners, given to the LIBERATOR, on his arrival in those towns, on his

Assizes Circuit. He was as much an object of curiosity and admiration, on the part of the people, as if he had never been amongst them before. Wherever he appeared, the most unbounded enthusiasm was evinced in his regard. Nothing could exceed the gratitude of Catholic Ireland. The Act of Emancipation—the return of Mr. O'Connell to Parliament—the necessity for his devoting his future years exclusively to the service of Ireland, induced him to give up his practice at the Bar, and sacrifice the large emoluments of a profession in which he had acquired unrivalled pre-eminence. After this year, except when retained specially, he ceased going circuit; and it is remarkable, that as Cork was the scene of his first successful forensic efforts, so it was in that city he achieved one of his greatest triumphs as a lawyer. This was in October, 1829, at the Special Commission held in that city, for the trial of the "Doneraile Conspirators."

This affair made considerable noise at that day. It was alleged that the whole population about Doneraile, were engaged in a Whiteboy conspiracy against the Landlords of the district. A Committee, it was stated, was there formed, and whatever decree this self-constituted body passed, was to be carried into execution, by ready and willing hands. There were three gentlemen, it was affirmed, particularly obnoxious to the "conspirators'—one because he was an active Magistrate; and all three, because they were of strong political tendencies, and adverse to the Catholic people. It was also said, that this Committee met at the fair of Rathclare, in a tent, and there signed a paper, decreeing that one of those gentlemen should be shot, and undertaking to have the deed committed. A man of the name of Leary, was named as the principal and most influential member of the Committee; and was represented to have been present at this

consultation. The trial of the "conspirators," being postponed at the previous General Gaol delivery, came on in October, before a Special Commission appointed to try them. Mr. O'Connell was then at Darrynane. He was not present on the first trial, when Leary, the person said to have signed the paper in the tent, was prosecuted. The witnesses for the crown were principally informers; or if not, fellows of very equivocal character. The informers and witnesses swore on the first trial, to having been present at the tent scene. One of them named Owen Daly, nicknamed *Cloumper*, swore that he not only saw the paper signed, but also "nudged" another witness, to draw his attention to what was going on. Notwithstanding the profligate and desperate characters of these fellows, their evidence was believed on the first trial; and the unfortunate prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. Another batch of prisoners was then tried, on the same evidence; but one juror, Mr. Edward Morrogh, disbelieving *in toto* all that the informers swore, refused to convict; and after two days' deliberation and confinement, the Jury were discharged. It was during this second trial that O'Connell appeared in Court—having been sent for by an express that left Cork on Saturday night, after the conviction of Leary and the others. The express returned to Cork, at 8 o'clock on Monday morning, bringing the intelligence, that Mr. O'Connell would be in town in an hour. O'Connell arrived, and without waiting to change his dress, or take refreshment, he proceeded straight to Court. He had his breakfast sent after him. It is not possible to describe the sensation which his arrival caused—not only in the Court, where matters at once assumed an altered aspect; but throughout the whole City, where, during

the previous two days, every thing wore an appearance which reminded one of the days of Ninety-eight—when people were afraid to speak above their breath—when different whispering groups might be seen in every direction, each formed of persons of the same religious creed, or political bearing; one party exhibiting feelings of sadness, another of exultation. It was in the midst of this state of things that O'CONNELL appeared. The Solicitor-General, DOHERTY—was stating the case for the prosecution, as O'CONNELL entered the Court. He had scarcely taken his seat, when he interrupted the Solicitor-General, in his address, while laying down some point of law. Mr. O'CONNELL rose and said, "that, my Lords, is not law." By this short sentence, the Solicitor-General was thrown aback. The Court decided with O'CONNELL. Mr. DOHERTY never recovered confidence during the remaining trials; and he was constantly and successfully put down, on the law of evidence, by the LIBERATOR. Before his arrival, the Solicitor-General was carrying all before him; law, fact—everything was in his favor. When O'CONNELL appeared, the change was magical and instantaneous; and there was then no doubt, nor is there now, that he it was who, aided by Baron PENNEFATHER, blew up the whole affair. The jury disagreed on the second trial; on the third trial—the same testimony was again given. In the interim, between this trial and the first, Judge PENNEFATHER ordered the informations taken before the Magistrates, to be sent for. In the information of one of the informers, it turned out that the tent scene, on which all the conspiracy turned, was not mentioned at all; thus, distinctly proving that it was a concocted accusation. Baron PENNEFATHER, to his immortal honor, when he detected the omission, called Mr.

O'Connell near the Bench, and privately showed him the informations. The clue was sufficient for him; he continued his cross-examination of the witness, then on the table, whose informations were silent on the material point on which his oral testimony was so full. O'Connell compelled him to prove, from his own lips, that the whole affair was an informer's plot. Another witness, Owen Daly, swore that he was drinking in the tent with the approver; and when he saw the prisoners together, signing the paper, he "nudged" the approver.—The latter, whose evidence and informations were so distinctly at variance, also swore, that this Owen Daly never entered the tent; and that he stood at the door, and was a great distance from the table where the "conspirators" sat—thus again showing that the guilt of conspiracy was all on the side of the prosecutors and approvers. The prisoners were at once acquitted, on the same testimony on which a verdict of guilty was returned against Leary. His sentence was, in consequence, commuted to transportation. Efforts were made by his friends to get this sentence cancelled, but the applications were invariably refused: though one should suppose that, being convicted on evidence ascertained to be false, he should have been considered innocent; and instead of being sent, at an advanced age, into slavery in New South Wales, should have received an unconditional pardon, and the power of returning to a home, where he was much respected, as an independent, industrious, and solvent farmer. The conduct of the crown prosecutors was highly censurable, in continuing to place men upon trial on such evidence as that on which they relied; and which, exclusive of the witnesses' personal character, exhibited the marked discrepancy between the written and the oral depositions.

Some days before the Doneraile Conspiracy Trials took place, a certain party called on two gentlemen in Dublin,—Ed. Dwyer, who was Secretary to the Catholic Association, and P. V. Fitzpatrick, and intimated that he had a copy of the written deposition of the principal Crown witness, and that a material discrepancy would, most likely, be found between it and his oral testimony. It occurred to these gentlemen, that the whole thing was a conspiracy against the people; and that it would be material their Counsel should have this document. Accordingly, they made terms for it, and forwarded it to Cork. In the course of the trial, Baron Pennefather, who presided, observed this very material discrepancy, and, with honorable impartiality, as stated, handed the information to O'Connell, and called his attention to it. This it was which mainly broke down the Crown case, and led to the prisoners' acquittal. In five minutes after the Judge had shown the deposition to O'Connell, the copy of it sent from Dublin was put into his hands.

In one of O'Connell's letters, written the same evening, to a friend in Dublin, there is a beautiful passage describing his night journey from Darrynane, to attend that trial, over the mountains of Glenflesk and Ballyvourney. After dwelling on the grand and elevating ideas, with which the magnificent scenery inspired him, he thus concluded—"And at ten o'clock that morning, after that glorious feast of soul, alas, I found myself settled down amid all the rascalities of an Irish Court of Justice."

However this may be, the triumph thus obtained added in no small degree to the forensic fame of the Liberator. An accident which occurred to him on his way to Darrynane, this year, had well nigh brought his career to a termination, at the very time he achieved free-

dom of conscience for his countrymen. He and his brother JAMES, were travelling together in a public conveyance to Cahirciveen. The horses became unmanageable at a critical part of the road—namely, on the edge of a precipice over-hanging the sea. It appeared inevitable that vehicle and horses must be dashed against the slight wall, that was built as a kind of protection, and be overturned down the steep. In this critical position the driver, regardless of himself, beckoned to them to get out. In the attempt, Mr. JAMES O'CONNELL broke his arm, and the LIBERATOR was thrown heavily on his back, and for some moments rendered insensible. But he speedily recovered, and after enjoying for a few weeks the delightful recreation he loved so well, at Darrynane, he was ready for the coming campaign. His escape may well be considered providential, and so it was regarded.

Emancipation having been won, the man who was instrumental in its achievement, was visited by as much malignity and misrepresentation, as if he had been the oppressor, rather than the LIBERATOR of his country. It is undeniable that the people were true to him, and grateful for his services. They testified their gratitude in a substantial form; but the Orange press, in both countries, poured forth the most envenomed vituperation—and some of those who had fought by his side, through that universal vice of human nature—Envy—joined his enemies in attributing to him selfish, nay, mercenary, motives, for his Herculean exertions. He, himself, felt that the object was to ruin him, if possible. He had far surpassed all competitors. His popularity was unbounded. Several counties, in each of the provinces, were contending for the honor of having him as a representative; and though there was every disposition in Parliament, to treat him haughtily, still it was evident that the

name and influence he had acquired, and the unequalled talents he possessed, must secure him a commanding position in the House of Commons. Every incident, as it passed, was taken advantage of by his enemies, and "false friends," if practicable, to do him injury. He opposed Mr. ENEAS M'DONNELL's claim for additional compensation as Agent, in London, of the Catholic body. For thus doing what he felt was his duty, he earned the enmity of that gentleman; and gave occasiou for the grossest attacks from the Orange papers. Mr. O'GORMAN, the Secretary, insisted on keeping as his property the books of the Association. O'CONNELL thought they were public property, and, as such, should either be deposited in the Dublin Library Society, for public inspection, or be kept, for the same purpose, by Mr. O'GORMAN, in Dublin, he giving a guarantee that, in case of his death, they should become the property of the Public. For this proposition, O'CONNELL was subjected to unmitigated abuse from an adverse press, attributing to selfish motives, what was intrinsically a just and necessary suggestion. He opposed Mr. FRANCIS WYSE's claim for a sum of money, on account of the cost of a prosecution for libel, with which the Association had nothing whatever to do. Here again he was charged with corrupt motives, as if he wished the money for his own purposes; though it was obvious, on the face of the transaction, that his opposition was public spirited and just. Such is the fate of all public men; but O'CONNELL despised all the abuse: he was not deterred by it from a new course of agitation for the advantage of his country.

We cannot close the year 1829, without referring to the project of the "Wellington Testimonial," got up to honor the Duke for his conduct on the Emancipation

Act. When in April of that year, the Royal Assent was given to the Act, Mr. PIERCE MAHONY, with a host of other anxious Irishmen, was below the Bar of the House of Lords. The Duke of LEINSTER came to where they sat, to congratulate them on the event. After some conversation, it was agreed that a Committee should be formed, to set on foot a subscription for raising a Testimonial to WELLINGTON. This Committee was formed the very next day; and it met daily, at Mr. PIERCE MAHONY's apartments, in Cockspur-Street. O'CONNELL regularly attended. The most active members were the Duke of LEINSTER, Mr. AGAR ELLIS, afterwards Lord DOVER, the Earl of DARLINGTON, and the ARCHDEACON of Ardfert. Mr. MAHONY acted as Secretary. A public meeting, it was arranged, should be held, at the London Tavern, to promote the object; the Chair to be taken by Lord FITZWILLIAM. An hour before the meeting, when the Resolutions, drawn up by Mr. MAHONY, were in course of distribution to proposers and seconders, in the ante-room of the great hall, the Knight of KERRY arrived, with a message from the Duke, requesting that the object should be abandoned. It appeared that though the Duke was exceedingly flattered by the proposed compliment, he was greatly embarrassed by it; because of the KING's jealously and irritation. GEORGE the FOURTH, it was said, absolutely fancied that it was he who won WELLINGTON's battles; and, influenced by the same kind of insanity, he imagined that he alone ought be honored for the achievement of Emancipation, notwithstanding his deep-rooted opposition to the measure. This feeling produced misunderstandings and bickerings at Windsor; and the Duke endeavoured, by declining the proposed compliment, to terminate these feuds. However, after a good deal of discussion, in the ante-room, where the

Meeting was held, and impatience on the part of those who attended, the Chair was at last taken, and several Resolutions adopted, and large subscriptions entered into. O'CONNELL, on this occasion, distinguished himself for a noble defence of the Marquess of ANGLESEY; in honor of whom a very strong Resolution was passed by the meeting. Mr. THOMAS MOORE, our illustrious countryman, also took a conspicuous part, and spoke with his usual brilliancy and eloquence.

A circumstance of much interest, and which caused a considerable sensation, occurred towards the close of the year 1829. VILLIERS STUART, who had been so triumphantly elected for the County of Waterford, in 1826, retired from the representation this year, to the great annoyance of O'CONNELL, who designated the act as one of political cowardice. His resignation arose from the circumstance, that he was beset by a host of people claiming money under various pretences. As he did not gratify their importunate demands at the moment, he was hooted as he passed through the city of Waterford. His election in 1826, had already cost him thirty thousand pounds; and notwithstanding this enormous outlay, he was, on his return from London, treated as we have described. This so disgusted him that he accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. On the news reaching London, the heads of the BERESFORD family met, and decided on starting Lord GEORGE BERESFORD for the vacant seat. Mr. P. MAHONY was solicited, through Sir GEORGE F. HILL, to become the conducting agent of the BERESFORD Candidate. Mr. MAHONY, in declining the proposition to become the ostensible agent, offered to give his advice and aid, provided he were satisfied that the BERESFORD family were prepared to lend their powerful aid in giving full practical effect to the Act of Emancipation. To this

course of policy, Sir GEORGE HILL undertook to pledge himself for the BERESFORDS. Mr. MAHONY then suggested that, to satisfy the people on the sincerity of Lord GEORGE BERESFORD's altered views, O'CONNELL and SHEIL should be retained as Counsel. This advice was followed, and Mr. MAHONY was authorised by Field Marshal BERESFORD, to retain both in their professional capacity. SHEIL accepted the retainer. To the letter addressed by Mr. DAVID MAHONY to O'CONNELL, who was then canvassing for himself in Clare, the following reply was returned :—

(Private) "Kilrush, 14th June, 1829.

"MY DEAR MAHONY—You may rely upon it, that the communication to me shall be strictly confidential. I am exceedingly delighted at the offer made me, as it proves that the memory of former dissensions is to be buried in oblivion. No man living more heartily desires that consummation than I do. Before I accept the retainer, I wish to have it distinctly understood, that if I do accept it, there is to be no expectation that I will do anything beyond my professional duty; that is, there is to be no sale by me, nor any purchase by them, of my political exertion. I made this stipulation with VILLIERS STUART, and although I went beyond that duty for him, it was only because the political sentiments I then advocated were more mine than his—This is a point which ought to be distinctly understood, before I even consider whether I shall or not accept the retainer. If the offer of it, under those circumstances, shall be repeated—a matter of which I entertain some doubt, as, out of term, I made VILLIERS STUART pay me £600—my professional remuneration I will leave to you and your brother, should the offer be repeated, and should I be able to accept of it.—I need not tell you that there could not be a greater in-

ducement held out to me than the fact, that you and your brother are the Law Agents of the BERESFORD family on this occasion. I have been always exceedingly well treated by that family when they employed me as a professional man.

"I will certainly be in Dublin on Thursday night, at the latest. I have this county hollow; half the county is not yet gone through, and my majority is already certain. It is impossible that there should be a serious contest. You know I would not deceive you; but I can now beat even VESEY FITZGERALD, three to one. No other person could stand one hour; the popular excitement and enthusiasm are greater than ever. How wise is Master PEEL and Co. to send me back. I destroyed your letter. No human being shall know anything of its contents from

"Your's most sincerely,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"DAVID MAHONY, Esq., Dublin."

On receipt of this letter, Mr. DAVID MAHONY wrote to his brother, who was still in London, and, in reply, received the following communication:--

"Union Hotel, 19th June, 1829.

"My dear DAVID—I have seen Lord GEORGE BERESFORD this day, on the subject of the Waterford election—I read to his Lordship my letter to you of yesterday, of which he approved; and I have now to request that you will write a note to Mr. O'CONNELL, stating that it is his Lordship's desire to secure his professional services at the next election for the County of Waterford, for such member of Lord WATERFORD's family, as may be a candidate on that occasion for that county,—that at present, Lord GEORGE BERESFORD is the person selected; and in addition to the 20 guineas retainer, that we are

authorised to say, that whether there shall be a contest or not, Mr. O'Connell shall receive £300 for his fee; and if there shall be a contest, £600. You will write Mr. Sheil a similar note stating, that in addition to his retainer, he shall receive £200, if no contest, and £400, if there shall be one. This arrangement will, I trust, be satisfactory to each of these gentlemen. It was suggested by me, yesterday, as, under all circumstances, the most equitable.

"I again repeat that neither Lord Waterford, or his friends, intend in any degree to compromise their politics, by selecting Messrs. O'Connell and Sheil for their Counsel; neither is it to be understood, that either of these gentlemen are expected to compromise theirs, by the acceptance of their retainers. But of course, we expect from them, as we would from any other gentlemen of their profession, that *bona fide* exercise of talent, which their duty as counsel obliges them to give, in support of their client. It would be an insult to them, if I doubted for a moment that they are ready to make this return for the confidence which is placed in them.

"Indeed, I feel that a greater compliment could not be paid to their talents and station, than the proposition thus made, by a family they have so violently opposed on so many occaions. It is, besides, a strong indication of the disposition of the friends of the Government to give an example of forbearance and forgetfulness of all that has passed during the late struggle. Ever your's,

"PIERCE MAHONY."

Mr. O'Connell, on his return to Dublin, and on consultation there with his friends, saw at once the danger of confiding in the professions of the Beresfords, and he resolved, forthwith, to put an end to the negociation.—Accordingly he addressed the following letter to Mr. David Mahony:—

"Merrion-square, June 21, 1829.

"My Dear Mahony,—The letter of your brother is quite satisfactory in all its professional details. I entirely acquiesce in all he says of professional duty and emolument.

"I am also proud of the selection made of me by Lord Waterford, as a professional man—the certainty that he and his family concur with all the real friends of Ireland, in burying in oblivion all former feuds, is both satisfactory and consolatory. For my humble part, I am impressed with the strongest conviction that the distinctions between Protestant and Catholic, in politics, should be for ever forgotten.

"I would not, therefore, have it conceived for one moment, that my declining to accept the retainer, has any other source than this—that having now ascertained the certainty of my return for Clare, I do not feel at liberty to be of counsel for any candidate, pending the Parliament: as a member of the House, I consider myself precluded from being so; because if there were a disputed return, I would be liable to be one of the judges of that return—so that it would be impossible for me to pre-engage my mind by my advice as counsel. If there shall be no new election, until the general election, I will then be too occupied for myself to be able to assist any other person. Of course you will distinctly understand, that I do not consider myself any longer at liberty to be professionally engaged against the interest of Lord Waterford. My present prospects in Clare, thus excluding me from accepting any such retainer, I again beg leave to express my great gratification at the matter and manner of the communication made to me.

"Believe me to be very faithfully yours,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL.

"David Mahony, Esq., Merrion-square."

It was soon after bandied about that O'Connell consented to be counsel for the Beresfords, and that he withdrew from the engagement because of the fee he was offered—in fact, that he "huxtered" for payment. The *Times* enlarged on the subject, and wrote as if it would or could crush the great Agitator. O'Connell, in a remarkably able letter, addressed to the Electors of Waterford, replied to those charges; and showed with complete satisfaction, that political considerations had made him decline all farther negociation with the Beresfords. It was in this letter that he called the *Times*—the "venal Lady of the Strand"—a *soubriquet* which is still remembered.

The following, from the *Weekly Free Press* of that day, places the matter in so true a light, that we willingly give it insertion :—

"Mr. O'Connell has published an address to the Electors of Waterford, professedly for the purpose of arousing an opposition to the Beresford family, at the ensuing election; but principally to defend himself from certain aspersions which have been industriously propagated against him. One charge, and that upon which the others rested, was, that he had not only accepted of a heavy retainer from the Beresfords, for his professional aid at the election, but that he had even "huxtered" with them about the amount of the fee. This charge, the member for Clare, has openly met, and manfully refuted; and we do not think that any impartial reader can peruse the address without arriving at the same conclusion. Mr. O'Connell was solicited by the Beresford's attorney to give his services upon the statement, (which afterwards turned out to be false) that the Lord Paramount of Waterford had resolved to fall in with the tide of conciliation, and to join hand in hand

with the Catholic leaders, for the improvement of the country. In the reply to this letter, (which was strictly confidential, being addressed to a friend) Mr. O'CONNELL lauded the altered tone of the BERESFORDS, and professed his willingness to support the conciliatory system which arose out of it. When, however, the proposal was more openly put and insisted upon, it met with a courteous, but resolute denial. Out of these materials the BERESFORD faction has constructed the base calumny which has been bandied about among Mr. O'CONNELL's personal and political enemies; affording matter of rejoicing to the bigotted worshippers of the maimed Dagon of Intolerance on both sides of the Channel. We will not be surprised if it should still continue to be circulated by these persons—but fortunately their opinions have no weight with the public. Mr. O'CONNELL may have been indiscreet in parleying with a faction, whose political profligacy was notorious; or he may be open to a charge of forgetfulness of his public reputation, in not at once refusing the paltry bribe by which it was sought to be tarnished. But if he has been guilty of indiscretion, by reposing confidence in persons who were utterly unworthy of it, the "failing leant to virtue's side." He was desirous, as every true Irishman should now be, to heal the wounds which long years of oppression and misrule, have opened in the bosom of Ireland; and it would have argued but lukewarm patriotism, to have rejected with disdain the proferred hand of the veriest ROBESPIERRE among the Orange Jacobins. The failure of his hopes is a melancholy proof that Ireland boasts still of men, whose political baseness is equalled only by their detestation of whatever might contribute to the peace and security of their unhappy country. So much for BERESFORD."

Mr. SHEIL, as already stated, accepted the retainer, and justified his doing so in an able argumentative letter. We cannot help, however, expressing our opinion, that it would have been better had he declined it; for, most assuredly, his political position in Ireland, was the reason why his aid as a lawyer was sought for. For one half the fee, as able professional men could have been engaged, to decide or discuss the legal technicalities.

This affair caused an alienation between O'CONNELL and his old friend and law agent, Mr. PIERCE MAHONY, which was not made up until the Limerick election, 1832, where Mr. MAHONY was a candidate, though before O'CONNELL's arrival he had withdrawn. O'CONNELL took that occasion to speak in the highest terms of praise of Mr. MAHONY. On hearing this, he went to O'CONNELL's hotel, and they became friends, to the great gratification of the people, who were astonished when they saw them shaking hands in the street afterwards. This estrangement for three years, between two old friends, exhibits a characteristic of O'CONNELL's mind; for tho' in public, and on public grounds, he constantly attacked Mr. MAHONY; he continued, nevertheless, in private, to manifest for him the greatest personal regard. However harsh or unmeasured may have been his language in public—in private, he was always amiable, generous, and kind.

In the history of the world, there never were two more remarkable years than those which occupied our attention in this Chapter, and with which this volume will conclude. During this period the first triumph of the MORAL FORCE principle was achieved. Hitherto, every great change in the social or political condition of nations, was accomplished by bloodshed and civil war. The discovery that PUBLIC OPINION, by being concentrated and directed to

one object, was able to win what no amount of physical violence could obtain, was first made in 1828-29. As the intellectual faculties of men are more cultivated, and as education extends, the Moral Power will grow irresistible, and the will and wishes of the people more and more prevail. Immortal honour to the man who first applied and carried into practice this great discovery! It is impossible to foresee the beneficial results to mankind, to which it yet may lead. If, for no other reason, the years 1828-29, will be glorious in the annals of time, for being the era when the great experiment was first successfully tried; the events recorded in this Chapter will be read with deeper interest, as developing in full relief, the power and concentration of public opinion.

This volume closes one great epoch in O'Connell's career. The next will exhibit his master-mind in bolder action; when, in becoming a member of the Imperial Legislature, a large portion of the Irish representation was in his hands—and when, against the might of England, he struggled for the Repeal of the Act of Union, and for the regeneration of Ireland.

END OF VOL. I.

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Fagan, William Trant
The life and times of
Daniel O'Connell

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